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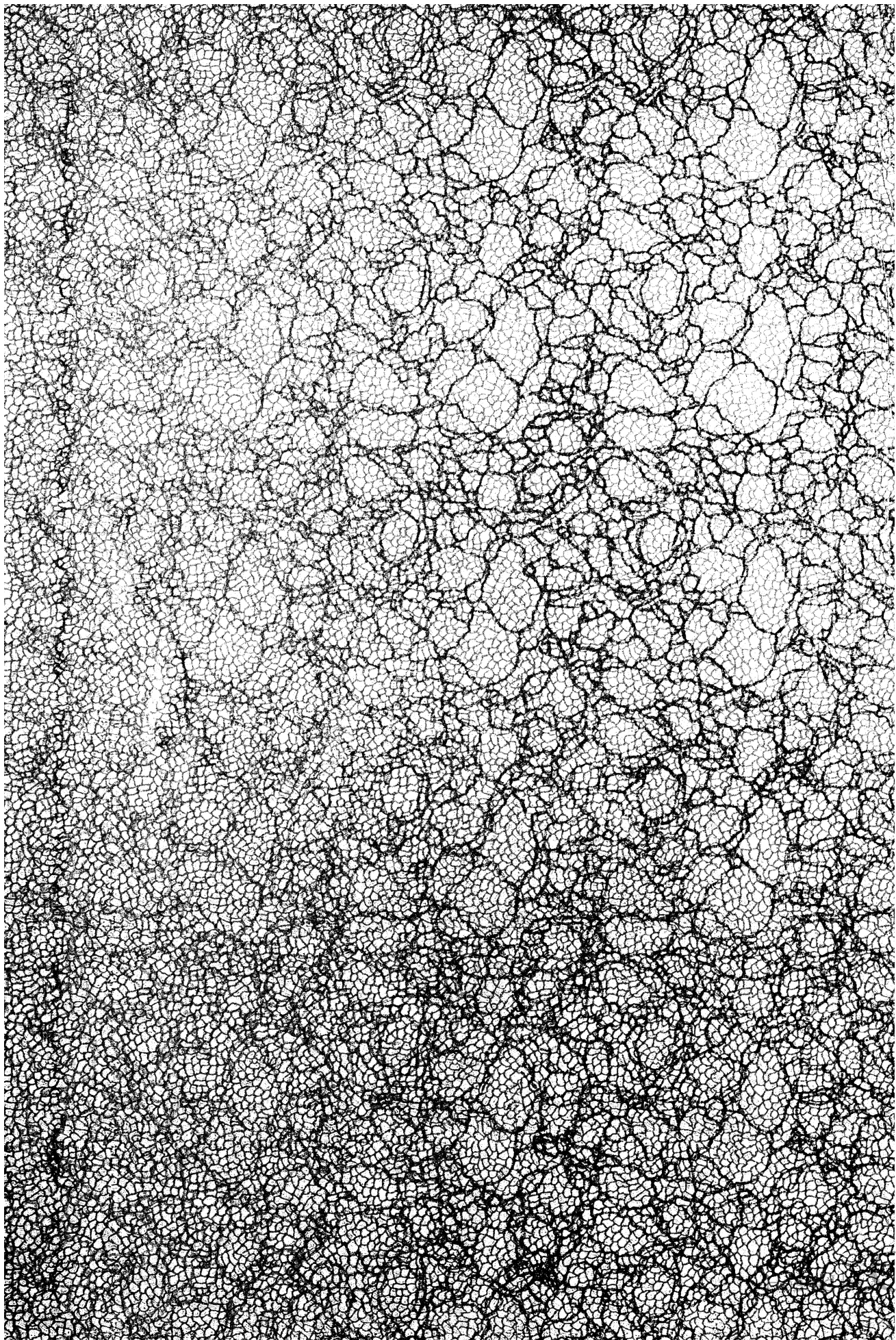
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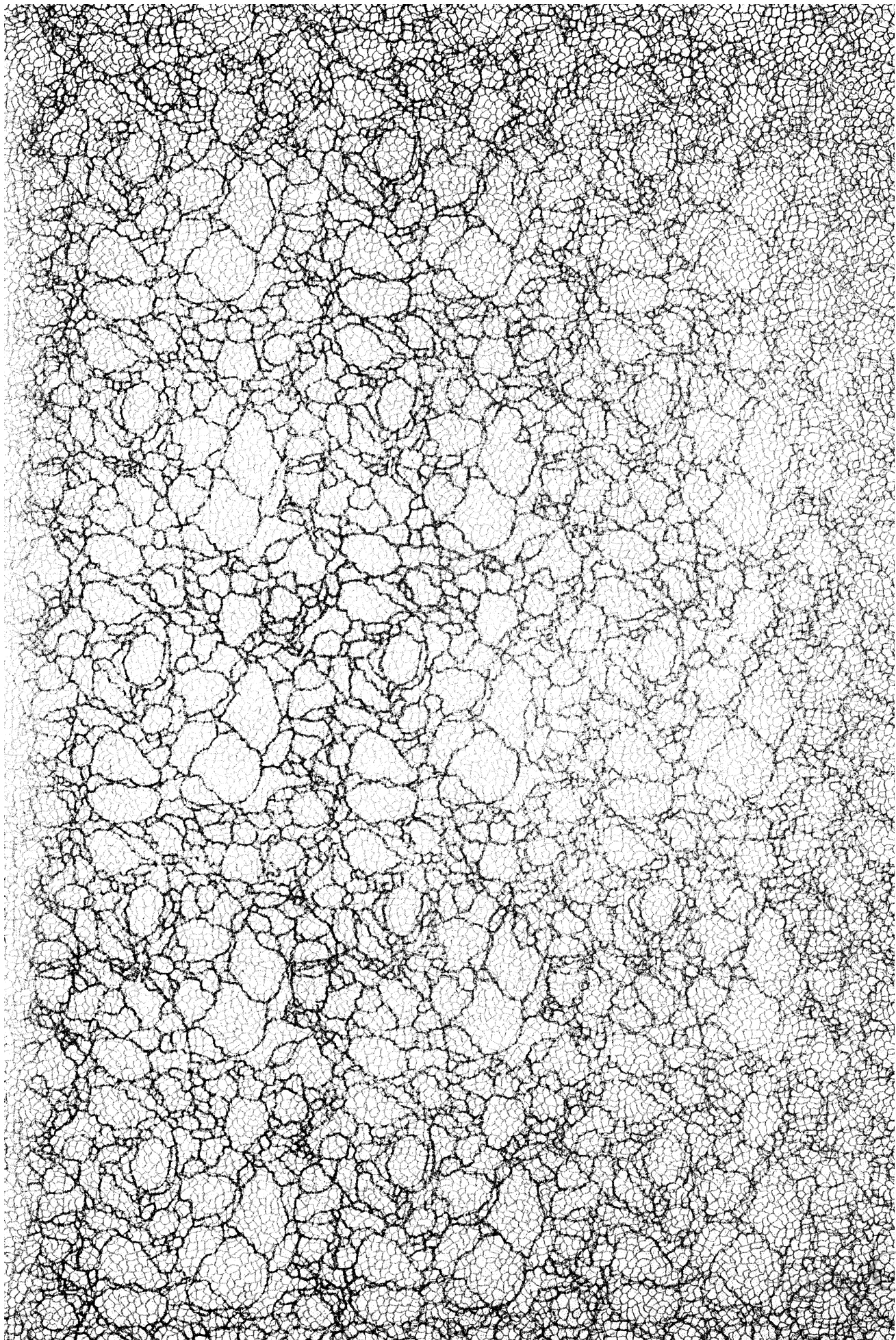
VOL. II

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The  
City of Detroit  
Michigan

1701-1922

CLARENCE M. BURTON, Editor-in-Chief  
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VOLUME II

DETROIT—CHICAGO  
THE S. J. CLARKE PUBLISHING COMPANY

1922





# The City of Detroit

## PART V

### MILITARY HISTORY

#### CHAPTER XXXIII

##### FORTS AND MILITARY POSTS

DU LUTH'S POST—FORT PONTCHARTRAIN—FORT LERNOULT—FORT SHELBY—  
FORT CROGHAN, OR FORT NONSENSE—FORT WAYNE.

Although details which concern the various forts which have stood at Detroit have been given throughout the chapters dealing with the early military history of the place, we herewith present a few connected details in brief form.

The first forts in the region about the Great Lakes were established by the French for the purpose of facilitating trade with the Indians, and as a protection against the forays of unfriendly Indian tribes. The presence of a fort was regarded by the red men as evidence that the French were masters of the country. As early as 1671 a fort was built at Michilimackinac, a small garrison was stationed there to protect the traders and friendly Indians, and to prevent the English from opening a traffic with the western tribes.

##### DU LUTH'S POST

On June 6, 1686, Marquis de Denonville, governor-general of New France, wrote to Daniel Greysolon, Sieur du Luth, former commandant at Michilimackinac and then in charge of Indian affairs on the upper lakes, as follows:

“You will see from the letters which I am writing to M. de la Durantaye that my intention is that you should occupy a post at the Strait of Lake Erie with fifty men, that you should choose a post in an advantageous spot so as to secure this passage to us, to protect our savages who go hunting there, and to serve them as a refuge against the designs of their enemies and ours; you will do nothing and say nothing to the Iroquois unless they venture on any attempt against you and against our allies.

“You will take care that each (of the fifty men) provide himself with provisions sufficient for his subsistence at the said post, when I doubt not you may trade for peltries.”

Durantaye was at that time commandant at Michilimackinac. He fitted out Du Luth's expedition according to the governor's instructions, but instead of locating a post “at the Strait of Lake Erie,” Du Luth selected a site in what is now St. Clair County, a short distance north of Port Huron, where he established Fort St. Joseph. The following year Durantaye, Du Luth and Tonty, then commandant at Fort St. Louis in the Illinois country, all joined in an expedition against the Iroquois Indians. The expedition proved to be a failure, which left the posts on the lower lakes exposed to Indian attacks, and Fort

St. Joseph was abandoned in August, 1688. One account says the buildings were destroyed by the Indians. Farmer says: "The fort was abandoned within two years after its erection and the passage between Lakes Erie and Huron was left undefended until 1701."

There is no record to show that the fort was ever rebuilt, though Captain Campbell, commandant at Detroit, in a letter to Col. Henry Boquet, dated October 12, 1761, says: "Captain Balfour proceeded to occupy Fort St. Joseph with a detachment of light infantry." It may be that Captain Balfour and his light infantry occupied the site of the former fort, and that Captain Campbell referred to the place by the name of the old post as a matter of convenience. At the time of the Pontiac war the site was occupied for a short time by an expedition from Michilimackinac.

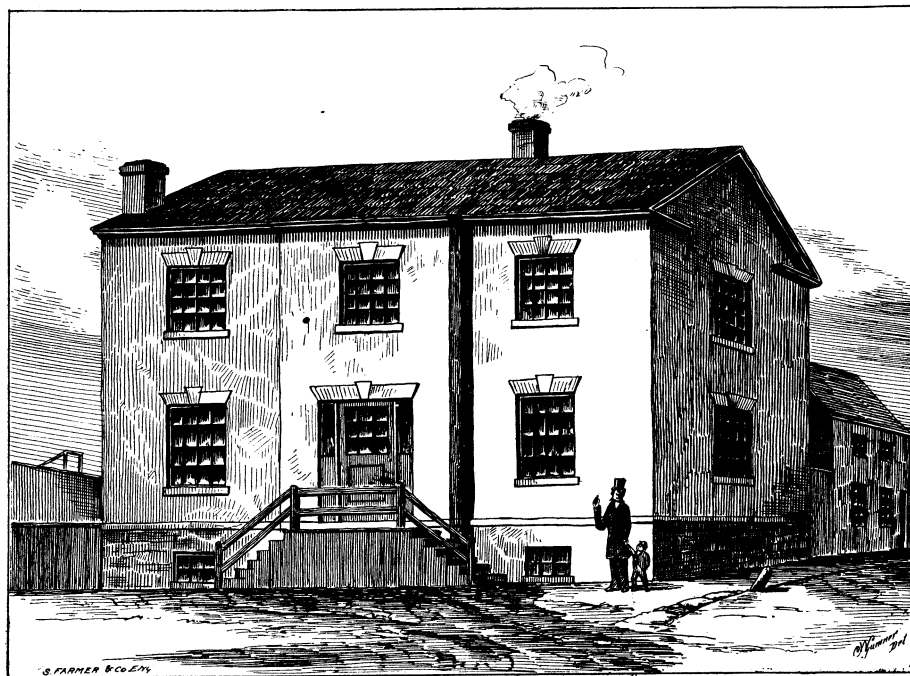
In 1765 Patrick Sinclair, afterward lieutenant-governor of Michilimackinac, established a regular fortification at the mouth of the Riviere aux Pines (Pine River), where the Town of St. Clair now stands. Sinclair's fort was about fifteen miles south of the place where Du Luth's post was situated, though some writers have made the mistake of giving them the same location. In 1811 a few men belonging to the St. Clair militia met at Sinclair's old fort. Their supplies were cut off by a band of hostile Indians and they were relieved by an expedition from Detroit.

#### FORT PONTCHARTRAIN

This fort, which was the beginning of the City of Detroit, was established by Antoine de LaMothe Cadillac, who arrived on the site with a company of French soldiers, voyageurs and Indians on July 24, 1701. The fort was named in honor of Count Pontchartrain, then the French colonial minister of marine. It was one arpent (192.75 feet) square and was of the stockade type, constructed of pickets planted close together in a trench about three feet deep, the tops of the pickets extending twelve feet above the ground. The fort was located on the first rise of ground from the river. Compared to the present streets, it was situated in the block bounded by Jefferson Avenue, Woodbridge, Griswold and Shelby streets. At each corner was a bastion of stout oak pickets. About two years after the fort was built it was set on fire by the Indians and seriously damaged, but was immediately repaired.

By 1717 the stockade had fallen into poor condition through negligence. The following year it was rebuilt by Tonty and it was then stronger than ever before. After the arrival of the immigrants in 1749 the stockade was enlarged and in 1751 the garrison was increased. The post then took the name of "Fort du Detroit."

Between the years 1754 and 1758 additional ground was inclosed. Soon after the post was surrendered to the English in the fall of 1760, the fort was made large enough for seventy-five or eighty houses inside the palisades. The enlarged fort extended from Griswold Street to a line about fifty feet west of Shelby Street, and from Woodbridge Street to the alley between Jefferson Avenue and Larned Street. The bastions at the corners were enlarged and strengthened and over the gates on the east and west sides blockhouses were built for defense in case of an attack. Under the English the main gates were allowed to remain open from sunrise to sunset. In each of the large gates was a smaller one, through which only one person could pass at a time. Under the charge of a sentry these small gates were kept open until 9 P. M.



OLD ARSENAL, NORTHWEST CORNER OF JEFFERSON AVENUE AND WAYNE STREET  
Built in 1816





## FORT LERNOULT

In the fall of 1778, when Col. George Rogers Clark and Col. Daniel Brodhead were both threatening Detroit, Maj. Richard B. Lernoult, the British commandant, after consultation with his officers, decided the fort was not strong enough to withstand an attack by any considerable force. Capt. Henry Bird was therefore ordered to lay out a new redoubt on the hill—a position better calculated for defense. Captain Bird gives the following account of the new fort in one of his reports:

“I at first intended only a square (our time as we imagined being but short for fortifying ourselves), but when the square was marked out it appeared to me so naked and insufficient that I added the half-bastions, imagining if the enemy appeared before the curtains were completed we might make tolerable defense by closing the bastions at the gorge. So perfect a work one with entire bastions for so small a number of defendants, four or five six-pounders very illy furnished and no artillery officers, and an attack expected in a few weeks, was what I never would have engaged to have undertaken. \* \* \* We began, I think, early in November and worked without intermission until February, at which time the Indians declaring an intention of attacking Colonel Brodhead's post of 400 then at Tuscarawas I joined them. In the meantime Lieutenant Duvernett returned from Post Vincent (Vincennes) and was appointed engineer; the work was then too far advanced for him to alter the form of it.”

The new fortification was named Fort Lernoult, in honor of the commandant. It was evacuated by the British on July 11, 1796, and was occupied the same day by a detachment of United States troops under Capt. Moses Porter. On August 16, 1812, it was surrendered by General Hull to the British army commanded by Gen. Isaac Brock. Detroit was reoccupied by the Americans on September 29, 1813, when the name of the fort was changed to

## FORT SHELBY

The new name was adopted in honor of Gen. Isaac Shelby, governor of Kentucky, who raised a large body of Kentucky riflemen and marched to the relief of Detroit. Although sixty-three years of age, he joined his forces with those of General Harrison and took an active part in the campaign that ended the war in the Northwest. The following description of the fort is taken from an article written by Mrs. Samuel Zug in September, 1872, and published in the “Michigan Historical Collections.”

“The fort, the center of which was near the intersection of Shelby and Fort streets, was an embankment said to have been thirty feet high, surrounded by a ditch and pickets. It was built by the British in 1778. The cantonment, or barracks, were built in 1815 and were west of the fort, and composed of four rows of one-story log buildings, about three hundred feet long, arranged in a quadrangle. The center was used for the parade ground. The west row stood directly on the Cass line. The cantonment and the fort extended from the line to, I think, a little east of Shelby Street, and from the south side of Fort Street to a little north of Lafayette Avenue.

“The leveling of the parapet was considered a great undertaking and it was two or three years before it was entirely accomplished. Much of the earth taken from the fort was used to fill up the bank of the river, which was in some parts very shallow, and no doubt occasioned the severe malarial fevers that

prevailed at certain seasons, and from which cause many useful lives were sacrificed.

“Well do I remember the consternation that was created by the cavin’ in of a portion of the earth and one poor man, ‘Old Kelly,’ being buried under it, and the haste with which his fellow workmen labored to extricate him. But when it was done life was extinct.”

The chimneys of the barracks remained standing for several years after the rest of the buildings was removed. Mrs. Zug tells of an agreement made with a boy of some thirteen or fourteen years old to tear down the chimneys for fifty cents each. The young contractor was a thrifty sort of boy, for he sublet the job to other boys, paying them twenty-five cents each. In this way a number of youngsters obtained their spending money for a good time on the fourth of July.

On May 27, 1826, the last of the garrison—two companies of infantry—which had been stationed at Fort Shelby left for Green Bay, Wisconsin, and the military reservation was given to the City of Detroit by Congress. At the Fort Street entrance of the postoffice building is a bronze tablet, known as the “Evacuation Day Tablet,” at the top of which is an outline design of the old fort, below which is the following inscription:

“This tablet designates the site of an English fort erected in 1778 by Major R. B. Lernoult as a defense against the Americans. It was subsequently called Fort Shelby, in honor of Gov. Isaac Shelby, of Kentucky, and was demolished in 1826.

“The evacuation of this fort by the British at 12 o’clock noon, July 11th, 1796, was the closing act of the war of Independence.

“On that day the American flag was for the first time raised over this soil, all of what was then known as the Western Territory becoming at that time part of the Federal Union.”

#### FORT CROGHAN, OR FORT NONSENSE

This defense was a small affair, hardly worth the appellation of fort, which was built near what is now the northeast corner of Park and High streets. It was erected in 1806 to frighten marauding Indians, who were continually killing cattle and stealing horses. Stanley Griswold, acting governor and commander, gave the order for its erection. The fort was circular, about forty feet in diameter, with dirt embankment ten feet high and two feet wide on top.

Robert E. Roberts, in his “Sketches of Detroit,” wrote that the fort was located near the intersection of Park and Duffield streets as now laid out, was seventy-five feet in diameter, with eight-foot parapet surrounded by a ditch ten feet deep. He said it was built by Capt. Moses Porter on the night of July 10, 1796, the day before the British evacuated Fort Lernoult and that traces of the fort remained until Park and Duffield streets were opened in the '50s.

#### FORT WAYNE

Fort Wayne, now a United States government military post, located three and a half miles from the city hall, at the bending point of the river, where the distance across is the shortest, was begun in 1843 and completed about 1851 at a cost of \$150,000. The site of this fort was the camping-ground for troops assembling for the Black Hawk war, also the Patriot war of 1838, also was a mobilization camp in 1861. General Meigs had charge of the construction of



FORT LERNOULT, SHOWING ITS LOCATION COMPARED TO THE PRESENT PLAN OF THE CITY





this fort, which was originally of the square-bastioned type with sand embankments and red cedar scarp with embrasures of oak. In 1864 the cedar scarp was replaced with brick, the wall being seven and a half feet thick and twenty-two feet high, with brick facing eighteen inches backed by six feet of concrete. The fort has, from time to time, undergone various structural changes, and has been occupied almost continuously by United States troops. The fort is now housing the First Battalion, Fifty-fourth Regiment. On October 19, 1921, one hundred men of the Fifty-fourth arrived from Camp Grant, near Rockford, Illinois, having marched the entire distance, more than four hundred miles, since the preceding September 29th. The Fifty-fourth assimilated the Thirty-seventh Regiment, which had been stationed at Fort Wayne just before them.

## CHAPTER XXXIV

### EARLY TROUBLES WITH INDIANS

ILL FEELING AMONG THE INDIAN TRIBES—ATTACK OF 1703—AFFAIR OF 1706—  
—FATHER DE L'HALLE KILLED—MIAMI DISAFFECTION—FOX WAR OF 1712—  
LOUVIGNY'S EXPEDITION—MINOR CONFLICTS—HURON AND OTTAWA QUARREL—  
PLOT OF 1747.

For many years before the founding of Detroit, the Indian tribes inhabiting the country had been engaged in war with each other. As early as 1649 the Iroquoian tribes drove all the others from the neighborhood of the Detroit River. From that time until the coming of Cadillac in 1701, the country around Detroit was uninhabited, except for a few straggling Indian villages, and these were usually of a temporary character. Cadillac's first undertaking, after the establishment of the post, was to cultivate the friendship of a number of tribes and induce them to settle near the fort. In this he was measureably successful, as narrated in an earlier chapter.

But the ill feeling engendered by the tribal wars had not entirely disappeared in 1701 and some of the tribes refused to settle near the post. These tribes, by circulating false rumors about the French, sought to alienate Cadillac's Indian allies, even going so far at times as to threaten attacks upon the fort. Several times during the French occupation the old tribal ill feeling cropped out in forays upon white settlers or their Indian allies, and rumors of general uprisings against the post were not infrequent. Most of these affairs were trivial, hardly being entitled to the dignity of being designated as wars.

#### ATTACK OF 1703

Before the post at Detroit was one year old, the conflict known as Queen Anne's War began between the French on one side and the English and Dutch on the other. Early in the summer of 1702, the English commandant at Albany (then called Orange) sent an invitation to the Indians at Detroit to visit that post and meet the representatives of the great English father. Several of the Ottawa chiefs accepted the invitation. They were made to believe the post at Detroit had been established chiefly for the purpose of enslaving them and their brethren. They returned to Detroit as a consequence with somewhat bitter feelings toward the French. It required the exercise of all Cadillac's good judgment and diplomacy, as well as a liberal distribution of presents, to restore the amicable relations that existed prior to their visit to Albany.

Even then a few of the malcontents were not fully reconciled. In the summer of 1703, while Cadillac was absent, some of these, knowing that many of their race were dissatisfied with the way affairs were being conducted while the chevalier was away, made an attack upon the post. A portion of the palisades, Cadillac's house, Ste. Anne's Church, the residence of the priest and another building were burned to the ground, but no lives were lost.

If the rebellious Indians hoped to bring about a general uprising, which would result in the destruction of the post, they were disappointed. Friendly Indians cooperated with the French in driving off the attacking party. The Indian allies then assisted in rebuilding the houses and gave to the commandant one hundred bushels of corn, as a partial reimbursement for the loss sustained by the fire.

## AFFAIR OF 1706

Before the Indian settlements at Detroit were a year old, the Ottawa grew jealous of the Miami, who seemed to be favored in many ways by the French. Quarrels between small parties of these tribes were of frequent occurrence. On June 6, 1706, a party of six Miami Indians were set upon by some of the Ottawa, and five of the six were killed. The one who escaped gave the alarm in the Miami village, the inhabitants of which hurried to the fort for protection. The immediate cause of this trouble lay in the fact that an Ottawa was bitten by a dog belonging to a Miami and, when he kicked the dog, was so severely beaten by the commandant, De Bourgmont, that he died. (Some writers say the dog belonged to De Bourgmont).

Father de L'Halle, the beloved Recollet priest, was walking in his garden at the time of the outbreak. He was captured by some of the Ottawa, probably with the intention of holding him as a hostage to protect themselves from punishment. One of the chiefs, however, ordered his release and the priest started for the fort. Just as he was about to pass through the gate he was shot to death by an Ottawa. His body was carried inside the fort, the gates of which were then closed, and De Bourgmont ordered the garrison of fifteen soldiers to fire upon the insurgents. In the melee which followed about thirty of the Ottawa were killed. Then they tried to induce the Huron braves to join them in making an assault upon the fort. Failing in this, they made an attack upon the Huron village, but were repulsed. For nearly a month the fort was kept practically in a state of siege, when the Ottawa grew tired of the warfare and sued for peace.

Cadillac wrote plainly to Governor Vaudreuil, urging the capture and execution of Le Pesant, the Ottawa chief at Michilimackinac, whom he accused of being the instigator, if not the actual leader, of the outbreak which resulted in the death of Father de L'Halle and the attack on the Huron village. Cadillac wrote:

"This outbreak is no sudden freak and if the savages have become so seriously disaffected as present appearances indicate, no doubt the cause may be imputed to my unjust detention at Quebec by your order, in consequence of a well connected series of charges preferred against me by the Company of the Colony. I am aware that at first you might have believed me guilty; but after I had been acquitted by the intendant I had the honor to request, with all possible earnestness, your permission to return to the post to which I was appointed by the king, not having been the choice of any governor, but you refused to grant my request."

Vaudreuil realized the gravity of the situation and followed Cadillac's suggestions so far as to order the principal Ottawa chiefs to appear before him at Quebec. He ordered several of these chiefs to report to Cadillac, who was given the power to deal with them as he saw fit. The result was that the chiefs La Blanc, Kinonge, Meaninan and Menekoumak, four of the leading chiefs of the Ottawa nation, returned to Detroit and promised to either surrender Le



Pesant, or execute him in his village and bring his head to Cadillac. After some delay he was surrendered to Cadillac, who, on account of his age and as a matter of policy, pardoned him.

#### MIAMI DISAFFECTION

The pardoning of Le Pesant was not approved by the Miami, who wanted him put to death. They accused Cadillac of acting in bad faith and went on the war-path. After killing three Frenchmen and destroying some property, they persuaded the Huron to raise a war-party to attack the French. This influenced the Iroquois to assemble a war-party for the same purpose.

Seeing himself menaced by a new danger, from an unexpected source, Cadillac wrote to the governor, asking for more troops and the means of strengthening the fort. He also succeeded in making a treaty of peace with the Miami. In the negotiation of this treaty, Cadillac made concessions to the Indians which they construed to mean that the commandant was afraid of them, and at the first opportunity they violated the provisions of the treaty. They were rudely awakened to the fact that it was not fear which caused Cadillac to make the concessions, for he now raised a large force and marched against them, compelling them to accept his terms of submission. This restored order at Detroit for a time.

#### FOX WAR OF 1712

Early in the year 1710, the British decided that the best way to end the war in America was the complete subjugation of New France and expeditions against the French strongholds were planned. That against Port Royal was successful, but the others ended in failure. The Indian, in forming alliances, likes to be on the winning side. After the French victories of 1710, a deputation of chiefs of the Five Nations visited Quebec to offer their services to Governor Vaudreuil. Their reception was so cool that it amounted almost to a rebuff, though they were given a number of presents before their final dismissal. Nettled at the treatment they had received, they went back to their people and advised them to ally themselves with the English.

In the spring of 1711, representatives of the band of Fox Indians living on the peninsula between Green Bay and Lake Michigan visited the Five Nations, with whom they formed an alliance. For several years these Indians had played no important part in history, but they now promised the English that they would surprise and capture the post at Detroit. They spent several months in perfecting their plans, and in enlisting the assistance of part of the Kickapoo and Mascouten tribes.

A large party of Fox and Kickapoo warriors, led by the chief Lamina, appeared at Detroit early in May, 1712, and encamped within a short distance of the fort, where they began to throw up earthworks. Dubuisson, the commandant, ordered them away, but Lamina informed him that they were the owners of the country and would encamp where they pleased. At that time there were only thirty soldiers in the garrison and the Huron and Ottawa men were still absent upon their winter hunt, so that Dubuisson was unable to drive them from the vicinity. The invaders killed animals and fowls without permission and even tried to pursue some of the inhabitants into the fort. An Indian named Joseph, who was acting as a spy for the French, informed Dubuisson that it was the intention of the red men to set fire to the fort. The garrison supply of wheat was

stored in a house belonging to a Mr. A. Mallette outside the stockade. Dubuisson had it brought into the fort and the house in which it had been stored, as well as Ste. Anne's Church and one or two other buildings, were pulled down or burned by the commandant, in order to prevent them from being occupied by the enemy.

On the 13th, De Vincennes arrived with a small reinforcement and about the same time the Indian allies returned from their hunting expedition. The tables were now turned. The beseigers became the beseiged. Parties were sent out to intercept any reinforcements. Saginaw, an Ottawa war chief, led one of these parties and cut off about one hundred and fifty Mascouten warriors who were trying to join Lamina. To escape the continued fire from the fort, the Fox warriors dug holes four or five feet deep, in which they concealed themselves, but Dubuisson ordered his men to erect scaffolds high enough to enable them to fire into the pits. The assailants were now in a precarious position. Closely held to their trenches, they were unable to obtain food or water, and every time one of them exposed himself he was greeted by a bullet. This forced them to abandon the pits under cover of darkness and seek a safer position.

One morning, after the seige had been going on for several days, a number of red blankets were seen waving as standards over the Fox camp. They were recognized as being of English manufacture and one of the chiefs boldly announced that the Fox Nation "acknowledged no father but the English." To this the head chief of the Pottawatomi replied:

"Wicked nations that you are, you hope to frighten us by all that red color which you exhibit in your village. Learn that if the earth is covered with blood it will be yours. You speak to us of the English. They are the cause of your destruction, because you have listened to their bad counsels. They are enemies of prayer and it is for that reason the Master of Life chastises them, as well as you. Don't you know as well as we do that the Father of all nations, who is at Montreal, sends continually parties of his young men to make war, and who take so many prisoners that they don't know what to do with them?"

At this point Dubuisson stopped the speaker, because he saw the Fox women were taking advantage of the parley to obtain water from the river, and hostilities were renewed. The enemy got possession of a house within easy gunshot of the fort and built a scaffold at one end of it, on which they placed some of their best marksmen. Dubuisson ordered a swivel gun to be hoisted to one of the scaffolds within the fort and the second shot from this piece demolished the Indians' platform and killed several of the "snipers." The next morning a white flag was displayed and Chief Peenoussa was conducted into the fort for a parley. He was told that three women held captive in the enemy's camp must be returned before any proposals for a truce would be entertained. About two hours later the women were brought to the fort. Peenoussa then asked permission to be allowed to retire from Detroit, but one of the Illinois chiefs informed him that as soon as he reentered his fort the firing would be resumed.

Failing to obtain a truce that would permit them to withdraw unharmed from the vicinity of the fort, the enemy then tried to set the fort on fire by shooting burning arrows inside the stockade. But the garrison had made provision for just such an emergency. Two large pirogues were kept filled with water and as fast as the flaming arrows set fire to the straw thatches the flames were extinguished with swabs fastened to long poles and saturated with water.

The night following the nineteenth day of the siege was dark and rainy and

the invaders took advantage of it to withdraw. They were pursued the next morning by M. de Vincennes with a few French soldiers and a large body of Indians and were found near what is now known as Windmill Point, where they had intrenched themselves. In his report of the affair, Dubuisson says cannon were sent up from the fort to dislodge the enemy and about one thousand of them were killed, while his own loss was trivial. Subsequent events indicate that these figures were based more upon imagination than upon fact. The survivors returned to Green Bay, where they erected a large stockade on an eminence called *Buttes des Morts* (Hills of the Dead) and for years their scouting parties infested all the trails leading to the posts, killing and plundering the traders. They were secretly encouraged by the Iroquois and their irregular warfare was so successful that some of the Siouan tribes formed an alliance with them. This would hardly have occurred had their chastisement been as severe as represented by Dubuisson.

By 1716 the situation had become so serious that Governor Vaudreuil determined to send an expedition against the Fox band at Green Bay. The expedition of 800 French and Indians was commanded by M. de Louvigny, who found the Indians in a position fortified by palisades. Artillery was brought into requisition and after a siege of a few days the occupants of the fort offered to capitulate, but the terms they offered were not satisfactory to Louvigny and the attack upon their stronghold was renewed. Finally they surrendered and placed in the hands of the French six sons of the six principal chiefs, to be taken to Montreal as a pledge that a deputation of Indians would be sent there the next spring to ratify a treaty of peace.

Notwithstanding this action, another Fox attack was made upon Detroit in 1717, but it was repulsed without loss or serious inconvenience to the garrison. Mrs. Sheldon Stewart, in her "History of Early Michigan," states:

"From this time until the close of 1724 there was a succession of conflicts with the savages. As soon as one 'bad affair' was settled, another would crop up and some real or fancied grievance would cause the hatchet to be dug up and war declared by some tribe upon the French at Detroit. The forts at this post and Michilimackinac were at a low ebb and poorly defended, and to the savages were subjects of contempt rather than terror. It is impossible to trace a connected chain of events at these points and only now and then can be found isolated incidents known to be authentic."

#### HURON AND OTTAWA QUARREL

For some time prior to 1738, jealousy among the Indian tribes about Detroit led to frequent petty quarrels, which sometimes threatened the safety of the post. In 1738 Desnoyelles, then commandant, summoned the chiefs to a council at his residence, hoping to allay the jealousies and restore harmony. At this council the head chief of the Huron Nation gave a belt to the Ottawa head chief, saying:

"We have made peace with the Flatheads of the West. We are now brothers and we invite you to regard them in the same way. We would be glad to have peace in the land. If you continue to send war parties against the Flatheads, some of our young men may go to warn them of their danger."

The Ottawa chief resented the advice of the Huron, accused him of interference in a matter which did not concern him or his tribe, and the Chippewa and Pottawatomi sided with the Ottawa. The result was that the council came

to an end without having accomplished its purpose, the ill feeling in fact being greater than it was before. Soon after the adjournment of the council, an Ottawa war party of about twenty young men started on a foray against one of the Flathead villages. As they were on the march they saw two Huron parties. Their intention was to surprise the Flathead village, but just as they were about ready to attack the cry of a raven was heard and the occupants of the village were immediately upon the alert.

The raven cry was distinctively a Huron signal and had two meanings, a warning of impending danger and a call of hunger. It appears, however, that the Flathead Indians understood it and when the Ottawa made their attack they found themselves between the Flathead warriors on one side and the Huron on the other. Nine of the Ottawa were slain and scalped and five more were captured. The others broke through the Huron line, killing one of the number, and returned to Detroit. When they arrived within hearing distance of their village they raised the cry of mourning instead of the scalp yell, which would have proclaimed a victory. They entered the village and told how they had been betrayed by Huron treachery. The entire tribe was in a great rage and threatened the destruction of the Huron village. The Huron chiefs denied that any of their young men had betrayed the Ottawa or had killed any of them.

"We do not shed the blood of our brothers," said one of them, to which an infuriated Ottawa replied: "You are dogs; you are capable of shedding the blood of your father as well as that of your brothers." One of the survivors of the war party approached the Huron chief and in a voice full of passion said: "We have been to war with the Flatheads many a time, but we never heard the cry of the raven before. I killed one of your men, Orontega, and when your warriors come home we shall see if he is missing. Then you will see that I am telling the truth."

Thoroughly alarmed at this manifestation of hostility, the Huron retired to their village and the women and children dared not go out to cultivate their crop of corn. The trouble was finally ended by the removal of the greater part of the Huron settlement to Bois Blanc Island, where they remained for several years. Desnoyelles, in the fall of 1738, issued an order to the inhabitants not to sell ammunition of any kind to the Indians.

#### PLOT OF 1747

In 1746 Mackinac (the Turtle), a powerful Chippewa chief, undertook to enlist all the northern tribes in a movement against the post of Detroit. Several of the tribes, including the northern Ottawa, joined in the alliance and a formidable body of Indians suddenly appeared before the fort. The garrison was called to arms and Pontiac, the Ottawa chief at Detroit, came to the aid of the French. Mackinac was driven off with a loss of several of his warriors.

Messengers were then sent to the Iroquois to ask their cooperation in another attack. In the spring of 1747 the Iroquois sent belts to the tribes living about Detroit and succeeded in winning several of them to a plot to murder the garrison and drive the French out of the country. The plan was for the massacre to take place on the night following a church holiday. As many of the Indians as possible were to get permission to sleep inside the palisades and during the night each was to arise at a given time and kill the people of the house in which he was lodged. An Indian woman had occasion to go into the loft of one of the houses and while there heard voices below. She listened intently and thus

gained a knowledge of the plot. As soon as the plotters left the house she went to the residence of Father Richardie to tell him of what she had learned. The priest happened to be absent, but she told a lay brother, who informed De Longueuil, the commandant.

De Longueuil called the Huron chiefs together, informed them that he knew of the plot, upbraided them for listening to the evil counsels of the Iroquois and threatened them with punishment. While engaged in the conspiracy, the Indians had paid little attention to the cultivation of their fields, with the result that only a small crop of corn had been raised. As the commandant controlled their winter supplies, they saw hunger staring them in the face. They therefore humbled themselves and promised allegiance for the future, whereupon they were pardoned by De Longueuil. The Huron Indians at Bois Blanc Island then moved up to Sandwich and settled around the mission house there, nearly opposite their old fort at Detroit.

The English were charged with being the instigators of this conspiracy, which was probably true, as the English traders were anxious to drive out the French, in order to gain control of the fur trade. This rivalry culminated in open war between the two nations, in which Detroit played an important part, and was finally surrendered to the English.



## CHAPTER XXXV

### FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR

EARLY EXPLORATIONS IN AMERICA—SPANISH CLAIMS—ENGLISH CLAIMS—FRENCH CLAIMS—LA SALLE—FRENCH AND ENGLISH RIVALRY—WASHINGTON'S MISSION—FRANCE DECLARES WAR—BRADDOCK'S DEFEAT—WILLIAM PITT'S POLICY—ENGLISH VICTORIES—DETROIT IN THE WAR—BELESTRE SURRENDERS—END OF THE WAR.

The causes of the conflict between France and England about the middle of the Eighteenth Century date back to the first explorations and settlements made in America by European nations. In the East the struggle took the name of the "French and Indian War", for the reason that the tribes of that section were supplied with arms and ammunition by the French and incited to attack the English settlers. The British retaliated by arming the Iroquois and their allied tribes and inducing them to make war on the French. Upon the restoration of peace, the western people referred to the conflict as the "Seven Years' War", but historians generally have adopted the eastern name.

#### SPANISH CLAIMS

In 1493, the year following the first voyage of Columbus to the New World, the pope granted to the king and queen of Spain "all countries inhabited by infidels". At that time the extent of the American Continent was unknown, but as the native inhabitants were regarded as infidels, this papal grant included, in a vague way, all the present State of Michigan. The grant of the pope was strengthened by the expedition of Hernando de Soto (1540-42) into the interior and the discovery of the Mississippi River, by which Spain laid claim to "all the lands bordering on the great river and the Gulf of Mexico".

#### ENGLISH CLAIMS

Henry VII, King of England, in 1496 granted to John Cabot and his sons a patent of discovery, possession and trade "to all lands they may discover and lay claim to in the name of the English Crown". During the next three years the Cabots explored the Atlantic Coast and made discoveries upon which England, at the beginning of the Sixteenth Century, claimed all the central portion of North America. The charter granted by the English Crown to the Plymouth Company in 1620 included "all the lands between the fortieth and forty-eighth parallels of north latitude from sea to sea". This grant included all of the present State of Michigan and the northern half of Ohio and Indiana

#### FRENCH CLAIMS

Through the voyages and discoveries of Jacques Cartier, France laid claim to the Valley of the St. Lawrence River and the country about the Great Lakes. Explorations were then pushed westward toward the headwaters of the Mississippi River and southward into the Ohio Valley. As early as 1611 Jesuit missionaries were among the Indians that dwelt along the shores of Lakes Huron,

Michigan and Superior. In 1634 Jean Nicollet passed still farther to the westward and reached the country around the Fox River, in what is now the State of Wisconsin.

Claude Allouez, one of the most zealous of the Jesuit fathers, held a council in 1665 with the chiefs and head men of the leading western tribes at the Chippewa Village, on the south shore of Lake Superior. At this council the Chippewa, Illini, Sac and Fox, Sioux and Pottawatomi were represented. Allouez promised them the protection of the great French father and thus opened the way for a profitable trade with the natives. Three years later, Fathers Jacques Marquette and Claude Dablon founded the mission of St. Mary's, the oldest white settlement within the present State of Michigan.

The accounts of the country carried back to Quebec by explorers and missionaries led the Canadian authorities to send Nicholas Perrot to arrange for a grand council with the western tribes. The council met at St. Mary's late in May, 1671, and before the close of that year Father Marquette founded the mission of Point St. Ignace, which for many years was regarded as the key to the great, unexplored West.

#### LA SALLE

In 1678, Louis XIV, then King of France, granted to Robert Cavelier, Sieur de la Salle, a patent to explore the western parts of New France, as the French possessions in America were then called. Jacques Marquette and Louis Joliet had discovered the Mississippi River at the mouth of the Wisconsin in June, 1673, and had descended it to the mouth of the Arkansas. La Salle's first expedition to the west was unsuccessful, though he finally explored the Mississippi to its mouth, where on April 9, 1682 he formally claimed all the country drained by the great river and its tributaries in the name of France and gave to this vast expanse of country the name of Louisiana, in honor of the French king.

#### FRENCH AND ENGLISH RIVALRY

Following the usage of nations of that period, by which title to land was claimed "by right of discovery", it is not surprising that in course of time a controversy arose as to which nation was really the rightful owner of the soil.

Spain's claim to the interior was never strongly asserted and it soon came to pass that most of the European nations acknowledged that France possessed the better title, based upon the discovery of La Salle. But the Plymouth Company's grant of 1620, extending from "sea to sea", overlapped a large section where the French were actually in possession. The Hudson's Bay Company was chartered by the British Government on May 2, 1670, and its trappers and traders went into all parts of the Great Lakes country in spite of the French claim to the territory. Under these conditions, France and England were soon aroused by the conflict of their respective claims.

Several times the English were accused of inciting the Indians to attack French posts. In 1749 Comte de la Gallissoniere, then governor of New France, sent Pierre de Celeron, Sieur de Blainville, with 300 soldiers from Montreal to take formal possession of the Ohio Valley. Celeron was supplied with leaden plates, each bearing an inscription setting forth the claims of France and a formal declaration that France thus took possession of the Ohio Valley. Celeron planted the plates at various points along the Ohio River, after which he went

to Detroit, arriving there on October 6, 1749. Gallissoniere also made special efforts to encourage immigration to the western posts by offering special privileges and supplies to the immigrants. Under these liberal offers a number of people came to Detroit during the next five years.

La Salle's claim to the region drained by the Mississippi River extended on the east to the summit of the Allegheny Mountains. On the other hand the English Colony of Virginia claimed territory northwest of the Ohio River. Shortly after Celeron's expedition, citizens of Virginia, hoping to offset the activities of the French, organized what was known as the Ohio Company, which was granted 500,000 acres of land northwest of the Ohio, on condition that 100 families should be settled thereon within seven years.

#### WASHINGTON'S MISSION

The first open rupture between the two nations did not come until 1753. The Ohio Company commenced a fort at the confluence of the Allegheny and Monongahela Rivers, where the City of Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, now stands, but it was captured by the French before it was completed and named Fort Du Quesne. In 1753 the French began building a line of forts from the Ohio River to the Great Lakes to prevent the English from extending their settlements west of the mountains. The territory upon which some of these forts were located was claimed by Virginia. Governor Dinwiddie, of that colony, after consultation with Governor Clinton, of New York, decided to send an embassy to the commandant of Fort Du Quesne, to demand an explanation for the armed invasion of English domain while the nations were supposed to be at peace.

Governor Dinwiddie selected George Washington, just turned twenty-one, to bear the remonstrance to Fort Du Quesne. One reason for Washington's being chosen was that he understood land surveying and was instructed not only to remonstrate against the French trespass, but also to survey and locate the lands of the Ohio Company.

Legardeur St. Pierre de Repentigny, the commandant at Fort Du Quesne, received Washington courteously, though the only explanation he would offer was that the Ohio Valley had been generally recognized as French territory since 1682. Nor would he permit Washington to make any surveys northwest of the Ohio River. Washington then visited Fort Le Boeuf, a few miles up the Allegheny River, where he was treated in the same manner. Rebuffed at every point, Washington moved over to Monongahela, where he began the construction of a fort, but was driven out by a detachment of French troops, commanded by Captain Contrecoeur, and returned to Virginia.

Fort Du Quesne was then made a strong post by the French, who in 1754 had a chain of sixty forts (mostly blockhouses) between Quebec and New Orleans. One of these was the post at Detroit.

#### FRANCE DECLARES WAR

In 1754 Washington, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel, was again sent into the disputed territory. This time he was supplied with a detachment of troops and was instructed "to complete the fort already commenced by the Ohio Company at the forks of the Ohio, and to kill, capture or drive out all who attempted to interfere with the English posts". This aroused the indignation of France and that nation formally declared war against Great Britain. New Brunswick

and Nova Scotia had fallen into the hands of the English at the time of King George's War, but the French inhabitants, called Acadians, were permitted to remain in possession of their homes. Immediately after the declaration of war by France, the English ordered the expulsion of the Acadians from the two provinces, except such as would take the oath of allegiance to the English crown. About seven thousand people were thus rendered homeless. A few of the exiles found refuge in the French settlements of Canada and about the Great Lakes, some of them coming to Detroit, but by far the greater portion of them went to the French settlements in Louisiana. This unhappy incident was made the subject of Longfellow's poem "Evangeline".

#### BRADDOCK'S DEFEAT

The first active campaign of the English was directed against Fort Du Quesne. Its geographical position at the head of the Ohio River made it a post of great strategic importance and the British authorities saw that whichever side held the fort would hold the key to the Ohio Valley. In the spring of 1755, General Braddock, recognized as one of the best English military commanders, was placed at the head of a large force of regulars and colonial militia for the capture of the fort. His army was the largest military force which, up to that time, had ever crossed the Alleghany Mountains.

Braddock moved forward with "pomp and circumstance", his colors flying, fifers and drummers playing, and his troops marching in solid column, according to the established customs of civilized warfare. Col. George Washington, who commanded the Virginia troops, and who was well acquainted with the Indian characteristics, fearing an ambush, tried to persuade General Braddock, but his suggestions were spurned.

"High times, high times," retorted the pompous commander, "when a young buckskin presumes to teach a British general how to fight."

Washington's fears were realized. While marching through a narrow valley a few miles east of the fort, where the Town of Braddock is now located, the Indians opened fire from all sides, accompanied by the most blood-curdling yells. At the first volley the British regulars, brave enough men, but unused to fighting with an unseen foe, were thrown into confusion and General Braddock was killed. Washington then took command, covered the retreat with his Virginians, and saved a remnant of the army. There is a tradition that General Braddock's body was buried in the road and the wagons and artillery driven over the grave to prevent its discovery and desecration by the savages.

#### WILLIAM PITT'S POLICY

During the year 1756 there was not much activity displayed by either side. General Montcalm arrived at Quebec in May and on August 14th captured Fort Ontario, at Oswego, New York, which was the most important military event of the year.

In 1757 the British Government adopted the vigorous policy, proposed by William Pitt, of sending a large force of troops and efficient commanders to America. General Amherst was sent against Ticonderoga, General Wolfe was ordered to lay siege to Quebec, and General Prideaux was directed to effect the capture of the fort at Niagara. Before the close of the year Louisburg, which had been captured by Gen. William Pepperell during King George's

War and returned to the French in 1748, was taken by Generals Wolfe and Amherst and the place was destroyed.

On October 15, 1758, an English force commanded by Major Grant made a determined attack on Fort Du Quesne, but the attempt failed, the assailants being driven off with considerable loss in killed and wounded. General Forbes was then sent with a larger force against the fort and on November 28th the French abandoned the post, after burning the stores and some of the buildings, and made their way to Detroit. The English rebuilt the fort and gave it the name of Fort Pitt.

The year 1759 saw the English arms victorious at almost every point. General Amherst took the two forts—Crown Point and Ticonderoga—on Lake Champlain. On July 24th General Prideaux captured or dispersed a reinforcement of 1,200 men sent from Detroit and other western posts to the relief of Fort Niagara and the next day the fort capitulated. The surrender of Niagara broke the French line of communication with the posts at Presque Isle, Venango and Le Boeuf. These forts were then blown up and the garrisons retired to Detroit. The influx of so many troops caused a scarcity of provisions. It is said that "meat without bread or corn was distributed to the soldiers and there was much distress". On September 13, 1759, Quebec, the stronghold of the French, capitulated. Montreal then was the only eastern post of consequence remaining in the hands of the French.

Early in the year 1760 three divisions of the British Army moved by different routes toward Montreal, sweeping everything before them, and on September 8, 1760, Marquis de Vaudreuil, governor of New France, surrendered Montreal and all its dependencies to the British Crown. Pitt's policy had proved successful.

#### DETROIT IN THE WAR

In 1751, before the actual beginning of the war, the garrison at Detroit was increased and in 1754 the fort was enlarged. During the next three years the stockade was extended, inclosing additional ground. Late in the year 1754 or early in 1755 the intendant of Canada sent Hugues Jacques Pean with 400 militia and large supplies to Detroit. It is believed that some of these troops later went east and took part in the defeat of General Braddock.

Soon after the declaration of war by France, the government of that country sent large quantities of military supplies to America, and some of these supplies were stored at Detroit. That the post was depended upon to a considerable extent during the war as a base of supplies is seen in a letter of Governor Vaudreuil, dated July 12, 1757, and addressed to M. de Moras, in which he says:

"I have already written several letters to the commandants and Illinois, to put themselves at that moment in a condition to transmit at the opening of navigation, for the victualling of the posts on the Beautiful River (the Ohio), the largest quantity of provisions of all descriptions that they could spare, by restricting the settlers to mere subsistence".

After the capture of Fort Du Quesne in the fall of 1758, General Forbes planned an attack on Detroit. Concerning this movement, one of the publications of the Quebec Literary and Historical Society states:

"Sieur de Bellestre, having heard that the enemy was marching, put himself at the head of the Hurons and other Indians to give an attack to the advance

guard, which he defeated. The Hurons gave signs enough of their bravery and made about twenty prisoners, but the Ottawas disgraced themselves in scalping all those the French had killed."

When the British began their active campaigns in the East, a considerable force was mobilized in Detroit. About the time General Prideaux began his operations against Fort Niagara, Belestre, the commandant at Detroit, was appealed to for provisions and reinforcements. Preparations to send the provisions were commenced, but were soon abandoned. A French officer, evidently not a friend of Belestre, said this was done "because the provisions were required for the private and invincible trade of some person in that very post itself". The same officer, criticizing Belestre for failing to send reinforcements to Niagara, said:

"In the spring of 1759 one hundred and fifty militia, almost all belonging to Fort Du Quesne and who had wintered at Detroit, were also detained under pretext of making a ditch around the stockade fort which tumbled down immediately."

In view of the fact that 1,200 troops from Detroit and other western posts were "captured or dispersed" by General Prideaux the day before Fort Niagara capitulated, it would seem that this criticism was unmerited. The only trouble was that they arrived too late to be of service in saving the fort from capture.

More French troops were sent to Detroit in June, 1760. They brought with them several pieces of artillery, provisions, ammunition and other supplies, and from that time Detroit became the great stronghold and depot of the West, though its career as such was of short duration.

On September 12, 1760, four days after the surrender of Canada to the English, Maj. Robert Rogers, known as "The Ranger", received orders from General Amherst "to advance with a sufficient force to take possession of Detroit, Michilimackinac and the entire Northwest, and administer the oath of allegiance to the inhabitants. Rogers left Montreal the next day with fifteen bateaux and 200 men of the Eightieth Regiment. At Presque Isle he was joined by a small detachment commanded by Captain Croghan and Captain Campbell's Royal Americans. From Presque Isle, Rogers and the main body continued the journey by water, while Captain Brewer with a small force marched overland along the south shore of Lake Erie with a drove of cattle.

#### BELESTRE SURRENDERS

Sieur de Belestre, who was an able commander, seemed to think the Canadian Government was secure and that he could defend Detroit against any force likely to be sent against him. It should be borne in mind that during the struggle most of the fighting had been done in the East, that most of the Indian tribes of the territory tributary to Detroit remained loyal allies of the French, and that none of the western posts had been molested. Being far out on the frontier, the soldiers and even their officers had remained in comparative ignorance of the progress of events.

When Major Rogers arrived at the mouth of the Detroit River, runners carried the news to Belestre that a large English force was approaching. A little later Major Rogers' courier arrived with a demand for the surrender of the post, at the same time imparting the information that Canada had been surrendered to the English. So certain was Belestre that the report of the courier

was false that he asked time to consider. It was at this time that, partly in derision and partly to inflame the Indians, the commandant erected a pole, upon the top of which was the effigy of a crow pecking at a man's head, indicative of the manner in which he would treat the English if they continued to advance.

Major Rogers then sent another messenger to the fort with a copy of the terms of capitulation and Vaudreuil's letter of instructions to the commandant at Detroit. In this letter the governor stated that the conditions of the capitulation were "particularly advantageous to Detroit; that all persons, even the soldiers, were to retain their property, real and personal, including their peltries; that the soldiers were to be allowed to delegate to some resident the care of their property, or to sell it to either French or English, or they might take with them their portable property. They were to lay down their arms and agree not to serve again during the war."

After despatching the second messenger, Rogers pushed on toward the fort. When within a half mile of the post, he received a message from Belestre surrendering the fort. At last the commandant was convinced that Canada had become an English possession. He called his garrison together and, with ill-concealed chagrin, gave notice that New France had been turned over to the English. Rogers had sent forward Lieutenants Leslie and McCormick, with thirty-six of the Royal Americans, to take possession. The French troops marched out upon the little plain in front of the main entrance to the fort and laid down their arms. The Canadian militia was disarmed and disbanded, many of them taking the oath of allegiance. With military honors the French flag, which had waved over the fort for fifty-nine years, was lowered, the British troops marched in and hoisted the colors of Great Britain as the symbol of the new ruling power. All this occurred on November 29, 1760, which day marks the beginning of English domination in what is now the State of Michigan, though the post at Michilimackinac was not turned over to the British until some time later.

Some seven hundred Indians, who only the day before had been allies of the French, were present when the troops laid down their arms. They cheered the British flag when it was raised and sarcastically referred to Major Rogers as the crow and Belestre as the victim. The French prisoners of war were sent to Philadelphia and from there to France. The French inhabitants were permitted to retain their farms and homes, on condition of their taking the oath of allegiance, which most of them did, though three years later some of them broke their oath and gave assistance to Pontiac in his uprising against the English.

At the time of the surrender, the garrison consisted of three officers and thirty-five privates. The condition of the fort and conditions generally were thus described by Captain Campbell in a letter written to Col. Henry Boquet three days after the English took possession:

"The inhabitants seem very happy at the change of government, but they are in want of everything. The fort is much better than we expected. It is one of the best stockades I have seen, but the commandant's house and what belongs to the King are in bad repair."

Major Rogers remained at Detroit until December 23, 1760, when he turned over the command to Captain Campbell and set out for Fort Pitt.

## END OF THE WAR

The French and Indian War was brought to an end by the preliminary Treaty of Fontainebleau, which was concluded on November 3, 1762, by which France ceded Canada to Great Britain, also all the posts about the Great Lakes and that part of Louisiana lying east of the Mississippi River, except the city and island of New Orleans. This preliminary treaty was ratified by the Treaty of Paris on February 10, 1763, and the two nations were again at peace, after a dispute that had kept their American colonies in a state of war and turmoil for almost a decade.



## CHAPTER XXXVI

### PONTIAC'S CONSPIRACY

DISSATISFACTION OF THE INDIANS UNDER ENGLISH RULE—SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON—PONTIAC—PONTIAC'S COUNCIL ON THE ECORSE—THE INDIANS RECONNOITRE—THE PLOT EXPOSED—EVENTS OF MAY 7, 1763—DEATH OF SIR ROBERT DAVERS AND CAPTAIN ROBINSON—CAPTURE OF OTHER POSTS—PONTIAC'S SECOND ATTEMPT—KILLING OF MRS. TURNBULL AND THE FISHER FAMILY—BEGINNING OF THE SIEGE—UNSUCCESSFUL NEGOTIATIONS—FATE OF THE CUYLER PARTY—RETURN OF THE "GLADWIN"—MCDUGALL'S ESCAPE—CAMPBELL'S DEATH—CONTINUATION OF SIEGE—ARRIVAL OF DALZELL'S COMMAND—BATTLE OF BLOODY RUN—TRUCE DECLARED—EVENTS OF 1764—CROGHAN'S TREATY—PONTIAC'S DEATH.

In order to understand the motives of Pontiac in organizing his conspiracy against the British posts in the Ohio Valley and about the Great Lakes in 1763, it is necessary to notice briefly the conditions which preceded it. By the treaty which ended the French and Indian War, Canada surrendered the posts in the region of the Great Lakes and that part of Louisiana lying east of the Mississippi River to England. In fact, some of the posts were occupied by the English before the conclusion of the treaty.

Through the transfer of the western posts from the French to the English, the Indians soon became acquainted with the different policies of the two nations, as described in an earlier chapter of this history. Instead of pursuing the French policy of liberality and conciliation, the English treated the natives with contempt, paid them less for their furs than the French had been accustomed to pay, and often took possession of the best hunting grounds without the formality of purchase or treaty. The tribes most affected by this policy, and whose grievances were consequently the greatest, were the Delaware (also known as Lenni Lenape, meaning original men), Ottawa and some of the Iroquoian tribes in New York.

In the Delaware tribe there arose a prophet about the time the English took possession of the country. He spent days at a time in seclusion, during which periods he claimed to hold communion with the Great Spirit, or the Master of Life. By his interpretations of his alleged visions, the burden of which was that the Master of Life wished the red men to join in an uprising among the whites, he excited many of the his people almost to madness. Under the influence of his teachings, an attempt was made in 1761 to destroy some of the frontier posts, but it ended in failure. During the year 1762 several outbreaks occurred, but there was no concerted action. In numerous instances, the Indians were abetted and encouraged by the coureurs de bois, who remained loyal to French customs and traditions and maintained intimate relations with the natives, many of them having married Indian women.

## SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON

In June, 1761, a plot was formed by the Seneca and Huron Indians to massacre the garrison at Detroit post, but the attempt was frustrated by the prompt action of the white men. In view of the general discontent among the Indians, and their frequent depredations, Sir William Johnson, superintendent of the tribes of the Northwest, decided to hold a council. On July 5, 1761, accompanied by his son, John Johnson, a nephew, Lieut. Guy Johnson, Capt. Andrew Montour and a few friendly Mohawk and Oneida Indians, he left Fort Johnson (now Johnstown, New York) for Detroit. At Niagara the party was joined by Maj. Henry Gladwin, with Gage's Light Infantry.

Gladwin left for Detroit on the 12th of August and was followed a week later by Sir William, who had been reinforced by a detachment of the Royal Americans, under Ensigns Holmes and Slosser, and a company of British regulars, commanded by Lieutenant Ogden. He arrived at Detroit on the afternoon of September 3, 1761 and was lodged in the house formerly occupied by Commandant Belestre. The next day Colonel Du Quesne and the officers of the fort dined with him and preparations for the council were discussed. Meantime news of the superintendent's arrival had spread among the Indians and a large number had gathered outside. In the afternoon Sir William began the distribution of presents he had brought for that purpose.

Charles Moore, in his introduction to "The Gladwin Papers," Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collection, states that Sir William and Major Gladwin reached Detroit on August 17th.

A preliminary council was held on Wednesday, September 9, 1761. So many Indians were present that no room inside the stockade was large enough to accommodate them and seats were arranged outside of the council house. A cannon was fired at 10 A. M. to announce the opening of the council, and the session lasted until 5 P. M. Another council was held on the 11th and the final one was held on Sunday, the 13th. At all of these meetings Pontiac was present and was deeply interested in the proceedings. Sir William was lavish with his promises, as well as his presents, and had all of these abundant promises been kept, there is reason to believe that Pontiac might have become loyal to the British cause, although this statement has been disputed by eminent authorities.

## PONTIAC

Of Pontiac himself much has been written and the story of his career is yet unknown in its finest detail. He was an outstanding figure in the Indian history of the United States and intellectually was much above the ordinary type of his race. Pontiac was the principal chief of the Ottawa and the virtual leader of a confederacy of Ottawa, Ojibway and Pottawatomi, his influence reaching over the nations of the Illinois region. According to the United States Bureau of Ethnology, Pontiac was born on the Maumee River, not far from the mouth of Auglaize, about 1720, and was therefore about forty years of age when he began planning his campaign against the English. It is said that his mother was a Chippewa woman, although another authority claims her to have been an Ottawa, and another an Ojibway. In addition to his chieftainship, Pontiac was a sort of "medicine man," having been the high priest of the secret order of the Midi. Wimer, in his "Events in Indian History," says:



OLD PONTIAC TREE  
On site of Michigan Stove Works



OLD PONTIAC TREE AT MICHIGAN STOVE WORKS IN 1881



"Pontiac was a man of imposing presence and as a chief was entitled to rank with Tecumseh and Red Jacket \* \* \* He commanded the Indians (mostly Ottawa) who defended Detroit against the northern tribes and led the Ottawa and Chippewa warriors at the defeat of General Braddock in 1755."

Having fought against the British in the French and Indian War, it was natural that Pontiac should look with disapproval upon the British occupation of the country. On November 7, 1760, when Maj. Robert Rogers was on his way from Montreal to take possession of the posts at Detroit and Michilimackinac, under orders from General Amherst, he encamped at the mouth of the Cuyahoga, where the City of Cleveland is now situated. Here he was met by a party of Indians led by Pontiac, who demanded to know why Rogers and his men came into the country. Major Rogers was something of a diplomat. He explained to the irate chief that Canada had been surrendered by the French and that the English were really the true friends of the Indian. A formal council was then held, the pipe of peace was handed round and harmony was apparently established. Cyrus Thomas, of the United States Bureau of Ethnology, says:

"Pontiac was disposed to be friendly to the English, who he hoped would recognize his power and place him at the head of a great Indian confederacy, but, failing to receive the recognition he considered his due, and being deceived by the rumor that the French were preparing to regain the territory they had surrendered, formed his plan for a general uprising."

That Pontiac was proud, vindictive, belligerent and very sensitive there is no doubt, nor is there any question but that the principal motive behind his days of attack upon the Detroit post was an intense desire for revenge, a burning hatred which could be satisfied only with the blood of his enemy.

#### PONTIAC'S COUNCIL ON THE ECORSE

Before a year had passed after Sir William Johnson's visit to the Detroit post, Pontiac saw that the promises to his race were not being kept. He saw, too, that the aspirations of the English were forcing the Indian from his hunting grounds. Alone in his lodge, or standing solitary on the shore of Peche Island, where he had his summer home, he brooded over these matters and matured his plan for uniting all the western tribes for the destruction of the English posts. During the fall of 1762 he traveled many miles through the forests or in his canoe, visiting the various tribes, and succeeded in enlisting most of those northwest of the Ohio River in his scheme. The Pottawatomi chief, Ninivois, was a weak character and fell easy prey to Pontiac's seductive oratory, but the Huron presented a more complex problem to the wily schemer. The Huron were of two branches, which were lead by Takay and Teata, the former a match for Pontiac in character, but the latter a shrewd, discerning man who was not persuaded to Pontiac's way of thinking. Consequently, the Ottawa chief had to be content with the aid of only half of the Huron band, at under Takay.

On the 15th of the moon, as the Indian judged time, or April 27, 1763, Pontiac assembled his council of Ottawa, Pottawatomi and Huron chieftains on the Ecorse River, ten miles southwest of the fort. Pontiac, as "high priest and keeper of the faith," announced the will of the Great Spirit, as revealed to the Delaware prophet and himself, and urged his hearers to unite for the extermination or expulsion of the white invaders and the recovery of their

hunting grounds. The assembled chiefs listened attentively and gave their unanimous approval. Plans for the general uprising were then completed. All the posts were to be attacked simultaneously on May 7, 1763 (at a certain change of the moon). Each tribe was to attack the nearest post and "dispose" of the garrison, after which all were to join in the reduction of the older and stronger posts. Pontiac was to lead the attack on Detroit in person.

Messengers "with reddened tomahawks and wampum war belts" were then sent to the tribes north of the Great Lakes and in the Mississippi Valley to enlist their cooperation. A few of the northern tribes joined the confederacy, but those of the Mississippi Valley, especially around Kaskaskia and Fort Chartres, where the French were still in control, were satisfied with conditions as they were and declined the invitation.

#### THE INDIANS RECONNOITRE

Pontiac's plan was to visit the fort at Detroit with about sixty of his leading chiefs and warriors on the appointed day, under the pretext of holding a council. Each Indian was to carry his weapons concealed under his blanket and at a given signal all were to begin their bloody work.

On Sunday afternoon, May 1, 1763, Pontiac and forty of his men presented themselves at the main gate of the fort. It was nothing unusual for the chief to visit the post, but the large number of braves with him on this occasion excited some suspicion and admission was denied them. The Indians were momentarily puzzled at this reception, but asked that Pierre La Butte, interpreter and respected merchant of Detroit, should be sent to them. To him they explained that they had come merely to dance the peace-pipe dance for the commandant and that no harm was intended. La Butte then secured permission for a portion of the band to be admitted within the stockade. They performed their dance outside the house of Capt. Donald Campbell, while others, acting under orders from Pontiac, wandered around the fort, apparently indifferent to their surroundings, yet carefully noting the strength of the garrison, the position of the swivel guns and other details. This done, and bread, tobacco and beer received from the officers, the Indians departed to their village on the other side of the river to the northeast, where they had encamped two days before. (This village stood where the town of Walkerville, Ontario, is now situated).

Having returned to his village with the information he desired concerning the fort, Pontiac again dispatched messengers to the Huron and Pottawatomi, telling them of the successful visit to the garrison at Detroit and summoning them to a grand council to be held at the Pottawatomi village, located where Springwells is now situated. This council was held at noon on May 5th and after Pontiac's harangue to his auditors they were properly aroused for their plan of destruction and killing. No women were allowed within hearing distance of this meeting, for the red man did not trust the feminine tongue in matters of great secrecy. Pontiac and his associate chiefs, among whom were Mahigam, the Wolf; Wabanamy, the White Sturgeon; Kittacoinsi, he that climbs; Agouchiois, a friend of the French, of the Ottawa; and Gayashque, Wasson, Macataywasson, Pashquior, Chippewa chiefs (Lanman's History of Michigan), perfected a plan whereby Pontiac, with some sixty chosen warriors should repair to the fort on the appointed day and request a grand council with the commandant. They were to carry their sawed-off guns and knives underneath

their blankets. Following them inside the stockade the remainder of the band should drift in, prepared in the same manner, while the Huron and Pottawatomi were to take their places around the fort and along the river to cut down any that might escape. They were then to await the signal, a war cry from Pontiac, or as another story gives it, the presentation in reversed manner of the belt of wampum to the commandant.

But Pontiac's carefully laid plans were a dismal failure. Despite the Indians' precaution, Major Gladwin learned of the plot and with ease defeated it. This much is historically correct, but of the manner in which Gladwin learned of the plan there are many stories.

#### THE PLOT EXPOSED

It is said that as early as March, 1763, Ensign Holmes, then commandant at Fort Miami, advised Gladwin that a conspiracy to capture the fort at Detroit was on foot and cautioned him to be on his guard. Gladwin's experience while serving with Braddock, at Ticonderoga and Niagara, had taught him something of Indian methods of warfare and he thought Holmes' warning of little consequence, but forwarded an account of it to General Amherst.

Carver, in his account of his travels through the Northwest, gives the credit of the exposure to a Chippewa girl called Catherine, whom he described as "an Indian maiden of great beauty." According to this story, some sort of attachment had grown up between the Indian girl and the dashing commandant, Gladwin. The day before the attack was to be made, she visited Major Gladwin's quarters for the purpose of giving him a pair of moccasins she had made, and while there gave him the details of the plot. Although this story has been generally discredited, it is said that Pontiac sent four Indians to Catherine's wigwam with instructions to take her before Major Gladwin and demand to know her connection with the expose. The Indians could learn nothing in this manner, whereupon Pontiac tried to make the girl confess and gave her a severe beating, but in vain. "The Journal of Pontiac's Conspiracy," translated from the original French journal of the time, supposed to have been written by Robert Navarre, the royal notary, and published by Clarence M. Burton, has the following:

"In the meantime, toward 4 o'clock in the afternoon there arrived in the village a false rumor that it was a Chippewa woman who had betrayed them (this was after the failure of Pontiac's plan) and that she was concealed in the Pottawattamy village. At this report Pontiac ordered four Indians to go look for her and bring her to him, and these, taking delight naturally in lawlessness, were not so slow to do what their chief told them. They crossed the river directly in front of the village, and passed by the Fort quite naked but for breechclouts, with knives in their hands. They were yelling as they went along that their plan had failed, which caused the French along the shore who knew nothing about the plot of the Indians, to think they had some evil designs either upon them or upon the English. They arrived at the Pottawattamy village and actually found the woman who had not even thought of them. Nevertheless, they took her and made her walk ahead of them, all the while uttering yells of joy as if they had a victim upon whom they were going to vent their cruelty. They took her into the Fort and before the Commandant as if to confront her with him, and demand if she was not the one who had disclosed to him their plans. They got no more satisfaction than as if they had

kept quiet; the Commandant ordered bread and beer for them and for her, and then they took her to their chief in their village."

In this incident, as it was carried from mouth to mouth, the story of the "beautiful" Indian maiden probably originated. Parkman also gives credence to the tradition founded upon this incident.

Another story states that Gladwin was warned by William Tucker, a soldier at the fort, who had been stolen by Indians when a small child, and upon arriving at manhood, was adopted into the tribe. On the same day that "Catherine" informed Gladwin of the conspiracy, Tucker learned from his Indian "sister" all the particulars of Pontiac's plan to surprise the garrison and immediately communicated his information to the commandant.

Silas Farmer's History of Detroit (p. 235) states:

"While visiting the Ottawa village, the wife of M. St. Aubin noticed several of the Indians filing off their guns. On her return to the fort she mentioned this fact to the blacksmith, who confirmed her fears by telling her that several Indians had recently been trying to borrow saws and files for purposes they did not seem willing to explain. The attention of Gladwin was at once called to these facts, but he did not seem to think them indications of evil. In the afternoon of the next day, however, an Ottawa Indian, named Mohigan, came to the fort, sought an interview with the commander and exposed the plot."

"The Journal of Pontiac's Conspiracy" gives in detail this story of Mohigan, or Mahiganne, and credits this alone as the source of Gladwin's information.

The "Gladwin MSS." mentions the fact that M. Gouin told the English that his wife had seen the Indians sawing off their gun barrels.

There seems to be a grain of truth in the story that Angelique Cuillerier dit Beaubien, whose father and brother were friends of Pontiac, told the story of the plot to her lover, James Sterling, who in turn informed Gladwin. On August 29, 1773, Maj. Henry Bassett desired to employ James Sterling as interpreter and sent to Governor Haldimand a request for the appointment, in which he stated:

"Should your Excellency allow me an interpreter here, I beg to recommend Mr. James Sterling, who is the first merchant at this place and a gentleman of good character. During the war, through a Lady that he then courted, from whom he had the best information, he was in part a means to save the garrison. This gentleman is now married to that Lady and is connected with the best part of this settlement and has more to say with them than any one here."

This refers to Angelique Cuillerier, who afterwards married James Sterling. Angelique was the belle of the post, a beautiful French girl sought by all the officers of the fort. Sir William Johnson, when he visited Detroit, was much impressed with her charms, despite the difference in their ages. In fact, from his own writings, after a delightful evening spent in her company at the dance given in his honor, one understands that the principal memory he carried away with him was of the clever Angelique. Antoine Cuillerier, her father, held the confidence of Pontiac, and was considered by the latter as the commandant of Detroit succeeding Belestre, so it is reasonable to suppose that she overheard many things concerning the conspiracy. She was a favorite with the English, in fact, the marriage ceremony which united her and James Sterling was performed by the commandant instead of the priest, which is significant. Maj. Robert Rogers refers to her in his diary and many other evidences exist which prove it reasonable that she would have been quick to reveal any plot to the



British. This story is used as the basis of the historical novel "The Heroine of the Strait" by Mary Catherine Crowley (Little, Brown and Company, 1902).

Rutherford, in his narrative, says that while at the house of Quilleim (Cuillerier), during his captivity, he had a conversation with Miss Quilleim (Angelique) in which she greatly lamented the state of the English and the dreadful acts of the Indians.

Still another version is given in a letter of Ensign J. Price to Col. Henry Boquet, Fort Pitt, June 26, 1763, in which it is stated:

"That on or before the 1st of May, 1,500 Indians arrived at Detroit and wanted to hold a Treaty in the Fort, but Major Gladwin, being told by Monsieur Bauby (Baby) that if they were admitted, they would fall upon and destroy every man in it, ordered the garrison under arms, which the chiefs of the Indians seeing, asked if he was afraid."

It is probable that of the many stories written as to the source of Gladwin's knowledge of the plot many of them are mere fiction. On the other hand, many of them may be true, as undoubtedly Gladwin learned of Pontiac's designs from different sources. The grand council at the Pottawatomi village was held on the 5th and the assault was planned for the 7th, so that in the course of the intervening two days it is highly probable that the news reached the commandant from different persons. However that may be, Gladwin was prepared when the fateful 7th of May arrived. His garrison was comprised of eight officers, 120 regular soldiers and twenty other men capable of bearing arms. The armament consisted of one two-pounder, two six-pounders and three mortars.

#### EVENTS OF MAY 7, 1763

Early on the eventful morning of May 7, 1763, the cannon were loaded and put in readiness for instant action. By 9 o'clock the entire force was under arms, the traders had closed their stores and a hush of expectancy prevailed throughout the fort. Near 10 o'clock Pontiac and sixty of his warriors, in full regalia, appeared before the main gate of the fort and asked for a council with the commandant. They were admitted to the house of Captain Campbell, second in command, where Major Gladwin and his officers received them. Others of the officers were busily engaged in assembling the soldiers of the garrison on the parade-ground, which was done in such a manner as not to arouse, at first, the suspicion of the chiefs. Pontiac, having seen his men arranged according to his plan and believing that sufficient time had been given for others of his tribe to filter through the gate, prepared for the signal, stepped outside with the intention of raising the war-cry as agreed upon. To his consternation he perceived the troopers lined up on the parade-ground, fully armed and prepared for an attack. He realized then that his plot was known and that to give the signal meant only that he and his warriors would be killed. He then re-entered the council chamber, his return signifying to his own men that the game was up. Shortly afterward he and his braves stalked out of the house, through the gate, and back to the village whence they came. Chagrin and disappointment aroused Pontiac to a rage and he vowed hideous punishment for the one who had betrayed him. However, history does not record that he ever learned the source of Gladwin's knowledge of his nefarious scheme.

Historians have painted the scene of Pontiac's visit to the fort on this spring morning in varied colors, but the basis of the foregoing is the simple narrative

given in the "Journal of Pontiac's Conspiracy," which was written at the time, presumably by Navarre, and is an unimaginative, cold record of the actual happenings.

#### CAPTURE OF OTHER POSTS

At this time, or later, all the English posts in the Great Lakes region and the Ohio Valley were attacked as planned in Pontiac's council of the 5th of May. Niagara, Sandusky, Presque Ile (now Erie, Pa.), Miami, Michilimackinac, St. Joseph, Ouiatenon (near Lafayette, Ind.), and a few minor stations all fell a prey to the savages. Some of these posts held out for several weeks, but Fort Pitt (now Pittsburg, Pa.) and Detroit were the only ones to resist all attacks of the conspirators.

Fort Sandusky was taken May 16th and most of the garrison put to death. The commander, Ensign Christopher Pully, was adopted by the Indians, became very popular with them and later escaped. The news reached the post at Detroit on the 26th and answered the question as to why a band of Indians had been flying a red flag from their canoes on the other shore of the river. On the evening of June 4th it was learned that demonstrations of returning Indians on the other side of the river were due to rejoicing over the capture of Fort Miami on May 27th. At that time Fort Miami had been surprised and taken; Ensign Robert Holmes, in command, was murdered and some of the garrison taken prisoners. Jacques Godfroy and Miny Chesne were accused of having taken part in its capture. Fort St. Joseph was taken by Washee, chief of the Pottawatomi, on May 25th. Ensign Francis Schlosser was in command at the time and was brought to Detroit, a prisoner. Ten of the garrison were killed and three made prisoners. On June 18th Father Du Jaunay arrived with seven Ottawas from Michilimackinac and eight Chippewas under Kinonchamek, son of Pontiac. He brought a letter from Captain Etherington, giving an account of the capture of Michilimackinac and asking for assistance, but finding this post in a state of siege he returned to his own post and ransomed many officers and traders. Kinonchamek while here held council with his noted father, but disapproved of his father's methods of warfare, chiefly the fact that he ate his victims, and later departed for his own territory. The news of the capture of Presque Ile was confirmed on June 29th, the first rumors having arrived on the 20th. The fort at that place was a large blockhouse commanded by Ensign Christie. According to his account, on June 20th, about 200 Indians from the neighborhood of Detroit attacked it. After resisting for three days, he surrendered upon a promise that they would be allowed to withdraw to the nearest post. They were immediately taken prisoner and sent to the Huron village near Detroit, where Christie and several other prisoners were handed over to the English on July 9th. Fort le Boeuf, or Beef River Fort, was a poorly constructed blockhouse on Le Boeuf River and, being inland, was not ranked or fortified as a first-class post. At the time of the Indian uprisings, it was occupied by Ensign George Price, two corporals and eleven privates. On June 11th they were attacked, but managed to hold out for a day, then, under cover of darkness, escaped in the direction of Venango. Upon reaching Venango they found it in ruins, and at last reached Fort Pitt.

#### DEATH OF SIR ROBERT DAVERS AND ROBINSON

On the day just preceding Pontiac's failure at the post, or possibly on the very day, occurred the murder of Sir Robert Davers and Captain Robinson

(also spelled Robson or Robertson) while these men with their party, were taking soundings at the head of the St. Clair River. Sir Robert Davers, a native Englishman born in Suffolk, was spending the winter of 1762-3 in Detroit, intending to make a tour of the lakes in the spring. Robinson, a ship's officer, made up a party in the spring, consisting of Sir Robert Davers, John Rutherford (a boy of seventeen), a Pawnee slave, two sailors and six soldiers. They departed from Detroit May 2d, before they had knowledge of any Indian troubles, with the intention to sound the lake and the St. Clair River. The French settlers along the river warned them that the Indians were out for trouble and that their lives were in danger, but they paid little heed, as everything had been all right when they left. At length, a band of Indians along the shore tried to persuade them to land by exhibiting meat and other supplies, but the Englishmen refused, whereupon the Indians took off in pursuit. The party was overtaken on the 6th, when Robinson and Davers were killed and Rutherford made captive.

Young Rutherford, a native Englishman of good family, had been sent to Detroit in charge of military supplies. After his capture, having been saved from death by his age, he was adopted into the family of a Chippewa chief, Perwash. Later he made his escape with the assistance of Boileau, a Frenchman, and returned to the fort. Ten days later he took charge of a vessel sailing to Niagara, which was disabled en route, but the crew and Rutherford eventually reached Niagara, whence he returned to New York and after a time enlisted in the Forty-second, or Black Watch, in which he served thirty years. He died January 12, 1830, at the age of eighty-four years.

#### PONTIAC'S SECOND ATTEMPT

About 1 o'clock on Sunday afternoon, May 8th, Pontiac, accompanied by Mackatepelicite, Breton and Chavinon, all Ottawa chieftains, again came to the fort, bringing with them a calumet of peace. The commandant granted them an audience and listened to their eloquent protestations of peaceful intentions, also accepted a pipe of peace from their hands. Firmly believing that he had deceived the British leader, Pontiac and his fellows withdrew, with the intention to come again upon the morrow with a larger force and complete that which had resulted in such failure on the preceding Saturday. Further to play his part of a "peaceful gentleman," Pontiac had the young men of the tribes play lacrosse in sight of the fort, in which game some of the French youths also participated. It was the latter's yells while returning that evening which the British mistook for the Indian war cry. Pontiac related to his Huron and Pottawatomi allies his plan for the following day, when he was to smoke the pipe of peace with the English. However, he was destined again to see his best laid plans go astray.

Navarre, in his "Journal," stated that at this time the garrison consisted of about one hundred and thirty troops, including eight officers, and some forty men such as traders and their employes. The "Gentleman's Magazine" of 1763 (p. 455) states "At the beginning of this affair there were not above eighty persons in the whole that carried arms in the fort and about thirty-four on board two vessels." The two vessels, or sloops, were the Beaver and the Gladwin (one account mentions the Huron instead of the Gladwin). The two boats were anchored in the river in front of the fort and were of material assistance during the subsequent siege of the post.

At 11 o'clock on the morning of the 9th, Pontiac again came to the fort with fifty-six canoes bearing his followers, but was refused admittance. He insisted that he had come only to smoke the pipe of peace, as the commandant had promised, whereupon he was told that he could enter—on condition, though, that he bring with him only twelve or fifteen of his tribe. He replied that his people wished to smell the smoke of the peace pipe and that if they could not accompany him he would not enter either. He then returned to his village in a thoroughly bad humor and, seizing his tomahawk, began the war song. Being deprived of the opportunity to destroy those within the fort, he resolved to slay all those without the fort, consequently divided his band into several groups, each to attack at different places. In order to harass the fort better he moved his camp across the river to the place of Jean Baptiste Meloche, who lived near the river on the site of the present Michigan Stove Works. Meloche probably held Pontiac's confidence more than any other Frenchman, except possibly Antoine Cuillerier.

The Indians first went to the house of an old English woman, Mrs. Turnbull, who lived upon a distant part of the common with her two sons, where she peacefully raised her cattle and cultivated the few acres which had been granted to her by Major Gladwin. She and her sons were massacred and their home burned. Lanman states in his history of Michigan that the Indians ate her body.

Another party went up the river to the *Ile aux Cochons* (Belle Isle), where lived James Fisher, a former sergeant of the English Army, with his wife and two children, and some accounts say four soldiers and a servant. They were surprised and murdered, with the exception of the two children, who were carried as captives to the Indian camp. The story is that some Frenchmen obtained permission to go to the island and bury the bodies, and Fisher and his wife were buried in the same grave. On the following day the Frenchmen crossed again and passing Fisher's grave saw his hand protruding. They buried it and in a few days found it sticking out again. This time they told the priest, Fr. Simple Bocquet, who returned with them to the island and reinterred the hand. The Fisher children were later given over to a Mr. Peltier, who took them to their uncle in the fort, where one of them, Marie, died at the age of fifteen months.

According to records in the register's office at Detroit (Vol. A, p. 91) Alexis Cuillerier, son of Antoine (and brother of the famous Angelique), shortly after the war was over, was accused by one Jean Myer of having drowned one of the Fisher children. He was tried by a military tribunal at Detroit, and the commandant expelled him from the village and banished him from the community. Later developments ended in a new investigation which cleared Cuillerier of the crime and on June 4, 1769, Capt. George Turnbull had him recalled. This was not done until all the facts had been laid before General Gage and his consent had been obtained.

Francois Goslin, a young Frenchman, was working upon the island when the Indians killed the Fisher family. Believing himself to be in danger, he fled, but was caught by the Indians, who told him to sit quietly in a canoe at the water's edge and he would not be harmed. However, Goslin held no faith in the Indians' word, and after a time attempted to flee into the interior of the island. The Indians mistook him for an Englishman and killed him, but

immediately afterwards recognized him as a Frenchman, whereupon they transported his body to the French people, who buried him in the cemetery.

#### BEGINNING OF THE SIEGE

Realizing the gravity of the situation and that his forces were destined for a prolonged siege by the Indians, Gladwin immediately took precautions to place himself and garrison in readiness for whatever might happen. Of the four gates to the fort, three were closed permanently after the cattle outside had been driven in, and only the gate on the southwest, facing the river and guarded by the two sloops, was left open. From the 10th of May for several days the garrison was busy in making itself ready to receive the redskins. Outside of the stockade were several barns and shacks, unoccupied, but which afforded shelter for the Indians, who fired into the fort and into the two ships from these points. To drive them from this position, the commandant ordered iron spikes tied with wire and heated redhot. This charge was then fired from the three-pounder into the buildings, which were soon in flames. The Indians then retreated, but had inflicted some damage to the fort and ships and had caused some casualties. Neither did they retreat unscathed, as the English had answered with a hot fire from the fort and from the two ships.

Following the withdrawal of the Indians there was a temporary cessation of hostilities, during which, according to Avery's "History of the United States," Pontiac called a council to be held at the home of Antoine Cuillerier. This council was attended by Ottawa, Chippewa, Huron and Pottawatomi chiefs and a few French traders.

#### UNSUCCESSFUL NEGOTIATIONS

When the fire of the Indians had nearly ceased on Tuesday the 10th, Gladwin ordered M. La Butte, the interpreter, to hold a parley with the tribesmen. He was accompanied by M. Chapoton and Jacques Godfroy. (Chapoton was probably Jean Baptiste Chapoton, son of Dr. Jean Chapoton, a captain of militia and a man of standing in the town. Jacques Godfroy was also an officer of the militia and a trader, but an open ally of the Indians against the British. He aided in the reduction of Fort Miami. As he had taken the oath of allegiance to the British crown, he was arrested and sentenced to be hanged for treason, but Bradstreet pardoned him on condition that he would conduct Captain Morris safely to and from the Illinois country. After returning to Detroit he became one of the wealthiest French colonists.)

After the three had talked with the Indians for a time, La Butte returned to the fort, convinced that all the English had to do was to distribute a few presents and the trouble would be quelled. But he failed to give proper credit to the Indian treachery. Campbell, at the fort, persuaded La Butte to return to Pontiac and his chiefs, which he did, there finding Chapoton and Godfroy yet in conference with the Indians. Pontiac, always a bit suspicious, sent La Butte back to the fort with six or seven Indians, who conferred there with the officers and also heard the rumor that Colonel Bouquet was on the way to Detroit with 2,000 men. They returned to Pontiac with this information, but he branded it a lie to frighten them. Late in the afternoon, Pontiac again summoned Godfroy and Chapoton to his camp and told them that he would consent to a peace and that he desired to speak with Captain Campbell, the second in command at the fort. Despite the murder that was in his heart

and the shrewd plan he had concocted, the two Frenchman believed him and carried the word back to the fort.

#### CAPTURE OF CAMPBELL AND MCDUGALL

Not heeding the repeated warnings of one Charles Gouin, a Frenchman who had divined the true purpose of Pontiac, Captain Campbell departed for Pontiac's camp, accompanied by Lieut. George McDougall, La Butte and several others. The meeting was held at the home of Antoine Cuillerier, who, as stated before, was regarded by Pontiac as the true commandant of Detroit during the "absence" of Belestre. Pontiac stated his terms of peace and they were severe: he insisted that the English lay down their arms and depart from the fort without even baggage. This, of course, was in order that the subsequent wholesale slaughter might proceed unhindered. After an hour of silence on the part of the Indians, Captain Campbell perceived that nothing was to be gained by the meeting, so arose to return to the fort. But Pontiac had different plans. He informed them that all could return but Campbell and McDougall, whom he desired to retain for a time and then would return them to the fort. Thus Captain Campbell became a prisoner of the Indians, a captivity which was to result in his murder some time later. He and McDougall would probably have been put to death very soon, had it not been for Pontiac's fear that Gladwin would retaliate by executing the Pottawatomi prisoners held at the fort and thus cause that tribe to desert the conspiracy. This act of Pontiac in holding Campbell and McDougall as prisoners, after giving his solemn promise that they might return to their friends, has few parallels in the history of Indian treachery.

Pontiac also, by threat and cajolery, had induced the good band of Hurons, under the chiefs Teata and Baby (Babie), to join them. (This band later withdrew and moved to another locality.) He had also sent his men to the French settlers and traders along the shore outside the fort to demand of them ammunition and food supplies, so that they might better carry on the siege. The participation of the French settlers in this war—which to the Indians was known as the Beaver War—was much more active than the English knew at the time. Most of the French openly sided with the Indians, assisted them materially, and a few renegade French actually participated in the attacks on the fort later during the siege. Those of the French who were not allied with the Indians were forced in time to move within the stockade, as it became a question of their own survival if they did not assume activities against the British. The Indians also had constantly before them the belief that the King of France would eventually aid them with a large army.

Realizing that Major Gladwin had no intention of abandoning the post to his warriors, Pontiac settled down to a regular siege. Within the fort, the English made the same preparations. Tubs of water were placed at advantageous points to quench any fires which the savages might start with flaming arrows, and the French inhabitants of the village were placed under martial surveillance. Some of the latter warned Gladwin that the Indians were likely to receive reinforcements at any time, that in the end the fort would be captured, and advised him to escape with the garrison on the vessels before it was too late.

The attack of the Indians on May 12th was a vicious one. Early in the morning the savages opened fire and continued it throughout the day, but without inflicting any serious damage. Captain Hopkins, with forty men,

went out and burned several houses that stood near enough to the fort to afford shelter to the Indians, and Lieutenant Hay (Jehu Hay, afterward lieutenant-governor of Detroit) sallied out with thirty men to burn two barns which stood in the rear, while a sergeant with a detachment on the following morning fired two other barns. Two days later a party went out and destroyed the house of the interpreter, M. La Butte. This party also cut down the orchards and tore down the fences, so that the ground about the fort was rendered practically free from hiding places for the enemy. About this time Pontiac had Campbell write a letter from dictation to the commandant, promising peace if the English would depart with just their clothes on their backs, but Gladwin characteristically replied that he (Pontiac) had best conserve his powder and ball for game and disperse his warriors.

On the 16th, Capt. Joseph Hopkins and Lieutenant Hay, with ten soldiers and a trader, embarked in the large sloop, intending to drop down the river and shell the village of the bad Pottawatomi. The variable wind of the day caused them to tack and upon one occasion they stranded the vessel just a few feet from the shore. Had any Indians been present, they might have easily captured the ship. By throwing out an anchor to midstream and pulling in, the English worked their craft loose and returned to their safe anchorage in front of the fort.

(Note: Capt. Joseph Hopkins, originally from Maryland, served in the Eighteenth or Royal Irish Regiment. For his services he secured a captain's commission and raised a company of independents known as Hopkins' Independent Company of Rangers or Queen's Independent Rangers. This was the company sent to Detroit in the fall of 1762. It consisted of four officers, of whom were Lieutenants Abraham Cuyler and Francis Phister, four sergeants, four corporals, two drummers and 110 men. As soon as they arrived, Campbell sent them back to Niagara for the winter, in order to save provisions. [Part of this company started to the relief of Detroit under Cuyler in the spring of 1763 and was routed at Point Pelee.] Hopkins evidently remained in Detroit. During the siege he took a very active part. He presided at some of the courts of inquiry which investigated the conduct of the French during the siege. At the request of Antoine Cuillerier, he was one of the few of the English who were to be spared if Pontiac succeeded in his plans. At the end of the year 1763 his company was disbanded and the officers put on half pay. In 1764, Hopkins went to England and there becoming dissatisfied he changed his allegiance to France. In 1766 he wrote to Robert Rogers from Cape Francis, San Domingo, and urged Rogers also to transfer his allegiance, which missive later played a part in the downfall of Rogers. In this letter he wished to be remembered to Reaume and St. Martin and "ma chere Catherine" and asked Rogers to tell "Baube and all my friends the Hurons, Pottawawameys, ye Chippawas, and the Ottawas of the change I've made and if you have an interview with Pontiac take him by the hand for me, and make known to him I serve his Father, the King of France." Hopkins rose high in the French service, becoming a brigadier-general and once governor of Aux Cayes. He endeavored to join the American cause during the Revolution, but did not succeed, as he was known as an agitator and unreliable in his faithfulness to a cause.)

Major Gladwin's great problem was to obtain provisions and supplies for the garrison. Pontiac had served notice upon the settlers that any person supplying provisions to the fort would be put to death. There were a few farmers,

however, on both sides of the river who were willing to run the risk of supplying at least enough provisions to prevent the garrison from being starved into surrender. Under cover of darkness, cattle, hogs and the products of the fields were smuggled into the fort.

Even then it became necessary to put the men on short rations and on May 21, 1763, the smaller of the two sloops, the Gladwin, was ordered to Niagara for supplies and reinforcements, also to tarry at the mouth of the river and observe whether or not help should appear from across Lake Erie. The next day, while the vessel lay becalmed at the mouth of the Detroit River, a number of canoes filled with warriors were noticed approaching from both sides of the river, the savages evidently intent on capturing the ship. In the prow of one of the canoes, Captain Campbell was held up as a shield, though he called to his friends to fire on the Indians without regard to his perilous position. Had the men on the Gladwin obeyed his injunction, the gallant officer might have been spared the tragic fate which was later to be his. Fortunately, before the canoes reached the sloop, a friendly breeze filled her sails and she was soon out of danger.

Shortly after the departure of the Gladwin, the houses of the French inhabitants were searched and all food not immediately needed by the families was taken to the public storehouse, receipts being given for all articles thus appropriated.

On May 21st, Sekahos (or Cekaas, Cekaos, Chekahos), a Chippewa chief living on the Grand, or Thames, River in Canada, joined Pontiac with 120 men, the remainder of his band arriving on June 9th.

About the 25th of May, the commandant perceived that some of the Pottawatomi were coming up from their village southwest of the fort and hiding behind two lime-kilns some little distance from the stockade, from which position they could command the front gate. To offset this, he ordered a portable platform, or bastion, to be constructed. This was made out of wood torn from the walks and bolted together just outside the walls. After failure to raise it during the afternoon, it was put over until the following morning at dawn.

On the 28th an intrenchment of timbers thrown up by the savages during the night one hundred or so yards from the gate was destroyed by a sortie from the fort under Lieutenant Hay.

#### FATE OF THE CUYLER PARTY

On May 13th an expedition left Niagara for the relief of Detroit. This convoy was in charge of Lieutenant Abraham Cuyler of the Queen's Company of Rangers, and consisted of ninety-seven men, ten batteaux and 139 barrels of provisions. The Indians were aware that such an expedition was on the way to Detroit and eagerly watched for its first appearance. On the 28th Cuyler and his men reached Pélee Point on the shore of Lake Erie, not far from the mouth of the Detroit River. Here they disembarked for the night, intending to do the cooking for the next day. They did not suspect that death lurked in the bushes and shrubbery surrounding their camp. All during the night the savages waited, watching that their prey did not escape, and when the first gray of the dawn appeared they made their attack. The English awakened to hear the war-whoop and without opportunity to defend themselves. In the attack Sergeant Cope, fifteen privates of the Royal American Regiment, Sergeant Fislinger and forty-two of the Rangers, one child and one woman, were killed. Lieutenant Cuyler and a party escaped with two batteaux and five



barrels of provisions. The remaining barges were captured, with several prisoners, and were taken by the Indians up the river to Pontiac's camp. At 9 o'clock on the morning of the 30th, a sentinel on the fort flag bastion saw these barges some distance down the river. He gave the alarm and the officers and men crowded to the stockade, believing that it was the long-expected convoy. But the sound of war-cries from the vicinity of the barges changed their joy to gloom, for they then realized the fate of the Cuyler expedition. When the string of barges came opposite the fort and the vessel anchored in front, four Englishmen in the first barge made a break for liberty, propelling the craft toward the English vessel, and calling for help. Two shots were fired from the Beaver, which drove the Indian guard from the escaping barge, one of whom dragged one of the four Englishmen into the water with him and both were drowned. The three other Englishmen reached safety, with the barge and a goodly supply of provisions on board.

The remaining English prisoners on the other floats were then landed by the Indians and taken to Pontiac's camp on foot. Here they were cruelly murdered. They were stripped and arrows shot into their naked bodies, they were mutilated with knives and some were burned in slow fires by the children and squaws. A mere handful of them were spared. Of these, John Severings and James Connor were kept to serve the Indians and were made to work upon the rafts constructed by the savages; Thomas Cooper was placed upon a farm and never saw a Frenchman during his life with the Indians.

A great quantity of hard liquor was captured by the Indians and they immediately began a debauch. The squaws hid the Englishmen who were spared so they would not be killed and the chiefs, who did not drink, soon saw the damage being done by the spirits, so knocked in the remaining barrel-heads and destroyed the "fire water." The "Journal of Pontiac's Conspiracy" relates of two young bucks who became so inspired by the liquor that they conceived the idea of capturing Fort Detroit by themselves. They accordingly set out on a dead run directly for the stockade. The sentries abruptly ended their desires with a few rounds of lead bullets. One fell in his tracks, was carried into the fort and exhibited until he died, while the other managed to crawl far enough from the fort to die amidst his own people.

#### RETURN OF THE GLADWIN

On the 17th of June, Major Gladwin first received a rumor that the sloop Gladwin had returned from Niagara, and was anchored off the mouth of the Detroit River, awaiting favorable wind and opportunity to ascend to the fort. He ordered signals to be fired. The Indians themselves repaired to Turkey Island, where they threw up intrenchments in order to harass the returning boat. About sundown on the evening of the 23d the wind arose and the sloop started up the river, but was becalmed shortly and compelled to anchor off the island mentioned. The Indians waited until nightfall for the attack, but the English on board were wary and posted lookouts. They also kept the majority of the men below decks, allowing only ten or twelve in view, as they anticipated the Indians would attack if they believed the sloop poorly defended.

At 9 o'clock the Indians filled their canoes and paddled toward the Gladwin. The English commander ordered all the men quietly to assume places by the rail, with arms ready, and to load the cannons. The savages were allowed to approach within easy gun shot, when they were raked with a hail of lead. Four-

teen of them were killed outright and the remainder, with the wounded, retreated to the shore. On the 27th the sloop hoisted anchor and came up as far as the River Rouge, where she again was becalmed. Not until the 30th did she get away, then under a southeast wind rode safely to anchor in front of the fort at 4 P. M. The Gladwin brought to the relief of the fort twenty-two men of the Thirtieth Regiment, and Lieutenant Cuyler and twenty-eight men of Captain Hopkins' Company of Rangers, 150 barrels of provisions and some ammunition. One sergeant and four men were wounded while coming up the river.

The sloop also brought a copy of the Treaty of Paris, concluded on February 10, 1763, and on July 3d Gladwin assembled the French population, read to them the articles of peace and sent a copy to the priest on the Canadian side of the river. A large number of the French then acknowledged allegiance to Great Britain and the next day were organized into a company of militia, with James Sterling as their captain.

#### MCDUGALL'S ESCAPE

About the time the Gladwin returned from Niagara, Pontiac demanded the immediate surrender of the post. To this Major Gladwin replied that until Campbell and McDougall were liberated, the chief need not trouble himself to send any more messages to the fort. The two prisoners were not ill treated and were permitted to take short walks in the open air each day. On July 1st McDougall decided to seize the first opportunity to escape from the savages, but Campbell refused to go, on account of his desire not to hinder his partner's attempt. Campbell was afflicted with faulty vision and was afraid lest this impairment might render him a burden where everything depended upon alert senses. McDougall then escaped after nightfall and managed to reach the fort at 3 o'clock in the morning. With him was a Schenectady trader named Van Eps. Another trader, who had been taken with Crawford on the Huron River, escaped and reached one of the boats in the river.

#### CAMPBELL'S DEATH

On July 4th the commandant learned that the Indians had thrown up some intrenchments in the rear of the house of M. Baby, northeast of the fort. Thereupon he ordered Lieutenant Hay, with a detachment of thirty men, to destroy the emplacements. But the Indians were behind the breastworks they had built, unknown to Hay's men, and immediately opened fire upon the approaching English. Gladwin within the fort perceived the peril of his men and sent out Captain Hopkins with reinforcements, with the result that the Indians were dispersed. Two Indians were killed and one of them scalped by an Englishman who had formerly been a prisoner among the savages. It appears that the young Indian buck who was scalped was none other than a Chippewa chief, the nephew of Wasson, chief of the Saginaw Chippewas. Wasson (variously spelled Wassong, Warsong, Wasso and Owasser) had joined Pontiac on June 1st with some two hundred of his Saginaw Chippewas. Upon the death of the young Chippewa, Wasson went to Pontiac and demanded the person of Captain Campbell as revenge. Pontiac turned the brave young officer over to this bloodthirsty Indian without dissent. Wasson had Campbell brought to his camp and, according to one account, killed him with the blow of a tomahawk and cast the body into the river, whence it floated down to the fort. "The

Gentleman's Magazine" (1763, p. 455) gives a vivid description of this murder. According to this narrative, Captain Campbell was compelled to kneel upon the body of the dead chief and pray, after which the savages murdered him, ripped his heart out and ate it, then hacked his body into bits with their tomahawks. Rutherford, in his narrative, states that the killing of Campbell so enraged the Ottawas that they determined to have retribution and selected Ensign Pully (commandant at Fort Sandusky who had been captured May 16th and adopted by the Chippewas) for their satisfaction. Pully, however, was informed of his danger by a young squaw who loved him and she assisted him to escape. Then the Ottawas turned their vengeance upon Rutherford, also a Chippewa captive, but the latter's adopted Indian father, Perwash, hid him and later took him away. On his journey he passed the slain Captain Campbell, mangled, scalped, and being devoured by the camp dogs.

Thus ended the life of a brilliant young officer. Captain Donald Campbell was of Scotch blood and had come to America with the Sixty-second Regiment in 1756; he was made captain of the Royal Americans in 1759, came to Detroit in 1760, and remained in command until Major Gladwin arrived, when he was retained as second in command.

#### CONTINUATION OF SIEGE

The cruel killing of Captain Campbell alarmed the inhabitants upon the river shores and many of them sought shelter within the walls of the fort, bringing with them their household goods and valuables, but very meager supplies of provisions, thus increasing the garrison's already heavy burden. The siege had now been going on for over two months and some of the Indians grew discontented over their efforts to starve out the garrison.

On July 10, 1763, they prepared a fire-raft, or two boats loaded with faggots and kindling and tied together. They set fire to this contrivance and launched it into the river, hoping that it would float down to the two sloops, fire them, and thus cut off the means of supplying the people in the fort. A similar effort on the 12th failed as quickly as that of the 10th. On the afternoon of the 12th of July, the sloop "Gladwin" sailed again for Niagara, to bring back reinforcements and supplies.

One of the boats had also paid a short visit to Pontiac's camp and other Indian villages in the vicinity. With a certain amount of energetic shelling, the Indian courage became slightly dampened and the Pottawatomi and Huron soon were ready for peace. Upon their giving up the prisoners held by them, a peace was concluded, which weakened Pontiac's force, though the loss was partially offset by the arrival of a few Indians fresh from the conquest of the other posts.

#### ARRIVAL OF DALZELL'S COMMAND

The night before July 29th was one of heavy fog over the river. About dawn it thinned and the watchers upon the stockade perceived a large number of barges in sight near the River Rouge. A cannon was fired as a signal and a like response came from the barges. Gladwin and a party embarked to meet the newcomers, who turned out to be Capt. James Dalzell (or Dalzell) of General Amherst's staff, 260 men of the Fifty-fifth and Eightieth Regiments, and twenty independent rangers commanded by Maj. Robert Rogers. The twenty-two barges were loaded as well with large supplies of provisions, artillery

and ammunition. While coming up the river the fleet was fired upon by the Indians along the shores, and fifteen men were wounded, two fatally. The arrival of these reinforcements gave fresh courage to the beleagured little garrison. The new soldiers were distributed amongst the townspeople.

#### BATTLE OF BLOODY RUN

Captain Dalzell was an officer of great energy and enthusiasm and had been associated with Israel Putnam in many daring exploits. He urged Major Gladwin to permit him to lead a night attack on Pontiac's village, "which was at that time about two miles and a half north of the Fort at a place called Cardinal Point," probably the farm of Jacques Cardinal at the Grand Marais. Gladwin knew the character and strength of the enemy and tried to dissuade Dalzell from such a perilous undertaking. After some argument he gave a reluctant consent and preparations for the attack were made. The utmost secrecy was not observed, however, and some of the French inside the fort learned of the plans, communicated their knowledge to the French kin outside, who, in turn, informed the Indians. Pontiac, consequently, had ample time to prepare his men for the attack, which he did with the utmost cunning. He ordered one band of 250 to take position on the farm of M. Chauvin a short distance from the fort and the other of 160 savages to ambush themselves on the farm of Jean Baptiste Meloche, upon whose land was the bridge over Parent Creek (located at the site of the present Michigan Stove Works). The following graphic description of the engagement which followed is taken from Mrs. Stewart's "Early History of Michigan":

"On the 31st of July about 2 o'clock in the morning, the gates of the fort swung open and 300 soldiers marched silently forth. In double file and perfect order, they proceeded along the river road, while two large bateaux ascended the river abreast of them. Each boat was fully manned and bore a swivel in the bow. The advance guard of twenty-five men was led by Lieutenant Brown. Captain Gray commanded the center and Captain Grant's detachment brought up the rear. The night was still, dark and sultry. On the right of the advancing party lay the broad, placid river, and on their left the farm houses and picketed fences of the Canadian settlers were dimly outlined in the darkness. Parent's Creek entered the river about a mile and a half east of the fort. At that point its source lay through a deep ravine and only a few rods from its mouth, where the road crossed, it was spanned by a narrow wooden bridge. For a short distance beyond the bridge the ground was broken and rough. Along the summit were rude intrenchments which had been thrown up by Pontiac to protect his former camp.

"Unsuspecting of danger, the troops pushed forward until they neared the bridge. This was nearly gained. (The 'Journal of Pontiac's Conspiracy' states that the troops had just passed the middle of the bridge.) On the left was the house where Campbell had been taken to meet his savage captors; in front was the bridge, scarcely visible, and beyond rose the banks of the ravine, dark as the wall of night. (The 'Journal of Pontiac's Conspiracy' here states that 'The Indians could see them at some distance, for the moon was in their favor lighting up the road the English were taking.') Still onward the soldiers silently marched; the advance guard had reached the bridge and the main body was just entering it, when, from in front and behind them arose the blood-curdling warwhoop of the Indians, whose guns belched forth a leaden hail of

death. Half of the advance guard fell, stricken down in their tracks, and the survivors shrank back appalled. Dalzell advanced to the front. His clear voice arose above the din; the troops rallied and rushed across the bridge and up the slopes on the other side. Their foes had fled; vainly they sought them in the gloom of the night; yet the rifles of the enemy cracked incessantly and the war-cry rang out with undiminished ferocity. The English, unacquainted with the locality, were further bewildered in the darkness. At every point the Indians renewed their fire. Farther advance was useless and a retreat toward the fort was begun. A small detachment remained to keep in check, while the dead and wounded were removed to the bateaux which had been rowed up to the bridge. The remaining troops crossed the bridge and joined Captain Grant.

"During these proceedings a sharp fire was kept up on both sides and Captain Gray was killed. Suddenly a volley was heard in Captain Grant's vicinity. A large body of Indians had taken possession of a farm house and the adjoining orchard. Captain Grant and his men with great bravery attacked the house and dislodged the savages at the point of the bayonet. From two Canadians, whom the captain found in the house, he ascertained it was the purpose of the Indians to effect the complete destruction of the English force, and had gone in great numbers to occupy the road below. An immediate retreat became necessary and the men resumed their marching order. Captain Grant now commanded the advance guard and Captain Grant the rear. About a mile from the fort on the right, as they descended the road, was a cluster of houses and barns intrenched within strong picket fences. The river ran close to the left and there was no way of escape except along the narrow passage that lay between. To many on that early morning march, it was the road to death. Hundreds of Indians lay concealed. The troops were allowed to advance unmolested until directly opposite this death trap, when, with terrific yells, the Indians poured in a deadly rifle fire. The troops broke ranks and would have fled in disorder had it not been for Dalzell, who, though twice wounded, rallied his men and restored order. A few moments later the gallant captain stepped from in front of the ranks to aid a wounded soldier and was shot dead.

"With the Indians in hot pursuit and in great numbers, yelling like fiends let loose from Hades, destruction of the surviving troops seemed certain, when Major Rogers and his rangers succeeded in gaining possession of the house of M. Campau (Jean Baptiste Campau) which commanded the road. From this point his splendid marksmen covered the retreat of the regulars. Meantime Captain Grant had moved forward a half a mile and was able to maintain a stand in an orchard until the remaining troops caught up with him. All the men he could spare were dispatched to points below and the constantly arriving men enabled him to reinforce these places till a line of communication was formed with the fort. The bateaux, having discharged their wounded, returned and opened fire on the enemy with their swivel guns. This dispersed the savages and covered the retreat of Rogers and his rangers. Thus terminated the battle of Bloody Bridge, the most sanguinary and terrible conflict on record in the annals of Detroit. Parent's Creek was thereafter known as 'Bloody Run' until the stream was filled in, the bridge removed and the site of the creek transformed into city lots. For more than a century a large tree known as the 'Pontiac Tree' stood guard over the scene of the ambush and the battle."

The tree mentioned by Mrs. Stewart was cut down on June 2, 1886. In this engagement the English lost Captain Dalzell, Captain Gray and Lieutenant

Luke killed, and Lieutenant Brown of the Thirty-fifth wounded. One sergeant and thirteen rank and file were killed, one drummer and twenty-five men wounded. Of the Sixtieth Regiment, one private was killed and seven were wounded. Of the Eightieth Regiment, three were wounded and two killed. Of the Royal American Rangers, two were killed and one wounded. A trader's servant was wounded. The Indians reported that they lost five killed and eleven wounded. About 3 o'clock on the afternoon of the day following the fight, the body of Captain Dalzell, shockingly mutilated, was brought to the fort by M. Campau. It was buried, with the bodies of other officers killed in action, in what was then known as the "King's Garden."

Pontiac's success at Bloody Run renewed the confidence of the Indians in his ability as a military leader and reinforcements flocked to his standard. But the fort was now well supplied with provisions and ammunition and he was unable to follow up his victory by the capture of the post. Several sharp skirmishes occurred during the month of August, while the Beaver and the Gladwin kept the river open for the transportation of additional supplies from the Canadian side, or made trips to Niagara for food and ammunition as they were needed.

On August 23, 1763, while on the return voyage from Niagara, the Beaver was wrecked at the mouth of Catfish Creek on Lake Erie. Her guns were lost, but the Gladwin succeeded in saving 185 barrels of provisions, the greater part of her cargo. A few days later, as the Gladwin lay becalmed near the mouth of the Detroit River, she was attacked by about three hundred and fifty Indians. The crew consisted of eleven men and on board were six friendly Mohawk Indians, who assisted in defending the schooner. The captain was killed early in the assault and the mate gave an order to blow up the vessel. One of the savages heard and understood the order. He repeated it in the Indian tongue and the assailants lost no time in jumping overboard and taking to their canoes. The schooner reached Detroit the next morning.

#### A TRUCE DECLARED

As winter approached a majority of the lake tribes grew disheartened. The siege had been going on for months and the post showed no signs of capitulating. Their ammunition was almost gone, they dreaded the thought of continuing the siege during the long cheerless winter, and their chiefs made overtures to Major Gladwin for peace. Perhaps the news that Major Wilkins was on his way from Niagara with large reinforcements and supplies had an influence in shaping their course. They evidently had not learned that Wilkins' flotilla had been wrecked by a storm on Lake Erie, that sixteen out of forty-six bateaux had been lost, seventy-three men drowned and that the survivors had returned to Niagara. Gladwin had little faith in Indian honesty and refused to enter into a treaty with any of the chiefs, though he consented to a truce, which enabled him to lay in fuel and provisions sufficient to carry him through the winter.

Pontiac had never abandoned the hope of securing assistance from the French in the Illinois country, where they still occupied the posts, and when he saw his warriors deserting him, made another appeal to M. Neyon (Peter Joseph Neyeon de Villiere), commandant at Fort Chartres. Neyon had previously advised Pontiac to discontinue the siege, as peace had been established between the French and the English. On October 29, 1763, M. Dequindre brought to

Pontiac a letter from M. Neyon—dated September 27th—refusing any help whatever, and the next day he brought a letter containing the same information to Major Gladwin.

Seeing his prospects of victory thus dissipated, and realizing that his cause was lost, Pontiac sent word to Major Gladwin that he was ready to make peace. But, as in the case of the other chiefs, Gladwin would only agree to a truce. The wily chief, mortified over his failure to destroy the post, accepted the terms and withdrew to the Maumee country to win the support of the Indians there for an aggressive campaign in the spring. Soon after this most of the Indians left the vicinity of Detroit for winter quarters. Gladwin took advantage of the situation to reduce the garrison to about two hundred men—all that could be comfortably cared for during the winter—sending the remainder of the troops to Niagara. The siege of Detroit had lasted for 153 days.

#### EVENTS OF 1764

Early in the spring of 1764, the English authorities decided to assume the offensive and carry the war into the Indian country. Col. John Bradstreet, with 1,200 men, was ordered to proceed to Detroit by way of the lakes, while Col. Henry Boquet, with a large force, was to operate against the tribes between the Ohio River and the Great Lakes.

Bradstreet assembled his troops at Albany and reached Niagara late in June. There he was joined by 300 Iroquois, commanded by Sir John Johnson and Capt. Henry Montour (a half-breed), and 100 other Indians under the command of Alexander Henry. The latter, however, soon became dissatisfied and abandoned the expedition. Upon arriving at Presque Ile, Bradstreet held a council with some of the Ohio Indians and made a treaty of peace with them, although he had no authority to do so. On August 26, 1764, he arrived at Detroit, bringing large supplies of provisions, clothing and ammunition. His army was the largest military force ever seen at Detroit and the Indians now realized that further resistance to the English was useless, though Pontiac sent defiant messages from the Maumee Valley. On the last day of August, Colonel Bradstreet succeeded Major Gladwin as commandant of the post and the latter left for the east the next day.

Instead of chastising the Indians, as he had been directed to do, the new commandant met them in council and concluded treaties of peace. His punishment was directed against the French who had aided the Indians, though many of them had fled before his arrival. In letters to the British Board of Trade, Sir William Johnson denounced Bradstreet's course and a few months later he was relieved by Col. John Campbell.

Colonel Boquet marched by way of Fort Pitt into the Ohio country. He refused to recognize the unauthorized treaty made by Bradstreet at Presque Ile and began the work of punishing the tribes which had taken part in the great conspiracy. Reinforcements constantly flocked to his standard and in a short time the Indians not only begged for peace, but also agreed to deliver to Boquet unharmed all the captives held by them. In this way many white prisoners were restored to their friends and homes.

Although the conspiracy was dead, Pontiac still thirsted for revenge. He continued to hope for some fortunate turn in affairs that would enable him to destroy the hated English and recover the hunting grounds of his people. Again he appealed to the French commandant at Fort Chartres for assistance, but M. Neyon was adamant to all his entreaties. Returning to the Maumee Valley,

he collected some five hundred warriors and with this force appeared before Fort Chartes with a demand for arms and ammunition, with which to continue his war against the English. He also sent a messenger to New Orleans to ask for French cooperation. Before the return of this messenger, he learned that the western possession of the French had been ceded to Spain by a secret treaty and his last hope was destroyed.

#### CROGHAN'S TREATY

In February, 1765, Sir William Johnson sent Capt. George Croghan, accompanied by Lieutenant Frazer and a small escort, into the western country for the purpose of distributing presents among the Indians, thus preparing the way for the English occupation of the country. Near the mouth of the Wabash River, Croghan's party was captured by a band of Kickapoo Indians, taken to Vincennes and from there to Ouiatenon, where Croghan found friends and the prisoners were released. While at Ouiatenon, Croghan received an invitation from the commandant at Fort Chartres to visit that post and set out on his journey. Before reaching Fort Chartres, he met Pontiac and concluded a treaty of peace. He then gave up his visit to Fort Chartres and returned with Pontiac to Detroit, arriving here August 17, 1765. Croghan remained at Detroit until September 26th, when he took passage on a vessel for Niagara. His treaty with Pontiac ended the war.

#### PONTIAC'S DEATH

In the summer of 1766, Pontiac appeared before Sir William Johnson, at Oswego, New York, and then and there acknowledged his formal submission to English authority. Broken in spirit, he then withdrew into the depths of the western wilderness and little can be learned concerning his life during the next three years. Accounts vary as to the manner of his death, but it is known that he was assassinated in 1769 at a council held among the Illinois. One story has it that he married a Peorie whom he abused so terribly that her tribe surprised and killed him, for which the Ottawa completely exterminated the race for revenge. Carver relates that a faithful Indian who had either been commissioned by one of the English governors or instigated by his love for the English, attended him as a spy when Pontiac held a council in Illinois, and being convinced that his speech was suspicious, he instantly killed him. Parkman relates that Pontiac, while among the tribes at Cahokia, went to a feast where he became drunk and wandered away towards the woods singing medicine songs. An English trader, Williamson, bribed an Indian of the Kaskaskia tribe to follow and kill the chief. This was done and when the murder was discovered, Pontiac's friends banded together and exterminated the whole race of the Illini. The handbook of the United States Bureau of Ethnology, which is considered a good authority upon Indian history, says he was killed in 1769 by a Kaskaskia Indian during a drunken orgy at Cahokia, Illinois. Avery's "History of the United States" says an English trader offered a Kaskaskia Indian a barrel of rum to kill Pontiac, that the Indian followed him into the forest near the present city of East St. Louis, caught him off his guard and killed him, and that the commandant of the post at St. Louis buried his body with the honors of war.

In the main corridor of the Southern Hotel in St. Louis, the St. Louis chapter of the D. A. R. has erected a tablet, marking the burial place of "Pontiac, the friend of St. Ange, killed at Cahokia, Illinois, in April, 1769."



## CHAPTER XXXVII

### DETROIT IN THE REVOLUTION

By CLARENCE M. BURTON

IMPORTANCE OF DETROIT IN THE REVOLUTION—DETROIT AND THE ADJACENT COUNTRY—STREETS, BUILDINGS AND CHARACTER OF THE VILLAGE—THE FORTIFICATIONS—THE FRENCH INHABITANTS—COMING OF HAMILTON—ILLEGAL ACTS OF HAMILTON AND DEJEAN—HAMILTON'S EMPLOYMENT OF INDIANS—INTER-POST COMMUNICATIONS—ARRIVAL OF CAPTAIN LERNOULT—HAMILTON'S DESIRE TO ESCAPE DETROIT—INDICTMENT OF HAMILTON AND DEJEAN—HAMILTON'S EXPEDITION TO VINCENNES—CLARK RETAKES VINCENNES—HAMILTON AND DEJEAN AS PRISONERS—DETROIT UNDER LERNOULT—CONDITION OF DETROIT—APPOINTMENT OF DE PEYSTER—THE POST UNDER DE PEYSTER—THE STORY OF COLONEL LA BALME—INDIAN CLAIMS AND LEGAL PROCEDURE—MEANING OF THE TERM "FORT"—RELIGION IN DETROIT—FINANCES OF THE TIME—CURSE OF RUM—DE PEYSTER'S INDIAN DIPLOMACY—UNPOPULARITY OF THE WAR IN ENGLAND—DETROIT NOT AN ACTIVE PARTICIPANT IN THE WAR—MASSACRE OF MORAVIAN INDIANS—SURRENDER OF CORNWALLIS—APPOINTMENT OF JEHU HAY AS LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR—DE PEYSTER'S IMPROVEMENTS AT THE POST OF DETROIT—FURTHER NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN DE PEYSTER AND THE INDIANS—HARVESTS IN 1782—EXPECTATION OF PEACE—CASE OF GERRIT GRAVERAT—CONDITION OF AFFAIRS AFTER PEACE—DIFFICULTIES WITH INDIANS—FIRST AMERICAN REPRESENTATIVE ENTERS DETROIT—THE END OF THE WAR.

It needed no formal act of parliament, no declaration of the American people, to proclaim to the world the existence of a state of war between the British colonies of North America and the mother country. Aggressive and conquering England, not contented with the possessions she already held in America, had, by the Treaty of Paris in 1763, obtained the relinquishment to herself from France of that vast tract of country then known as Canada, including all the possessions that are now known by that name, as well as the more valuable portion north of the Ohio River and west of New York, Pennsylvania and Virginia. Greedy and ill-advised in her attempt at conquest, she grasped too much, and in order to retain possession of her new acquisition, she was compelled to loose her hold upon what she had originally claimed and the colonies slipped away from her forever. Scarcely ten years elapsed from the signing of the Treaty of Paris, before there were mutterings of discontent in the colonies and when the year 1775 came, England's old possessions were in a state of rebellion which terminated in their independence.

By the provisional Treaty of Paris in 1782, the independence of the colonies was recognized, and a few months later the final treaty was signed, which

forever divested England of all claims to her first possessions as well as to a large part of the territory acquired from France in 1763.

It was in this tract—in this land which England obtained from France, and which England, in turn, relinquished to the United States,—that Detroit was situated, the most important post in this vast territory.

#### IMPORTANCE OF DETROIT IN THE REVOLUTION

The histories of the United States or of the Revolutionary War do not contain much that applies to our local history, the reason probably being that the important events transpired near the seacoast, and but very little was known of Detroit or of the vast and rich country of which it was the center. Our history of this period is to be found in the numerous local histories of Ohio, Illinois, Canada and Michigan; the memoirs of residents, travels and published letters, the transactions of historical societies, some few acts of Congress, and military letters of Washington, Jefferson and others, and above all that great accumulation of letters and reports which are in manuscript in the British Museum, and have been transcribed for the Dominion of Canada under the direction of the archivist, Mr. Douglas Brymner, and are called, from their collector, Gen. Frederick Haldimand, the "Haldimand Collections." Many of the manuscripts in this collection, which particularly relate to Michigan, have been printed in the Michigan Pioneer Collection, but many more, of quite as great local interest, are still in manuscript.

The Ohio and Illinois country comprised all the land to the south of us as far as the Ohio River, and west of New York, Pennsylvania and Virginia. The entrance into this country from Canada was either by way of Niagara or Detroit, and these two posts, as the bases of supplies and headquarters of British soldiers for the district, became posts of importance. The lands along the Ohio Valley were very fertile, and when the war had actually commenced on the east, people began to crowd westward and take up these rich lands, clear them of their timber, and settle upon them. This country was also the best hunting grounds of the Indians, and they resented the intrusion of the Virginians, and when they were unable to stem the increasing tide, they asked the aid of the British at Detroit. Thus, while Detroit was never actually engaged in any battle of the new republic, it was the important place for carrying on the war in the west. It was the depot for the distribution of presents, supplies and ammunition to the Indians, and the Indians were paid for their services solely by these presents and supplies. It was the headquarters for the Indian Department in the west, and the Indian agents made their report to the Detroit commandant and he forwarded them to the government at Quebec. It was, likewise, the headquarters of the Rangers, who were generally the leaders in the Indian incursions. They brought their prisoners to Detroit to be retained to work on the fortifications or to be "sent down" to Montreal and Quebec. Here also was the navy yard for the repairing of old vessels and the building of new ones, to be used for transportation purposes on Lake Erie and Lake Huron. Thus Detroit became a place of importance from the very outbreak of the Revolution. When the war was ended, and it was agreed that the territory should become a part of the United States, Great Britain hesitated about giving up the possessions and put one obstacle after another in the way of fulfilling her part of the treaty. It was not until 1796 that the United States troops finally entered the village, and the British troops departed.

## DETROIT AND THE ADJACENT COUNTRY

The village of Detroit, as it existed in 1775, may be described somewhat as follows:

The King's Commons was a cleared space of ground extending from the Brush Farm on the east to the Cass Farm on the west, and stretching back from the river as far as the Grand Circus Park. Along the front, about the foot of Woodward Avenue, was the shipyard. Just above this, and forming a part of what is now called the Brush Farm, were several lots occupied by persons in the employ of the British government and not owned by the occupants. On the southerly or westerly side, at the water's edge, was built the post proper.

The commons had originally been cleared of wood and underbrush, to prevent the congregating of Indians under cover, and with a like design, the lands on the west of the village had been cleared and a few small houses were erected outside the fortifications on the Cass Farm. The commons was the property of the entire settlement, and no one was permitted to enclose or cultivate any portion of it, and when one of the officers of the garrison attempted to fence in a small yard in which to keep his horse, the inhabitants remonstrated at once and the fence was removed.

The fort occupied the ground between Griswold Street on the east, the Cass Farm line on the west, and extended from the river bank, where Woodbridge Street now runs, to Larned Street, thus occupying about four blocks of the present city. The streets were very narrow, and the lots very shallow. It has, at various times, been attempted to locate some portion of the village as a fort, which should be separated from the village itself and should bear the name of Pontchartrain, but it is doubtful if there ever was a separate building or buildings to which that name could properly be applied. In general terms it might be said that the civil or commercial name of the place was Detroit, and its military name Pontchartrain. On the map which was used by the powers in negotiating the treaty of 1783, the name of Pontchartrain alone appears, and Detroit does not exist.

In a letter written by the ill-fated Donald Campbell in 1760 the place is thus described:

"The fort is very large and in good repair; there are two bastions toward the water and a large fast bastion toward the inland. The point of the bastion is a cavalier of wood, on which there are mounted the three pounders and three small mortars or cohorns. The palisades are in good repair. There is a scaffolding around the whole, which is only floored toward the land for want of plank; it is by way of a banquette. There are seventy or eighty houses in the fort, laid out in regular streets. The country is inhabited ten miles on each side of the river and is a most beautiful country. The river is here about 900 yards over and very deep, and everything in great plenty before this last year."

Around the whole village, just within the palisades, was a road which was called the "Chemin de Ronde." All the other streets in the village bore names indicating their French origin, and also testifying to the fact that Detroit had been a missionary post. There were Ste. Anne, St. Joseph, St. Louis, Ste. Honore, St. Joachim, St. James (or St. Jacques) and Sacrament streets. Ste. Anne Street occupied the same position that Jefferson Avenue now occupies, but did not run exactly parallel with it. This street was probably twenty feet wide, except at its eastern extremity, where was situated the Catholic Church.

of Ste. Anne, and as the church was set back some twenty feet, the street was here about forty feet wide. The other streets were not more than fifteen feet in width. The northern line of pickets ran through the present Larned Street, and there was a street between this picket line and Ste. Anne Street called St. James Street. Ste. Anne's church lot, the northwest corner of the present Jefferson Avenue and Griswold Street, extended from Ste. Anne Street to the Chemin de Ronde on the north and completely blocked St. James Street at this point. On St. James Street, sixty feet west of the church, was a lot owned by the church which is termed in the conveyances "La fabrique" and on it was possibly the dwelling of the priest. There is no evidence that there was any school in the place or that there were any instructors. The priest could not talk English and there were very few French within the inclosure. Ste. Honore Street occupied nearly the same position that Shelby Street now occupies, and some 200 feet south of Ste. Anne Street and nearly at the water's edge was a building used for holding Indian councils and lodging such of the Indians as were permitted to remain over night within the inclosure. Ste. Anne Street, with the exception of the church, was devoted to the business houses of the town; that is, the traders lived on this street and used a portion of each dwelling for the purposes of trade. Some of the larger dealers, as Macomb, Edgar & Macomb, and Graverat & Visger, had several places and doubtless occupied dwellings apart from their places of business. Immediately outside the pickets on the west, on Ste. Anne Street, were the barracks or building occupied by the soldiers, a small parade ground and a stone dwelling occupied by the commandant. The buildings and grounds constituted the "citadel" and were enclosed by another palisade till farther to the west, the easterly side being the westerly picket line of the village proper.

A few years later, but within the period of our story, there were several small lots sold on the Cass Farm, still farther to the west, indicating that houses were built outside the pickets in that direction. With the exception of the stone building referred to, all the buildings in the inclosure were of wood, small, one story in height, built up close together and numbering more than eighty. After the fire which destroyed Detroit in 1805, sufficient stone was found to erect a building which, in after years, was known as the Mansion House, and this house was nearly on the site of the stone building referred to; it is probable that the materials of this building were used for the Mansion House. In the rear of the pickets, to the north, a small stream flowed in a westerly direction. When the brook bore any name at all it still retained the old French appellation of *Ruisseau de Rurtus*, and was known only by that name until modern antiquarians have attempted to fasten upon it the name of Savoy or Savoyard.

#### THE FORTIFICATIONS

The post of Detroit was already considered old, the buildings were entirely of wood, and the eleven blockhouses and batteries were rotting to pieces. The village limits had been several times enlarged and at present the town was surrounded by a nearly new stockade of cedar pickets, fifteen feet high and 1,200 paces in extent. The fort was in a tolerable state of defense against savages, but as they had no cannon or earthworks, it would stand no show against soldiers properly armed. The settlement immediately dependent upon the fort extended some eight miles down the river and thirteen miles up the river and along the margin of Lake St. Clair. There had been a census taken two

years earlier which showed that there were, in this district, 1,357 people, exclusive of the garrison (and also exclusive of Indians), divided as follows: south of the fort, 475; north of the fort, 655; in the stockade, 222; Hog Island (Belle Isle), 5.

#### THE FRENCH INHABITANTS

The French inhabitants, or Canadians, as they are almost universally called, were an indolent, but happy and contented people, whose habits were so much in common with the Indians that they were accepted by the latter as brothers and it not infrequently happened that a Frenchman was adopted into and made a chief of some Indian tribe. The races inter-married and became in many respects one nation. There were many notable exceptions to this rule and many of our present citizens descend from the better class of French Canadians.

The newcomers were mostly English and at once took almost exclusive charge of the navigation of the lakes, the fur trade and farming. In regard to the latter occupation, while the French still retained the land they had long occupied, it was not properly tilled, and they could scarcely support themselves. They did not raise sufficient corn or wheat for their own subsistence, but traded the furs and games obtained on their hunting expeditions for bread at the bake-houses in the fort. Their farms were narrow strips of land, each with a frontage on the river and extending in depth forty arpents, or French acres. There were, at the time we speak of, only three farms that extended to a greater depth, two being sixty arpents and the other eighty arpents in depth. Their houses were all of log or framework, built nearly at the water's edge, and were within hailing distance of each other. Each house had an orchard adjoining, of fine fruits, and apples, pears, peaches and plums were in abundance. A road ran along the shore line of the river, but except in the dry season of the year, or when snow was on the ground, traveling was by boat rather than with the ponies which they had.

The French were all Catholics, strict attendants at church service, and very jealous of any seeming reflection upon their religion. They were a conquered nation and could never look upon the English as their friends and, in turn, while the English tried hard to obtain their assistance and used them always with consideration and paid them well, they never trusted them, and we find letter after letter, and reports without number, containing cautions against trusting the Canadians and warnings to beware of treachery.

So also, the Indians were a constant source of annoyance to the British; while great quantities of rum, trinkets and presents of all kinds were annually given to the various Indian tribes, they could not be kept constant to the British cause, nor could they even, by all this vast waste of money, be kept from occasionally joining the American, or rebel, forces. Indian councils were being called at short intervals, at which the British officers made promises of future assistance, accompanied with donations of such things as the Indian seemed to need, but after the breaking up of the council the officers in their reports always expressed their want of reliance in their Indian allies.

#### COMING OF HAMILTON

The entire Province of Canada had been commanded by a single governor at Quebec, with military commandants at each of the most important posts of the country; but shortly after the outbreak of the war the Earl of Dartmouth created the new office of lieutenant-governor and appointed Henry Hamilton lieutenant-governor of Detroit; Patrick Sinclair, lieutenant-governor of Michili-

mackinac; and Edward Abbott, lieutenant-governor of Vincennes. Henry Hamilton arrived in Detroit on the 9th day of November, 1775, and at once set to work to repair the fort and blockhouses, which were in a dilapidated condition. There were only two companies of the King's, or 8th, Regiment, in the garrison, but these, as well as the inhabitants, were set at work upon the fortifications. A ditch was dug around the citadel and new blockhouses and batteries were constructed. (Note: This citadel was built in 1764 by Gen. Israel Putnam. It was surrounded by a palisade of stakes made of small trees and for that purpose the lower end of Belle Isle was denuded.) Hamilton's first official report to the Earl of Dartmouth is dated September 2, 1776, and contains a well-drawn picture of the manners of the inhabitants.

"The enterprising spirit of the trader is likely to crowd out the Canadians," he says, "and the latter in a few years will be dependent on or bought out by the traders. The navigation of the lakes in the larger vessels is already in the hands of the newcomers. The new settlers manage their farms to the best advantage. The backwardness in the improving of farming has probably been owing to the easy and lazy methods of procuring bare necessities in this settlement; wood was at hand and the inhabitants therefore neglected to raise stone and burn lime, which is to be had at their doors. The river is plentifully stocked with fish and yet not one French family has a seine. Hunting and fowling afford food to numbers who are nearly as lazy as the savage, who are rarely prompted to the chase until hunger pinches them. The soil is so good that the most ignorant farmers raise good crops. There is no limit to the number of traders permitted here, and the unworthy and dishonest ones impose on the savages and cheat them."

Hamilton was busily engaged during the years 1775 and 1776 in preparing the fort for defense; in getting acquainted with his new surroundings and in seeing the Indians and attending their councils. The Virginians—as the American, or rebel, forces in the west were generally designated—were sending emissaries throughout the west, among all of the Indian tribes, striving to gain their good will and, if not their assistance, at least their neutrality.

The Ottawa, Chippewa, Wyandotte, Shawnee, Seneca, Delaware, Cherokee and Pottawatomi are all mentioned as holding councils at or near Detroit during these years and the governor took it upon himself to say that on several specified occasions, in their councils, he destroyed the letters and belts sent as invitations from the Virginia Congress.

It appears from charges afterwards made against Hamilton that he urged the Indians to bring scalps rather than prisoners, and although no such statements directly appear in his official reports, it is not improbable that he did so instruct the Indians, but omitted to make his report show his disposition in this respect. In his letter to the Earl of Dartmouth he says:

"The Indians all appear to be satisfied, but I am not to rely on their assurances, for as soon as the council breaks up, I expect to hear of several small parties falling on the scattered settlers on the Ohio and rivers which fall into it, a deplorable sort of war, by which the arrogance, disloyalty and imprudence of the Virginians has justly drawn down upon them."

#### ILLEGAL ACTS OF HAMILTON AND DEJEAN

The office of lieutenant-governor did not confer any military authority, and although Hamilton had general charge over all affairs here, he sometimes quar-



HENRY HAMILTON





reled with the military commandant, and was not able to control him to his own liking. He is accused of using undue severity on several occasions and of being aided and assisted in his tyranny by one Philippe Dejean, who was a notary and justice of the peace. On one occasion in 1777, one Jonas Schindler had been accused of selling base metal mixed with silver, and upon trial before a jury of twelve persons he had been acquitted, thereupon Hamilton, resenting the acquittal, ordered Schindler to be drummed out of the town, but Captain Lord, then in command of the garrison, "silenced the drum when it entered into the citadel, in order to pass out at the west gate with the prisoner, and said that Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton might exercise what acts of cruelty and oppression he pleased in the town, but that he would suffer none in the citadel."

Dejean himself, although a person of a good deal of importance in the town as recorder, justice, notary and general scrivener, was not too well liked. It was stated that he had some years before run away from Quebec to avoid his creditors and, coming to Detroit sometime after the conquest, had been appointed justice and notary by Captain Turnbull and Major Bayard, in 1767. His powers so conferred upon him were necessarily limited, because there was no civil organization anywhere in the western country and no authority was vested in a military commandant to appoint such officers. Dejean continued to exercise all the authority he could and upon the arrival of Hamilton he placed himself under the protection of the lieutenant-governor and became his tool, also, in some senses, his accomplice. A Canadian, Jean Contencineau, and a negress, Ann Wiley, were accused, the former of robbing the fur store of Abbott & Finchley, and the latter as being an accomplice. They were tried before the justice, Dejean, found guilty and ordered to be hanged. When the time for the execution drew near, it was found impossible to get anyone to perform the duty of hangman, and Dejean offered to free the negro woman if she would act as executioner of the Frenchman. She consented and performed the first official murder in Michigan. We look up in surprise and an ejaculation of astonishment escapes us as we think that here—in Michigan—a person was hanged under the orders of a justice of the peace for so trifling a crime as robbing a store, and yet, almost at the same time, on June 27, 1777, the Rev. Dr. William Dodd was hanged in England for forging a bond, and in Boswell's "Life of Johnson" we find the following reference to it:

"Poor Dodd was put to death yesterday, in opposition to the recommendation of the jury, the petition of the City of London, and a subsequent petition signed by three and twenty thousand hands. Surely the voice of the public, when it calls so loudly, and calls only for mercy, ought to be heard."

But if that voice was not heard in England, how much less ought we to expect it to be heard here, where there were no courts, and in the midst of such surroundings as we had? The Canadian was hanged, as was also, at about the same time, Joseph Hecker, convicted of the murder of his brother-in-law, one Charles Moran, after a trial before the justice and with the approval of Hamilton, and the soldiers of the garrison marched to the execution and surrounded the gallows, more, perhaps, out of respect for the civil laws which they thought they were enforcing, than for any love they bore Hamilton or Dejean. Mr. Dejean was keeper of the records here and although we find he recorded nearly everything of importance, and many things of no importance whatever, he made no mention of these trials and executions. Other murders took place here and other crimes were committed, but the accused persons were sent down

to Montreal or Quebec for trial and execution. It would have been much better for Hamilton and Dejean if the capital cases mentioned had also been "sent down," as in the end they created much trouble for the governor and justice.

#### HAMILTON'S EMPLOYMENT OF INDIANS

The plan of Hamilton regarding the employment of the Indians was so entirely different from that of Sir Guy Carleton that necessarily some disagreements in other matters grew out of their differences in this. Hamilton was in favor of employing the Indians, but of Carleton it is said that "he had acted with a spirit and dignity becoming a better situation. Finding the Indians could not be kept from scalping, he has dismissed everyone of them, saying he would rather forego all the advantage of their assistance than make war in so cruel a manner." But when Hamilton complained that he was not furnished with sufficient means to support his post properly, Carleton placed his duty as a soldier before his feelings as a man and wrote Hamilton that it was not intended to limit him "to such as are absolutely necessary for putting the post in a proper state of defence, and for keeping the Indians in readiness for, and a disposition to act as circumstances shall require," and added as a postscript, "You must keep the savages in readiness to join me in the spring, or march elsewhere as they may be most wanted."

Governor Hamilton was directed to take charge of the lakes also, to see that new vessels were built as needed, that no vessels were permitted to be built without his sanction or approval, and that no boats, those of Indians excepted, should be permitted to sail without proper passports. All persons attempting to sow sedition, or stir up insurrections, were to be arrested and sent to Montreal.

Early in 1777 Hamilton was invited by Carleton to come to Quebec in order to put his settlement in some sort of order. He said the legislative council had met "but the times will not at present admit of any regulations being made for more distant or remote situations; while the commotions continue, the power of the sword is chiefly and indeed only to be trusted to. The keeping of the Indians firm to the king's interest ought to be your first and great object." Hamilton was included in a commission of the peace for the province at large, and in that capacity could issue commitments to send down any persons guilty of criminal offenses in Detroit, "but these must be signed by you, and not by Dejean, whose authority is unknown here."

The horrors of an Indian warfare, which Carleton desired to avoid, were urged on by Lord George Germain in his letter of March 26, 1777, stating that "it is his majesty's resolution that the most vigorous efforts should be made, and every means employed that Providence has put into his majesty's hands for crushing the rebellion and restoring the constitution," and directing Governor Hamilton to assemble all the Indians he could at Detroit; to place at their head proper persons to prevent them from "committing violence on the well-affected and to employ them" in making a diversion and exciting an alarm upon the frontiers of Virginia and Pennsylvania. Hamilton was, at the same time, to employ all loyal subjects to join him in the enterprise, and to offer them a bounty of 200 acres of land if they served him until peace was declared.

An unofficial letter, written from Quebec, September 21, 1777, contains the following:

"Yesterday his excellency, Sir Guy, was pleased to sign my pass, a few hours

before he set out for Montreal, notwithstanding any opposition that may have been made by our Detroit Nero, Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton, who, you know, is now in town here. From what you have heard of his cruel and tyrannical disposition, you must be well convinced how unhappy we are under his government."

A few days later Sir Guy informed Hamilton that the conduct of the war had been entirely taken out of his hands, and the charge of the western frontier had been assigned to Hamilton, and added:

"The unfortunate turn with which we are threatened upon the frontier of this province has obliged me to hasten your return to your post."

#### INTER-POST COMMUNICATIONS

As the winter approached, it was necessary that suitable preparations should be made for carrying information between the various military posts. Letters and dispatches must be constantly sent between Michilimackinac, Detroit, Post Vincennes, Niagara, Montreal and Quebec. During the warm weather this was not so great a task, as communication by runners through the woods or the birch-bark canoe gliding over the waters of the lake and rivers was speedy and certain, but in the winter the carrying of communications must be intrusted to more reliable persons, or persons in whom confidence could be placed. These messengers were then to be sent out in parties, to consist of an Indian, a Canadian and two or three soldiers. Through the snow or along the margin of the lake on the ice they carried their dispatches from one post to another and kept each commandant informed as well as possible of the transactions in the outside world. Every letter was written in duplicate or triplicate, and it is no uncommon matter now to find that two or three copies of the same letter had reached the person to whom it was sent, by as many different routes. If the winter was severe, the river at Detroit was frozen and the inhabitants were "snow bound." Intercourse with the outside world was cut off except on the arrival of the occasional dispatch parties. Most of the inhabitants of the post were traders, who bought furs from the Indians and Canadian hunters and sold them such articles as they needed in return. One of the articles which they deemed a necessity was rum. To anticipate for an instant, Governor Haldimand complained in 1779 that there were consumed in Detroit 17,520 gallons of rum per year, while at Niagara only 10,000 gallons were used. This seemingly vast amount is only what the government gave away to its Indian wards; it is impossible to tell how much more was sold by the traders.

Detroit was not alone known to the British as a stronghold, as the key to the entrance of the southern department, but by the Americans who watched as carefully as circumstances would permit and with the desire for its capture or destruction. We have a letter from Washington to General Schuyler in 1778, in which he suggests several plans for invading Canada and for the reduction of Niagara, but, admitting the impracticability of the latter, he writes:

"An expedition against Detroit, which Congress meditated last fall, and still have in contemplation, will keep the Indians in that quarter employed and prevent them from affording succor to the garrison at Niagara."

In his report to Congress in January, 1779, Washington thought General McIntosh (then at Fort Pitt) "should at once decide whether, with his present force, provisions, stores, prospect of supplies and means of transportation, he can advance to Detroit, and whether the advantages or disadvantages of a

winter expedition predominate. If these should be determined in the affirmative, his plan should be prosecuted with vigor."

#### ARRIVAL OF CAPTAIN LERNOULT

Hamilton's overbearing disposition had caused a quarrel between himself and the commanding officers of the garrison. Captain Lernoult was sent up from Niagara to take the military command and settle the matters in dispute; he arrived sometime in December, 1777.

As Hamilton expected to make a descent upon Fort Pitt as soon as possible in the spring of 1778, the winter was occupied with preparations for the event, such as holding Indian councils and getting vessels in readiness for transportation, and in all this he was assisted by Captain Lernoult, who, though physically weak, was strong and active mentally.

At the opening of 1778, Hamilton sent continued reports to show the necessity of a descent upon Fort Pitt, and to show that the fort was incapable of resisting any force that might be sent against it; he reports that the garrison of Fort Pitt was only 120 men, and that they were undisciplined and ill-affected, that the cannon were out of condition for service and that the garrison did not understand the serving of them; that the alarm on the Ohio was very general and something ought to be done to encourage loyalists there and to keep the Indians employed.

"The militia and light company (at Detroit) would furnish 150 picked men, this garrison might spare an officer and thirty or forty men. Should your excellency think it advantageous for the protection of those persons living amongst the rebels who are friends to the government, or for the purpose of distressing the enemy to attempt Fort Pitt, I beg leave to make an humble offer of my service, whether to act with a body of militia and Indians, according to circumstances and the information I can produce, or under the direction of a regular officer appointed by your excellency to conduct an enterprise. We are entirely agreed as to the practicability of distressing the enemy somewhere on the frontier next spring."

Carleton was about to return to England and Frederick Haldimand had been sent out to take his place as governor of the province. Carleton probably knew something of the character and ability of Hamilton, and neither wished to venture upon an unprofitable expedition, nor seem to interfere with the management of affairs by his successor. He refused to give Hamilton directions regarding Fort Pitt, other than those already transmitted to Lord George Germain, and wrote to Hamilton on the 14th of March, 1778, that the entire plans would be turned over to Haldimand on his arrival.

#### HAMILTON'S DESIRE TO ESCAPE DETROIT

However impatient of delay Hamilton might have been, he was compelled to remain in Detroit for want of orders to do anything else, and on August 6th Haldimand wrote him that there was no essential point to be gained by taking Fort Pitt, and he was to make no attempt in that direction. Hamilton was disappointed; his various letters show that he was anxious to get away from Detroit. The purposes for which he proposed to go, when laid before the superior officer, seemed insufficient, and he then proposed some new scheme. "The rebels are overrunning the Ohio," "they are driving out the loyalists," "there is dissatisfaction at Vincennes"; anything to get away from Detroit. The cause of all this anxiety on the part of Hamilton was fear for his personal safety

at Detroit. It was under his instruction and with his consent and approbation that Dejean had tried, convicted and executed the Canadian, Contencineau, and Hecker, as above related. The proceedings were entirely irregular and without the scope of his power as a civil governor. The liberty-loving people of Detroit would not permit the matter to rest with the execution of the culprits, but carried it before the Court of King's Bench at Montreal. Hamilton knew of this and was afraid of the consequences.

No courts had ever been established in Detroit, but the need of them had been severely felt on many occasions and many attempts had been made by the citizens to procure the appointment of a judge here; it was then with a feeling of relief that they learned that a Mr. Owen had arrived in Quebec, bearing a commission as judge of Detroit. There had been no previous intimation of his coming and Detroit had not been set off or organized as a judicial district; nor were there other officers appointed such as would be required for properly carrying on the court business, but Detroit was to have a judge and that was one step in the right direction. Imagine the feelings of the citizens here when, a few days later, they received information in a letter from Lord Germain to Sir Guy Carleton containing the following:

"A mistake appearing to have been made in Mr. Owen's warrant by appointing him a judge of the district of Detroit, instead of Montreal, a new warrant has been made out which rectifies that mistake and the receiver-general will have orders from the treasury to pay him the salary for the past year according to his present appointment."

So Detroit lost its first judge without ever seeing him. Hamilton was disappointed. He was greatly in fear of the result of the investigation of the grand jury of Montreal into the affairs of Dejean and himself. He sought to smooth over the anticipated action of the grand jury and immediately upon learning that Haldimand had arrived at Quebec he wrote:

"A very able and amiable person (Mr. Owen) was destined for the place of judge of this post. His absence, which I have sufficient cause to lament, has occasioned me to act at the risque of being reprehensible on many occasions. The loss of so estimable a man as Mr. Owen must be doubly felt, while I am obliged to act as judge and in several cases executor of justice (there is no executioner or gaoler, nor is a gaol yet built, tho' greatly wanted). Mr. Dejean, who has been justice of the peace here for a long time, is indefatigable, but he as well as myself requires to be better informed and better supported. I show him all the countenance I am able, but till my own authority is on a proper foundation, it can serve him but little."

The tone of this letter has led Campbell, Buel and perhaps some others to suppose that Owen died. The fact is that William Owen served as judge for some time in Montreal and finally returned to England in poor health.

#### INDICTMENT OF HAMILTON AND DEJEAN

Both Hamilton and Dejean were presented by the grand jury, September 7, 1778, Dejean for having "acted and transacted divers unjust and illegal, tyrannical and felonious acts and things contrary to good government and the safety of his majesty's liege subjects" and "that the said Hamilton hath not only remained at Detroit aforesaid and been witness to the several illegal acts and doings of him, the said Philip Dejean, but has tolerated, suffered and permitted the same under his government, guidance and direction."

The presentment was forwarded to Lord George Germain on the 25th of October and a warrant was issued for the arrest of Hamilton and Dejean.

Dejean was twice indicted; Hamilton, once. One of the indictments was published some years since in the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collection, but the other seems never to have reached the printer's hands. Feeling sure that the other presentment existed, I looked carefully through all of Mr. Brymner's reports, and was rewarded after more than a year of diligent search in finding the lost paper, and at once obtained a copy of it. It is dated September 8, 1778, and is a long document, reciting that Dejean, on December 9, 1775, illegally acting as magistrate at Detroit, caused one Eller (Hecker) to be tried before him on the charge of murdering one Charles Morin (Moran) and upon his conviction, sentenced said Eller to death, and that the convict was executed; and that in February or March, 1776, Dejean likewise had John Constantinau (Contencineau) and Nancy, a negro woman, apprehended and tried before him for attempting to burn the dwelling house of Messrs. Abbott and Finchley, and also for having stolen some money and peltries, and Constantinau was condemned and executed; that the woman, Nancy, was likewise sentenced to death, and was imprisoned for a time, but was pardoned by Dejean on condition that she act as executioner in putting to death the said Constantinau, and that said Nancy put to death said Constantinau by hanging him; that in June, 1776, said Dejean caused one Jonas Schindler, a Montreal silversmith, to be imprisoned and tried for issuing base metal for pure silver, but that Schindler was acquitted on the trial. Dejean would not let Schindler go with the acquittal, but kept him imprisoned six days and then, attended by a drum and guards, had him drummed out of the garrison.

Judge Campbell, in his history of Michigan, says, concerning this episode: "It is evident there is much of its unwritten history yet unknown." I believe the publication of this second presentment, taken in connection with the matter already published by Campbell and in Lanman's history (p. 133), and the reports from the war department on these indictments, hereinafter referred to, make this matter as clear as it ever can be. We have an unbroken narrative—nothing is missing. Hamilton and Dejean acted with the consent of the jury they had called, and within what they deemed to be their authority, but the execution was murder, because they had no legal authority to condemn to death. In consequence of the unsettled state of affairs during the war, England thought best to overlook the irregular conviction and execution, and the parties were permitted to go free.

Edward Abbott, of Detroit, had been appointed lieutenant-governor of Vincennes, and had remained there till February 3, 1778, and then returned to Detroit, where he arrived on the 7th of March. The only excuse he gave for returning was that he was without means to supply the Indians with sufficient gifts to keep them from joining the rebels, and preferred to return, rather than make promises he could not carry out, and he accordingly left before the Indians returned from their winter hunt.

#### HAMILTON'S EXPEDITION TO VINCENNES

Early in January of this year, Virginia had authorized Lieut.-Col. George Rogers Clark to proceed to the west and attack the British posts in the Illinois country. The instructions to Clark are signed by Patrick Henry, and direct him to raise seven companies, of fifty men each, officered in the usual manner,

"and with this force attack the British post at Kaskasky." Kaskaskia was taken on the Fourth of July and a few days afterward Clark took Vincennes, or rather it was delivered up to him, as the only persons left there seemed to have been Frenchmen well affected to the American cause. Clark returned to his troops at Kaskaskia, leaving Vincennes with a small garrison.

Here was Hamilton's chance to get away from Detroit and the warrant for his arrest. He had not succeeded in getting a permit to attack Fort Pitt, but this time he would not give Haldimand an opportunity to forbid his going. On the 14th and 29th days of June he had prolonged councils with the Indians at Detroit and knew that, for a time at least, they would be faithful to his interests. On the 8th of August he wrote to Carleton that Rocheblave, the commandant at Kaskaskia, had been taken prisoner by the rebels and he had no doubt that Vincennes had fallen into their hands also. On the 11th of August he again wrote to Carleton that a party of marauders, consisting of 300 men, that had left Fort Pitt the preceding January, had taken Kaskaskia, imprisoned the commandant and were on their way to Vincennes. On the 5th of September he informed Governor Haldimand, who had taken Carleton's place, that "a prisoner brought here by the Shawnese lately, who was taken near one of the forts on the river Kentucke, tells me the rebels were lately reinforced with three companies, each of seventy men" and he would not be surprised to hear that the rebels were driven away, nor would he be surprised to hear that they were well received at Vincennes. (Accompanying this letter was a statement of the settlement of Detroit, that on April 26, 1778, there were 2,144 people, including 127 slaves.) On the 17th of September, Hamilton notified Haldimand that several parties of Indians had set off towards the Ohio and that "Captain Lernoult has promised me every aid in his power, and, as I propose going with the Indians, I hope to be able to keep up their good disposition." He notified Major De Peyster, commandant at Michilimackinac, that he would set off in about twelve days.

When these letters reached Haldimand it was too late for him to give any directions in the matter, and, indeed, Hamilton made no mention of his proposed departure until the last letter was written, and that was, as he said, twelve days before he left Detroit. This is the note made by Governor Haldimand on these letters:

"As he (Hamilton) sees that the Indians do not look upon the Virginians with pleasure, but that the French appear to favor them, there is no time to lose, he will try to anticipate my views in preventing the rebels from setting themselves solidly at the Illinois."

Maj. Jehu Hay (of the Indian Department, who was a lieutenant in the service) and Lieutenant Du Vernet were to go with Hamilton and commit to paper remarks they might deem necessary on the journey, and send them to Haldimand. Captain Lernoult was left in charge of the post at Detroit. The garrison at Detroit was very weak, and Lernoult hesitated to let any of them accompany Hamilton, but at the last moment, October 7, he permitted Lieutenant Shroud with thirty men to go, and the force thus made up consisted of one lieutenant of artillery, two gunners, one lieutenant of the King's (Eighth) Regiment, two sergeants, thirty rank and file of irregulars, one captain, one lieutenant, two sergeants, four rank and file, seventy volunteers and sixty Indians. It took this party seventy-one days to reach Vincennes, a distance of about four hundred miles.

There is a ludicrous picture in Bryant's History of the United States, of the taking of Vincennes by Hamilton. The garrison consisted of Captain Helm and one "rank and file," named Moses Henry. Upon the approach of Hamilton's party, the "garrison" trained their cannon upon the approaching foe and awaited developments. Being called upon to surrender, they refused unless granted the honors of war. Hamilton, not knowing how large, or how small, the garrison was, accepted the surrender on those terms. The picture represents Hamilton's forces drawn up in two lines, soldiers on one side and Indians on the other, and the conquered garrison of two men marching out between the lines, heads erect, "with all the honors of war."

The facts of the case, as related by Hamilton himself, are still less to his honor. When they neared Fort Sackville (the fort at Vincennes bore that name) Hamilton wished to submit some one else's body to the danger of being killed, and did not personally go near the fort, but he says, "Major Hay was detached with orders to fall down the river and send to the principal inhabitants of St. Vincennes acquainting them that unless they quitted the rebels and laid down their arms there was no mercy for them. Major Hay secured the arms, ammunition and spiritous liquors as soon as the inhabitants laid down their arms, arms, and the officer who commanded in the fort, being deserted by the officers and the officer who commanded in the fort, being deserted by the officers of the congress, surrendered his wretched fort on the very day of our arrival being the 17th of December, 1778."

#### CLARK RETAKES VINCENNES

When Colonel Clark received news of the surrender of Vincennes, he started for that place to retake it from Hamilton, and arrived a short distance from it on the 23rd of February, 1779, when he sent off a note to the inhabitants, in which he notified those who were true citizens and willing to enjoy liberty, to remain in their houses, "and those, if any there are, that are friends to the king, will instantly repair to the fort and join the Hair Buyer General and fight like men."

After exchanging some shots, by which several soldiers were wounded, but none killed, Hamilton surrendered at discretion on the 24th of February. Dejean, who had been left behind in Detroit, was as anxious to avoid service of the warrant as was Hamilton, and at the earliest opportunity set off for Vincennes and was captured by a party sent out by Clark on March 5th. Dejean had obtained leave of Lernoult (who was then in charge of Detroit) to pass to Vincennes to carry letters to Hamilton, and at the time of his capture was with one Adhemar, whom Hamilton had sent to the Miamis for provisions.

As we look back on these skirmishes, battles and captures, where only a very few soldiers were engaged on either side, and where there was very little bloodshed, and possibly no serious wounds, it seems as if they were only "playing war," and yet we know now that this capture of Vincennes was one of the most important events of the Revolution. It for a time put an end to concerted Indian war in the West and gave us the right to claim all of that vast extent of territory called the Northwest Territory, as our land by right of conquest, when the treaty of 1783 was executed. Alexander McKee, one of the most enterprising royalists in the West, informed Haldimand that there was a prospect "at this time of uniting the western and southern Indians and engaging them in his majesty's service, which would have been undoubtedly effected,







had not his (Hamilton's) unfortunate fate prevented it. This unlucky event has not only discouraged many tribes well disposed, but inclined others who were wavering to stand neuter."

## HAMILTON AND DEJEAN AS PRISONERS

The Virginia Legislature considered Americans who had been captured by the British unfairly treated as prisoners of war and had threatened, unless better treatment was granted, to retaliate upon British soldiers taken by the Virginians. Thus it happened that Hamilton and Dejean, and William La Mothe, a captain of volunteers from Detroit, who had been taken prisoner with them, were chosen as the proper persons on whom to begin the process of retaliation. It was not alone that they were prisoners of war that they were thus chosen, but because of the infamous character of the men themselves. The council of Virginia, on June 18, 1879, found that Hamilton excited the Indians to perpetrate cruelties upon citizens of the United States; that he gave standing rewards for scalps, but not for prisoners, and that Dejean was "on all occasions the willing and cordial instrument of Governor Hamilton, acting both as judge and keeper of the jails and instigating and urging him by malicious insinuations and untruths to increase rather than relax his severities, heightening the cruelty of his orders by his manner of executing them, offering at one time a reward for one man to be hangman of another, threatening his life on refusal, and taking from his prisoners the little property their opportunities enabled them to acquire," and "that the prisoner, La Mothe, was a captain of volunteer scalping parties of Indians and whites, who went from time to time under general orders to spare neither men, women or children."

They therefore advised the governor that Henry Hamilton and Philippe Dejean and William La Mothe were fit subjects to begin the work of retaliation and that they should be "put in irons, confined in a dungeon of the public jail, debarred the use of pen, ink and paper, and excluded all converse, except with their keeper."

While at Detroit, Dejean had held all the civil offices worth holding, recorder, notary, justice, auctioneer, receiver of public monies, and judge, and Judge Campbell says the man must have been very virtuous, or very subservient, to get control of all of these offices. It seems very probable that it was subserviency and not virtue that kept Dejean in office, for even Hamilton, who was mixed up with him in so many questionable transactions, despised him, and in one of his official reports says that Dejean was on his way to Vincennes with letters and papers for him (Hamilton) when he was captured by Colonel Clark and that "Mr. Dejean heard that he had fallen into the hands of the rebels, but he had not sufficient presence of mind to destroy the papers." The prisoners were kept in close confinement for some months, when a form of oath was submitted to them, on the taking of which they were to be released on parole. Dejean and La Mothe took the oath and were set at liberty, but Hamilton refused and was kept a close prisoner until General Washington wrote a letter to Thomas Jefferson, suggesting that it was not a proper mode of warfare to manacle and confine prisoners of war. Hamilton was exchanged in 1781 and went to New York.

Meanwhile copies of the indictments of the grand jury had been forwarded by General Haldimand to Lord George Germain in October, 1778, with the explanation that although Hamilton had been irregular in some of the pro-

ceedings alluded to in the presentments, still "I am well convinced he acted with the best intentions for the king's service, and the security of that part of the province committed to his immediate charge." This explanation seemed sufficient for Lord George; all he could ask was that officials should look out for the interests of the government, and a little thing like the hanging of two or three persons without any warrant was of no great consequence, so he wrote back to Haldimand April 16, 1779: "The presentments of the grand jury at Montreal against Lieut.-Gov. Hamilton and Mr. Dejean are expressive of a greater degree of jealousy than the transaction complained of, in the then circumstances of the province, appeared to warrant; such stretches of authority are, however, only to be excused by unavoidable necessity and the justness and fitness of the occasion."

Hamilton and Dejean were so unpopular that the news of their capture was received with great rejoicing at Detroit, and Colonel Clark desired to push on and capture the place and probably would have undertaken it if he had had more troops. He wrote April 29, 1779, that if he had 300 good men he would attempt to take Detroit and as he had learned that there "could have been no doubt of success, as by some gentlemen, lately from that post, we are informed that the town and country kept three days in feasting and diversions on hearing of my success against Mr. Hamilton."

The news of Hamilton's disaster spread rapidly through the province and was as disheartening to the British as it was encouraging to the Americans. Haldimand accused Hamilton of going off without receiving either his orders or permission, and termed his expedition a second tour de Burgoyne, which had the most vexatious consequences. "There seems to be a fatality accompanying the enterprise."

From all the Canadian posts and from London came letters of complaint and regret, filled with expressions of fear as to the ultimate result of the disaster. The Indians were disheartened and were seeking to make peace with the Americans, and it was even published as an item of news in London that Colonel Crockett reported "that Colonel Clark had taken Fort Detroit, made 250 prisoners, and reduced that country. His informant saw some of the prisoners."

The anxiety of the garrison at Detroit was not diminished by a very cordial letter received by Captain Lernoult from Colonel Clark, which Clark sent up by some of the paroled prisoners, in which he desired Lernoult to present the compliments of his officers to those in the Detroit garrison, and expressed himself well satisfied with the new works then going on at the new fort, "as it will save the Americans some expenses in building."

#### DETROIT UNDER LERNOULT

Hamilton still remained governor of Detroit, notwithstanding his absence, and so continued until Jehu Hay was appointed his successor after the close of the war. The military command remained with Capt. Richard B. Lernoult, who seems to have been an efficient and able commandant. Haldimand directed Bolton, who was in command of Niagara, to send reinforcements to Detroit, and in April, 1779, he dispatched 100 men for that purpose. There were then in the garrison 120 persons, including officers. Fears were entertained for the safety of the post, and as the Indians could not be depended

upon, small parties were sent out from all the Canadian forts to harass the Americans and prevent, if possible, concerted action on their part.

The defenses at Detroit had long been considered inadequate, and when it was found that the Americans were coming westward, when Clark had taken Vincennes and Kaskaskia, and Hamilton had gone down to meet him, Lernoult concluded it was about time some preparations were being made to receive him. We will let Capt. Henry Bird tell the story of the new fort, in his own language, merely mentioning that the fort, called Lernoult after the commandant, was located on the site of the present Detroit postoffice.

“Late in the fall of 1778 we were alarmed by the approach of the enemy under Brodhead, who with 2,000 or 3,000 men had actually advanced as far as Tuscarawas, about ninety miles from the lake at lower Sandusky, and were employed in building a large picketed fort. Major Lernoult at a conversation with the officers at Detroit on the above alarm, concluded Detroit incapable of making a defense that might reflect honor on the defendants, it being of great extent only picketed, and in a manner under a hill. By his orders, on the same evening, I traced a redoubt on the hill; the plan was left to me. I at first intended only a square (our time as we imagined being but short for fortifying ourselves), but when the square was marked out it appeared to me so naked and insufficient that I added the half bastions, imagining if the enemy approached before the curtains were completed we might make tolerable defense by closing the bastions at the gorge. So perfect a work as one with entire bastions for so small a number of defendants, four or five six-pounders very ill furnished and no artillery officers and an attack expected in a few weeks, was what I never would have engaged to have undertaken. We began, I think early in November and worked without intermission until February, at which time the Indians declaring an intention of attacking Colonel Brodhead’s post of 400, then at Tuscarawas, I joined them. In the meantime, Lieutenant Duvernett returned from Post Vincent and was appointed engineer.”

The enterprise and activity of Lernoult was appreciated by Haldimand, who wrote in April that he was happy that so important a post as Detroit had been intrusted to so careful and diligent an officer, and that he would send his aide-de-camp, Captain Brehm, on a tour of inspection to all the posts of the upper country. Bird had started off southward, as he said in his report, but poor success attended him. The Indians could not be depended on. He had collected about two hundred savages at Mingo Town, mostly Shawnee, when a runner arrived with information that rebels had attacked and beaten back another band of Shawnee and thereupon news flew “that all the towns were to be attacked, and our little body separated in an instant, past reassembling; confusion still prevails; much counseling; no resolves; many are for moving, more for peace. The Indians are always cooking or counseling.”

Bird’s reports were only of the experiences of every man of the time.

#### CONDITION OF DETROIT

Detroit was capable of supplying the garrison with provisions in times of peace, but Hamilton had carried off so much with him on his expedition that everything in the line of provisions was very scarce and very high; a pair of oxen was worth 1,000 livres, and flour was 60 livres a hundred pounds.

The only justice of the peace that Detroit had was Dejean, and he had unnecessarily departed for Vincennes, had been captured by Clark, and left

poor Detroit without anyone to look after her records. Lernoult had given a qualified appointment to Thomas Williams, to act as justice and notary, and placed the public records in his keeping. It was certainly beyond the province of a military commandant to appoint a judicial officer, but something had to be done, and Williams was appointed to fill the place, with the expectation that a proper commission would be issued from Quebec. This Thomas Williams was the father of the late Gen. John R. Williams, first mayor of Detroit.

One of the first acts of the new justice was to take a survey of the settlement of Detroit. There were 2,653 persons all told, of whom 275 were of the garrison and navy, and 500 "extras, prisoners," etc. The census takers were quite minute in their searches, requiring each inhabitant to disclose on oath the number of persons in each family, and the number of pounds of flour, bushels of grain, number of cattle, hogs and horses owned by each. We find many names in this list that are familiar to us throughout the entire subsequent history of the city: Tremble, Moran, St. Aubin, Campau, Guion, Navarre, Beaubien, Williams; here also we find two names of people whose descendants have made them famous, Alexander Macomb and George Anthon. Alexander Macomb was a trader here in an early day and a member of the firms of Alexander and William Macomb and of Macomb, Edgar & Macomb. Both of the Macombs were very wealthy, for the time, and both have, in their descendants, contributed largely to the composition of the United States Army. Although we are not informed that this Alexander Macomb took any active part in military affairs, either for or against the government, it would not seem surprising that at heart he was a British sympathizer, as he was a British subject, but his son, who bore the same name, and who was born in Detroit in 1782, held various military offices during the War of 1812 and received the thanks of Congress, a gold medal and a commission as major-general for his firmness and courage at the battle of Plattsburgh in September, 1814, and after the decease of Major-General Brown in 1835 he succeeded to the office of commander-in-chief of the army. George Christian Anthon was a surgeon in the British Army, stationed at Detroit, where he came in 1760 and remained until 1786. He was not only surgeon to the garrison, but he was also physician to the inhabitants of the village. He was twice married. His first wife was Marianne Navarre, daughter of Robert Navarre, "l'Ecrivain," and widow of Jacques St. Martin. His second wife was Genevieve Jadot (a niece of his first wife), to whom he was married in July, 1778, by Governor Hamilton, for the governors exercised the right of marrying people, whether regularly so or not. There were several children, the issue of this marriage, and three of them have their names placed with the noted men of America: John Anthon, an eminent lawyer of New York; Henry Anthon, who for a quarter century was rector of the parish known as "St. Mark's in the Bowery;" and Charles Anthon, the well known editor of the classics, whose name is familiar to every college student.

It was on the 24th of April, 1779, that Captain Lernoult informed Major De Peyster, then commandant at Michilimackinac, that Hamilton had fallen into the hands of the enemy. For some time De Peyster had been complaining that his post was not important enough for a person of his ability and requesting that some more important place be given him; he therefore at once wrote to Haldimand, informing him of Hamilton's misfortune and that he had come

to the conclusion to send down and inquire what was going on at Detroit, and said, "I flatter myself that there are orders for me to go and take the command there, for which purpose I hold myself ready at a moment's warning." There were rumors that the Virginians were building boats at Milwaukee to cross the lake; should they come his way, they would repent their voyage, but should Detroit fall, the friendship of the Indian would fall with it. Haldimand could not see his way clear to remove De Peyster from the place he held where he was serving the government a useful purpose, nor did he wish to supersede Lernoult, whom he liked and who was doing well at Detroit. Lieutenant-Governor Sinclair had arrived in Quebec, but Haldimand had not yet permitted him to go to Michilimackinac.

We have seen that Captain Brehm had been sent to the upper posts to make report of their condition. From his various letters, we find that 200 reinforcements had come to Detroit before May 28, 1779, and their arrival had a good effect on the Indians, who were getting insolent and almost daring in their behavior, because Lernoult could not carry out with them the promises made by Hamilton. The French could not be depended upon and needed watching as much as the Indians. The French, Spaniards, Germans and Americans had all joined together and were sending messages among the Indians, asking them to join them and drive the English out of the country. The new fort was much advanced towards its completion, and for it Captain Lernoult wanted an iron eighteen-pounder for a long range, as the new fort commanded the grounds about it for a great distance.

"Affairs are very critical and the place may be attacked at any time. Captain Bird of the Eighth Regiment is at Upper Sandusky and 200 Chanees (Shawnees) have gone to join him. Captain Lernoult is engaged in building a covered way around the works, has finished a bomb-proof magazine and storehouse, and is now making barracks for officers and men. The daily consumption of rum has been forty gallons per day, but the number of Indians has increased so that it is necessary to have sixty gallons per day."

The last of these reports is dated July 27, 1779, and is written from Niagara, where Captain Brehm had arrived on his return trip. He said: "Lernoult wishes 100 more men and with them he will undertake to defend the town or old fort, and not abandon and burn it in case of an attack."

The rumor of disaffection among the French at Detroit had so excited Haldimand that he directed Lernoult to arrest all the guilty persons and send them down to Niagara at once. Acting under this warrant, depositions were at once collected concerning several of those living in the vicinity of Detroit. They were sent down to Niagara.

#### APPOINTMENT OF DE PEYSTER

On the 28th of August, 1779, Lernoult was informed that he had been promoted to the rank of major and on the same day was directed to surrender to De Peyster the command of the post and repair at once to Niagara upon De Peyster's arrival. De Peyster, in turn, was directed to give to Governor Sinclair all information he could, respecting Michilimackinac and then to leave that post in his charge and take command of Detroit. On the 11th of November following, Lernoult was again promoted, this time to the rank of adjutant-general.

Accompanying the letter to De Peyster, notifying him of his removal to

Detroit, is another letter from Haldimand, which gives us some idea of what the powers of a lieutenant-governor really were. Patrick Sinclair held the rank of captain in the army and had been appointed lieutenant-governor and superintendent of the post at Michilimackinac. Haldimand wrote: "From a letter of Lord George Germain to Captain Sinclair, wherein he styles him commandant of the post, he conceives he is entitled to military command, which is not expressed in his commission, it being exactly similar to that of Lieut.-Gov. Hamilton; he therefore goes to his government vested with the same powers."

We know that Hamilton exercised the power of marrying Doctor Anthon and perhaps others, but we also know that De Peyster, while military commandant at Detroit, without any claim to civil command, exercised the same powers by marrying Thomas Williams and Cecile Campau (sister of the late Joseph Campau), according to the forms of the Established Church. We know, also, that Hamilton was not permitted to do as he pleased in the citadel of Detroit, though at the time it was under the command of a lieutenant, and we have seen that on his expedition to Vincennes he was willing to serve under any officer that might be selected to head the expedition, showing that he did not claim the right of leadership by virtue of his office. Sinclair complained that the commission limited his charge to the civil business of the post and supervision of the Indian department, but Haldimand remarked that the commission was similar to Hamilton's, and did not savor in the least of a military appointment, and he could not enlarge its terms.

#### THE POST UNDER DE PEYSTER

Arent Schuyler De Peyster, who came to take command of Detroit in October, 1779, was born in New York in 1736 and was now forty-three years of age. He had entered the army when nineteen years old, and when transferred to Detroit bore the rank of colonel. He found the new fort in good condition, though not yet completed.

The first dispatch which De Peyster made, which he sent down with the departing Lernoult, gave Haldimand the encouraging information that Simon Girty and his Indians had defeated Colonel Rogers on the Ohio. The second official dispatch of De Peyster was to Captain McKee, of "Shawanese Towns," requesting him to procure from the Indians a woman, Peggy West, and her daughter, Nancy, a girl of twelve, who had been for some time captives of the Monsey Indians. The instance shows that while he was a rough soldier, accustomed to rough treatment, in constant association with the Indians and frontier soldiers of a similar disposition, he had a heart, and it was found to be in its proper place. "If, sir," he wrote to McKee, "if it is possible to find the mother and the other sister, I will not spare expense. Please, therefore, to employ some active people to go in search of them, assuring the Indians of a good price, and my grateful acknowledgement."

Thomas Williams had been acting as justice of the peace under an appointment from Lernoult, and had awaited a proper commission from Haldimand; the commission arrived a few days after De Peyster came, but no one here was authorized to qualify the new officer as the *dedimus* had been directed to Lernoult, and he had gone to Montreal, and both Williams and De Peyster were compelled to act in an informal way till the proper papers came.

Early in the spring of 1779, Washington had directed Col. Daniel Brod-



head to detach 100 men and proceed northward from Fort Pitt, through the Indian country, but in April he changed the plans and directed Brodhead to chastise the western Indians by an expedition into their country, and directed him to "ascertain the most favorable season for the enterprise against Detroit. The frozen season, in the opinion of most persons, is the only one in which any capital stroke can be given, as the enemy can derive no benefit from their shipping, which must either be destroyed or fall into our hands."

Either the last mentioned order did not reach Brodhead or else the original order was again given to him, as he marched northward and chastised the Mingo and Monsey tribes on the Allegheny and did not come near Detroit.

The situation of affairs in the West was discouraging to Haldimand, who had spent a vast quantity of money on Indian presents and given the affairs of this post unusual attention on account of its importance, and of the Canadian defection already mentioned. On September 13, 1779, the situation, as it appeared to him, is expressed in a letter to Lord Germain, as follows:

"It is much to be apprehended that our Indian allies have it in contemplation to desert us, those of the western nations in the neighborhood of Detroit particularly, their former attachment to the French, the pains that have been taken by their emissaries to reclaim them, together with the unfortunate miscarriage of Lieut.-Gov. Hamilton, have strongly seemed to alienate their affections, and although they continue to profess their attachment to the king, they frame excuses for not going to war, and discover upon all occasions an indifference which indicates their intention to forsake us.

"Detroit is likewise menaced by the Virginians; they have made great advances and have established posts of communication in that country. From every information that has been received it would appear that an expedition against Detroit is certainly intended under the command of a Col. Clarke, who retook Vincennes."

Count D'Estaing had in October, 1778, issued a proclamation in the name of the king of France, to "all the ancient French of North America," calling upon them to assist the United States in its contest with Great Britain, and promising, in the name of his king, "who has authorized and so commanded me, that all his former subjects in North America, who will not acknowledge any longer the supremacy of Great Britain, may depend upon his protection and support."

The proclamation was printed and copies of it in great numbers were scattered everywhere among the Canadians in the West; one of the copies fell into the hands of Lernoult and was sent by him to Haldimand in the fall of 1779, and by Haldimand was forwarded to Germain, with the remark that it had "had a very marked effect among the French Indians there." A few days later Haldimand urged upon Germain the necessity of employing 1,000 to 1,500 men for the preservation of the upper country and fur trade, and regretted that some steps had not been taken, before then, to make Detroit self-sustaining, by raising his own stock and provisions. *Ile aux Cochons*, the present Belle Isle, had for some years been in possession of Captain McDougall under a claim of ownership, partly by grant from the Indians and partly by confirmation of the privy council of Great Britain, and this suggestion of Haldimand that Detroit raise its own provisions had direct reference to the island. The village claimed that the island was a commons, and that neither McDougall nor any other private individual could obtain a right there. McDougall had

recently died, leaving a widow and two sons. Efforts were made by the family to retain the property, but they were not for the present successful, and although ultimately the complete title to the property became vested in McDougall's descendants, and so remained until the sale to the city for a park, its possession was then taken from them and the buildings and improvements were appraised and their value offered to the family of Captain McDougall, but the tender was refused.

The winter of 1779 was very severe, one of unexampled rigor over all of North America, and it seems that nothing was done at Detroit in the way of warlike preparations, but the old scheme of Washington to capture the place had not passed from his mind and on January 4, 1780, he wrote to Brodhead that he was "persuaded that a winter expedition against Detroit would have a great advantage over a summer one and be much more certain of success," and regretted that the situation of affairs would not permit him to undertake it.

A great number of Indians, driven by the Americans from their villages in the Ohio and Illinois country, came to Detroit and Niagara and remained during the winter. It is estimated that between 3,000 and 5,000 lived at Niagara and while we do not know the number that stopped at Detroit, it must have been very large, as the expense of maintaining them was £18,000 for provisions alone.

Early in the spring, March 8, 1780, before the ice had cleared from the river, De Peyster sent overland a dispatch to Haldimand, acquainting him that the rebels threatened to cross the Ohio and had built a fort near the Indian village on the Little Miami, and that the Indians had come in great numbers to request that assistance be given them to oppose the rebels, as Hamilton had promised when he was the acting governor. The Indians declared that if they could be aided by a few soldiers, they would assist in the undertaking and would thereafter always work in the king's interest. De Peyster proposed to send one captain, one lieutenant, fifty men and two small pieces of ordnance, "to help them knock down the pickets of the first fort," but could not give them further assistance until Haldimand's pleasure was known. Captain Bird was selected to lead the party southward. Preparations for the departure consumed the time until after the 1st of May and the commandant was then so hurried there was no time to hold a final Indian council, as was usual on the eve of departure. De Peyster wrote to Alexander McKee, agent for Indian affairs at Shawanese Town, that in case any accident happened to Bird, so as to prevent his commanding the expedition, McKee should direct the enterprise; and added that "as there is no time for counseling, I have no speech made to my friends and children, the Indians, other than to assure them of my friendship and to desire that they will lose no time in showing the way to some of the forts, in order to give my cannon the opportunity of leveling the pickets."

The misfortune that met Captain Bird at the very outset cannot be better related than by quoting the official letter of De Peyster. De Peyster states that the expedition under Bird was expected to pass the carrying place early in May, and could then go down the stream all the way to the Ohio.

"My intentions, however, to amuse the rebels at the rapids, have in some measure been baffled by a ridiculous circumstance. A Canadian trader meeting with the Pottawatomies and Grand River Indians near Post Vincennes, asked them if they were mad to go against their old friends, the French, of

whom there were 4,000 in garrison at Post Vincennes, with all the artillery Count D'Estaing had taken at Jamaica and the governor of New Orleans upon the banks of the Mississippi who, he said, had taken the Natchez, etc., and was actually laying siege to Pensacola. They unfortunately listened to these extravagances and returned to their homes, except a few who proceeded to satisfy their curiosity, when to their great mortification they found only 23 Virginians in the place, too late to recall their friends. Such is the dependence on Indians, with no troops to lead them on."

The Indians referred to had returned to Detroit, but De Peyster persuaded them to go again to Bird's assistance and on the 1st of June sent down 2,000 more Indian warriors to reconnoitre the Ohio and Wabash.

De Peyster's plan had been to offer rewards for prisoners, rather than for scalps, and the result was telling now in the great number of prisoners continually being brought in. The people from the East who did not belong to either army and were not active partisans in either cause were forcing their way westward and settling with their families on the Indian land in the Ohio and Illinois countries. A year earlier than this, Colonel Clark had complained of the work connected with looking after and granting lands to these settlers. He said that this took nearly all of his time and Col. John Todd was appointed to relieve him of this civil work. Whenever a descent of Indians was made on the settlement the prisoners were sent to either Niagara or Detroit. De Peyster asked what he should do with the prisoners. Haldimand told him to send them down to Quebec. De Peyster obeyed orders, but new supplies of prisoners kept coming in, and again he asked for directions. Haldimand said, "a part of them must be sent to this part of the province, although we are equally at a loss to find room for them," and the remainder De Peyster was to employ on the works and the new fort, giving each prisoner a ration of provisions and the same pay as other laborers, the pay to be retained to be applied to clothe them.

Captain Bird and the troops and Indians under his command were successful in destroying the forts and blockhouses on Licking Creek, and returned to Detroit on the 4th of August, with Mr. McKee, but left again on the 16th, when he heard that the American troops were again advancing into the Indian country.

The Indians assembled at the upper Shawnee village on the 22d of August, sent a message to De Peyster, informing him that 2,000 men were coming from Fort Pitt to attack Detroit, and that they had already destroyed four Indian villages. They asked for food, ammunition, clothing and assistance. Captain Bird had already gone when this message was received, and now De Peyster sent down Captain Hare, with the Rangers and Canadian volunteers, though he placed no confidence in the latter. He could send no troops from his garrison, as the detachments already sent off had greatly reduced its efficiency, and he had thirty-six on the sick list. The long and severe winter had been followed by an exceedingly rainy and stormy summer. The wheat and other crops grown around the settlement had been nearly ruined by continual rains. But what was of more importance to the garrison, the rains washed out the portions of the new fort, so that "the whole exterior face, to the thickness of four or five feet, was washed into the ditch."

The sides of the fort had been composed of sods to a depth of five or six feet, and in the rebuilding, which commenced at once, an embankment "a

thickness of ten feet entirely of clay, well beat, and united every three feet by layers of birch and cedar stakes," was first made and then covered by sod, six inches in depth, by way of coat. This work was not completed that year, but all the spare time of the garrison and of such of the prisoners as could work was spent at it.

#### THE STORY OF COLONEL LA BALME

Colonel La Balme, a Frenchman, had started northward from the Ohio to take Detroit. His forces consisted of 103 Canadians and some Indians, but it was expected that a greater number would soon join him from Vincennes. In this he was disappointed, and meeting the Miami Indians near their village, La Balme's followers were defeated and himself and thirty or forty of his men killed on the 5th of November.

The rapidity with which the company had marched from the Ohio (only four days had been occupied on the trip) startled De Peyster and he wrote to Haldimand that "if this little army had arrived here complete and joined by so many more, they would, under such an enterprising officer, have given us a deal of trouble." De Peyster suspected that the Indians did not give him notice of La Balme's coming when they learned of it, but he was afraid to do anything to offend them and, instead of undertaking to punish them, sent off a body of Rangers to take post at that town and act in concert with them.

Clark had only temporarily given up his idea of attacking Detroit. He had, with a small detachment, proceeded east under the orders of Baron Steuben and had undertaken to resist the landing of Benedict Arnold on the James River, but the kind of warfare he was engaged in there was not suited to his taste and he left for the West as soon as possible. It is presumed that there was no connection between La Balme and the Virginians. The history of this man is somewhat shrouded in mystery, as he has not been considered of enough importance to have his name mentioned in the histories of the Revolution or in the dictionaries of biography. The name of Augustin Mottin de la Balme should be known by every person who has an interest in the history of the Northwest Territory, as that of a valiant soldier, who lost his life in attempting to capture Detroit from the British. La Balme's name sufficiently indicates his French extraction. We do not know where he was born or when or whether he had taken any part in that war between France and England which resulted in the fall of New France in 1760. His commission as quartermaster of gendarmerie is dated at Versailles, February 23, 1766. He had arrived in this country as early as 1777, very likely coming from Paris, as he was recommended by Silas Deane, October 17, 1776, who was in Paris, to John Hancock, as one who would be of service to the Americans in training cavalry. He also bore a recommendation from Franklin, who was likewise in Paris, dated January 20, 1777. He was then commissioned by Congress as inspector-general of cavalry in July of that year, and the following year was, by General Gates, granted permission to go to Albany.

In 1778 he established a workshop twenty-eight miles from Philadelphia and issued a public notice in English, French and German, requesting all persons who had deserted from the army or navy of any other powers than the United States or France to find shelter and employment at his workshop. With the proclamation of D'Estaing already spoken of, La Balme hoped to arouse the French at Vincennes and Kaskaskia to join him in an attack on Detroit, and

he came west in 1780 with that object in view. He was not entirely successful in getting the troops he needed for the expedition. La Balme started for Detroit with 300 French and Indians, but was defeated by the hostile Indians at Miami Town on the fifth of November, 1780. La Balme and thirty of his followers were killed and many others were taken prisoners and sent to Montreal. Thus ended the life and labors of one, who, if fortune had turned toward him instead of from him, might have been looked upon as the deliverer of our country, and a hero. The military orders and journal of La Balme fell into the hands of the British and are now deposited in the British Museum, where I obtained a complete copy some time since. The address of the colonel "*Aux amis de la libertez*" precedes the proclamation of Napoleon in Egypt, and almost equals it in enthusiasm.

In the calendar of Virginia State Papers (Vol. I, p. 379) is a letter dated "Cascaskia, October 14, 1780," from Richard McCarty to John Todd, referring to La Balme, from which I make the following extracts:

"I have sent to Colonel Clarke in an extract from my journal the proceedings so far as I know of one Colonel de la Balme and his raising a party to go against Detroit. Not being a commander, I cannot say whether he has proper authority to do so or not. The people have sent by him memorials to Congress or the French envoy at Philadelphia, setting forth all the evils we have done. I think government should be informed of this, as the people are not entirely alienated against us; he has told the Indians that the French troops will be near in the spring."

A few days later Richard Winston writes from Kaskaskia:

"There Passed this way a Frenchman, called himself Colonel de la Balme, he says in the American service—I look upon him as a Mal Content, much disgusted at the Virginians, yet I must say he done some good—he pacified the Indians, he was received by the Inhabitants Just as the Hebrews would receive the Masiah—was Conducted from the Post here by a large detachh't of the Inhabitants as well as different Tribes of Indian:—he went from here against Detroit Being well assured that the Indians were on his Side—Gott at this Plase and the Kahos about fifty Volunteers—are to rendezvous at Ouia—Captain Duplasi from here went along with him to Philad'a there to Lay before the French Ambassador all the grievance this Country labours under by the Virginians which is to be strongly Backed by a Monsieur de la Balme—the general Opinion that he will take Baubin the Great Partisan at Miamis and from thence to Fort Pitt."

Jefferson wrote to Washington on the 26th of September urging the necessity of reducing and retaining Detroit, and stating that Virginia had long meditated the attempt under Clark, but that the expense would be so great they had been obliged to decline it.

By the middle of December it was fully determined by Jefferson to attempt the capture, by means of Colonel Clark, and Washington was notified of the undertaking and requested to furnish certain necessaries from Fort Pitt. Washington replied that he had long been of the opinion that the reduction of the post of Detroit was the only certain means of giving peace and security to the whole western frontier. He would be very happy to aid Virginia in the undertaking and gave directions to the commandant at Fort Pitt to furnish Clark the desired articles and also a detachment of troops, to be placed under Clark's command. The orders to Colonel Brodhead (command-

ant at Fort Pitt) conform to Washington's letters and contain the statement that "the inability of the continent to undertake the reduction of Fort Detroit which, while it continues in the possession of the enemy, will be a constant source of trouble to the whole western frontier, has of necessity imposed the task on the state of Virginia and in consequence makes it expedient to confer the command upon an officer of that state."

It seemed now that Detroit must soon fall into the hands of the Americans; but the treason of Arnold drew all available forces to the East and South, and Clark took a command under Baron Steuben for the occasion, and the capture of Detroit was lost.

#### INDIAN CLAIMS AND LEGAL PROCEDURE

At Detroit, affairs had not been entirely idle during the year. The inability of the British government to supply all of the requirements of the Indians and the persistence of the Americans in refusing to accept terms of peace unless their independence was recognized had alike disheartened the British soldiers and Indians. It is possible that the inhabitants, soldiers and civilians, saw the coming peace and resolved to make the most of their opportunities.

The British government had never recognized a general right, either on the part of individuals or the government itself, to purchase lands from the Indians and we find very few transfers made by the Indians before the year 1780. In some instances, as in the case mentioned of the purchase of Hog Island, a special permit had been granted by the British authorities, either at Quebec or Whitehall; when the Indians gave up the Jones Farm to Isidore Chene as a mark of friendship to him, who had so long been a chief among them, the consent of the commandant of the post was deemed necessary to the validity of the transaction, and many other cases of like nature can be found of record; but this year the commandant, De Peyster, permitted the Indians to trade their lands off to settlers and speculators in large tracts; not only permitted it, but took a decided interest in it and obtained for himself a grant of 5,000 acres.

Great numbers of Indians, claiming lands in the neighborhood, would come about the post to attend the councils or to receive the trinkets and rum given to them, and the chiefs would make deeds to applicants of farms of from 150 to 2,000 acres, all situated near Detroit and all now of great value. These deeds were drawn up and witnessed by Thomas Williams, notary and justice, and were witnessed by his clerk, John Cassety. As the signing and witnessing was all that was necessary to make the deed valid, Mr. Williams wrote them out at full length in the books kept by him, which we now have.

Detroit was without laws or rather was a law unto itself. It was a civil settlement at present under military rule, but engaged in commercial transactions.

At some period earlier than this in its history, Dejean had been appointed justice of the peace, but his authority as justice was not clearly defined. In case of disagreement between traders or others of a commercial nature, he could not issue summons to commence suit before himself, nor could he award judgments, as he had no power to enforce his findings, but the very nature of the situation created a new form of procedure, which was unknown elsewhere. Where controversies arose, the persons jointly called upon the justice and requested him to take charge of the matter, and each contestant and the justice

chose an arbitrator, the contestants entering into bond to abide by the result of the arbitration. When the award was made, it was submitted to the commandant for his approval, and if he approved of it, it was made effectual and was enforced by his military authority, if necessary. The person who would not abide by the decision of the arbitrators was not permitted to trade with the Indians; his furs could not be disposed of; he was an outlaw and we have at least one case (Gerrit Graverat) where the person gave up nearly all of his possessions, amounting to a large sum of several thousand pounds, under the immediate direction of the commandant and under the threat of De Peyster that if he did not give up his property, he would be expelled from the country.

In this year, it had for the first time been ascertained that this manner of proceeding by arbitrators, with the assistance of the justice and commandant, was not legal, and was not looked upon with favor by the courts at Montreal and Quebec. The consternation of the traders and citizens was great; it seemed impossible to carry on the business without some manner of courts in which to settle their difficulties. They stood the matter as long as they could and in March, 1781, they petitioned De Peyster for some plan for the administration of justice. "We beg," they said, "to lay before you the unhappy situation of ourselves and others residing at this place, for want of some mode to oblige those who are able and yet unwilling to pay their lawful debts." De Peyster forwarded the petition to Haldimand, with an earnest request "that some method might be fallen upon to make them pay their just debts." The question was agitated, both at Quebec and in England, but nothing definite was done for several years, not until 1788, in fact, and in the meantime all the larger and more important cases were taken to Montreal for trial before the courts there, and the smaller cases were dropped.

#### MEANING OF THE TERM "FORT"

Frequent reference has been made to Fort Detroit and to forts in the Ohio and Illinois country, without attempting to illustrate what was meant by the term "fort." In Doddridge's Notes of the settlement and Indian wars of Virginia, the author describes a fort, as these western posts were called, and his description will fit any fort of the West, as then existing. He says:

"A fort consisted of cabins, blockhouses and stockades. A range of cabins commonly formed one side at least of the fort. Divisions or partitions of logs separated the cabins from each other. The walls on the outside were ten or twelve feet high, the slope of the roof being turned wholly inward. The blockhouses were built at the angles of the fort. They projected about two feet beyond the outer walls of the cabins and stockades. Their upper stories were eighteen inches every way larger in dimensions than the under one, leaving an opening at the commencement of the second story to prevent the enemy from making a lodgement under their walls. In some places less exposed, a single block house, with a cabin or two, constituted the whole fort."

The enclosed post of Detroit up to the time of building the new fort was about three hundred feet on the side by fifteen hundred feet wide. The streets were very narrow and the lots consequently shallow. While the name of the village has always been Detroit, the name of the fort was Pontchartrain. When the new fort came to be made, that was a fort in reality, and had nothing in common with the description as given by Doddridge. It stood by itself. It was composed of heavy earthworks, commanded by cannon, surrounded by

a deep ditch, or fosse, and inhabited by the garrison only. Between it and the village there ran a small brook, which in more recent days bore the name of Savoy, or Savoyard, though probably it bore no name in 1780; indeed, in the records it is commonly referred to as "ditch." There was a great fence or stockade built around the village and including the fort, and quite a tract of land on the northern side of the fort, which was used as a burial ground for soldiers, parade ground and garden. There was a long covered way leading from the fort to the village and about half way down the incline and a little to the west was the powder-magazine.

There is no recorded evidence to show that there were any houses built outside of the stockade, unless there were some in what was termed the "ship-yard," at the foot of Woodward Avenue.

The farm lands in the neighborhood of the fort frequently changed ownership, and real estate business in the stockade was lively and the prices were good. A little village lot, with small house (and all the houses were small), sold for as much as a large farm in the immediate neighborhood. In 1767 Philip Dejean had sold four feet of ground on St. Joseph Street by twelve and one-half feet deep for £6, 10s., and in the following year this parcel, with the adjoining lot, making fifty feet square, sold for £266, 13s., 4d., including the house. The same parcel was sold in 1776 for £300. In 1777 Thomas Williams bought a lot forty-six feet front by sixty-three feet deep "on the street leading to the water gate, formerly called la port a la Boix" for £366, 13s., 4d. As time went on the property became more valuable, and we find the same parcels changing ownership at an increased price. In 1781 we have a deed from Catherine Tucker, who "for and in consideration of the one-half of a negro wench, to me delivered by William Tucker," conveying to said William one-half of a lot in the fort on St. Anthony Street, which shows that slaves were worth something.

The erection of the new fort off to the northward left a large tract of unoccupied land between the old town and new fort, which was surrounded by the pickets, but mostly low ground near the brook or creek mentioned. A large portion of this tract of land was granted to Captain Henry Bird by De Peyster, and De Peyster's grant was confirmed by the Quebec authorities. The grant itself expresses no consideration and it is difficult, if not impossible, to determine the reason that actuated the commandant. Bird was undoubtedly a valuable man to the governor. He had repeatedly led the Indians on their incursions into the Ohio country, and it has been maintained that he, and not Brant, was the leader of the savages at the massacre of Wyoming. It was probable therefore that the grant was made in recognition of important services. It was rumored that Bird had been disappointed in a love affair at Detroit and preferred to spend his time on the Indian incursions as their leader, rather than to be hectored by his mates here. He was a captain in the Eighth Regiment, very ugly in personal appearance and had a hare-lip.

#### RELIGION IN DETROIT

There was no Protestant Church in Detroit, nor any Protestant minister, and marriages were performed, as we have seen, by the lieutenant-governor and commandant. Baptisms were sometimes performed by the justice of the peace. There was one Catholic Church, Ste. Anne's, in the village, located near the northwest corner of Jefferson Avenue and Griswold Street. There



was another Catholic Church on the south side of the river, the Church of the Assumption, under Jesuit supervision, and as our records were not limited to the Detroit side of the river, we have some little knowledge concerning this church.

Père Pierre Potier, the priest in charge of the Church of the Assumption had grown old in the service of the church, and as his death had been expected for some time, De Peyster had asked permission to seize the Jesuit's papers whenever his death should be announced. His death occurred from a fractured skull, received in a fall, some time in July, 1781, and his papers were at once seized and searched by De Peyster, but nothing of importance was discovered. Some time before his death, the Ouendotte, or Ottawa, Indians had given the priest a farm adjoining their village, on which was already erected the church and parsonage, and on which was situated the graveyard. It is probably the deed to Father Potier was merely a confirmation of title for which a verbal grant had been made years before. A few days after Potier obtained his deed he sold the property to one François Pratt, retaining only the parsonage, a lane leading to the parsonage, and the burying grounds. By some mistake in drawing the papers, the church was conveyed to Pratt, and this mistake was not discovered until after the death of the priest. There was at once a meeting of the marguilliers called, and two of them, Messrs. Pouget and Belaire, chosen to proceed to Quebec and procure from the bishop a successor to the dead priest. Before the delegates left, they had prevailed upon Pratt to give them a renunciation of all claim to the church property, but the title stood in his name, and it was necessary that there should be someone to deed it to, and the two marguilliers were to see the father of the Company of Jesus and obtain proper instructions from him. When Pratt purchased the farm he had given a mortgage to Potier, which, when it became due, was paid to and discharged by the Rev. Francis Xavier Hubert, grand vicar of Detroit (afterward bishop of Quebec).

Father Simplicimus Bocquet remained in charge of the parish of Ste. Anne until 1781, when he was replaced by Francis Xavier Hubert, or, as he was generally called, John Francis Hubert.

It was the custom among the French people of Detroit, whenever any of their young people proposed to marry, to enter into a marriage contract under the *Coutume de Paris*. The terms of the contracts were generally uniform, as follows: Whatever property was accumulated by the persons jointly, after marriage, should go to the survivor on the death of either; a provision or dowry was provided for the wife, and if she survived the husband and did not wish to take the entire property and pay the debts, she was at liberty to renounce the joint estate and take only the dowry. The priest had nothing to do with the execution of the contract, except perhaps that his advice might have been asked, but every relative, and all of the more intimate friends of both persons were included in the contract, probably to show that it was entered into in good faith. The contract usually provided also, that in the event of the death of one, the survivor would pay for the saying of a stipulated number of masses for the repose of the soul of the deceased. All marriages, among the Catholics of the community, were celebrated at Ste. Anne's.

At the door of Ste. Anne's public sales of real estate were held, for that mysterious power that permitted our justice to hang Contencineau, allowed Dejean and his successor, Williams, to forcibly sell the real estate of debtors,

and to foreclose mortgages by forced sale. They proceeded without law, but from the necessity of the case. When it had been determined that it was necessary to sell the property of some debtor or mortgagor, the justice caused a crier to proceed through the principal street with drum, and with a loud and distinct voice, giving notice of the day of sale. This was repeated three times at intervals, and finally the sale took place on Sunday at the front door of the church. The official notice was usually, though not always, given on Sunday, but when not given on Sunday, the sale was cried on some church holiday.

#### FINANCES OF THE TIME

There was no bank at Detroit and, indeed, banking as a modern institution was unknown, but the firm of Macomb, Edgar & Macomb took such drafts as were payable in Montreal and Quebec, and paid for them in cash or trade, much after the form of modern banks, and transmitted the drafts eastward for collection, where another supply of goods and rum—mostly rum—was sent in return.

The firm had become so wealthy and so large that in 1780 they proposed to supply all the goods for the Indian Department at Detroit at a uniform advance of twenty-five percent on merchandise, and rum at eighteen percent, New York currency, and they further agreed that they would advance money "as usual for the payment of the other departments." This was no small undertaking for one firm. The problem of providing means for the purchase of goods for the Indians was a constantly recurring one, difficult to solve. The Indians could not be kept in any sort of good humor without making them presents all the time. The presents were not of an expensive kind—cheap blankets with bright colors, fancy knives, scarlet cloth, ruffled shirts, laced hats, and other things of like nature to catch the eye of the natives. But the demand was so great that the expense startled both De Peyster and Haldimand.

Whenever the Indians came to the councils the squaws would strip the entire clothing from the Indians, that they might appear in destitute condition, so as to be able to demand new outfits. To show the enormous amount of money squandered each year on these worthless Indians, we find the account of drafts drawn in one year by De Peyster to be as follows: September 8, 1780, £42,714, 7s., 11d.; January 8, 1781, £44,962, 6s., 1½d.; September 12, 1781, £55,225, 13s., 6¼d.; making a total of £142,902, 6s., 18¾d., to which is to be added the vast quantity of goods sent up from Montreal, probably as much more in value. Haldimand said, "The frequency of these amazing demands is a matter of serious concern to me, knowing how ill they are received at home and how very trifling the services can be urged in support of them." And De Peyster, with his last draft, said, "the goods in the store at Detroit cannot last longer than till December."

#### CURSE OF RUM

There was one thing the Indians demanded as a necessity. They could do without clothing, food or trinkets, but they must have rum. The immense quantities distributed by the government we have already spoken of, but of the quantities sold by the traders it is impossible to judge.

About the time of the breaking out of the war, the leading merchants of Detroit had formed what might be termed a rum trust. They agreed to place

all of their rum in one store and employ one or more clerks to see that it was properly disposed of, and the avails divided pro rata among the members of the trust. If any other person should undertake to sell rum any place in the district, they would at once ship a sufficient quantity to that place and undersell the intruder until he was compelled to leave. Both in England and America the curse of rum was the frequent topic of discussion in official and private correspondence, but the demand grew; it could only die with the death of the Indians. "I have dried up their tears with a barrel of rum and six fathoms of tobacco," writes a messenger who came from a meeting of discontented Indians. "I hope you will pardon the incorrectness of my letters, as I write them with Indians on every hand, and whispering in each ear 'rum or bread,' " writes Pat Sinclair, governor of Michilimackinaw.

1781

Early in January, 1781, Lieutenant Dagneau, of the Canadian militia, had taken the Petite Fort, with seven prisoners, one of whom was Brady, superintendent of Indian affairs, and Brady gave some information regarding Clark. He said Clark had gone to Williamsburg to obtain troops, to assist in an expedition against Detroit. De Peyster was in expectation of cannon and ammunition and thought that he would be able to withstand Clark, though the works "are in a shattered state."

The French at Vincennes were urging the Miamis to join them in an attack upon Detroit. They were unsuccessful in the negotiations, but it corroborates the distrust of the Canadians which was held by the English, and justifies Haldimand in writing to De Peyster, "As these (Frenchmen) are the most dangerous enemies we can have, do not hesitate, where you have well-founded suspicion, to seize them and send them here in irons, giving me your reasons in writing. I hope those of that description at Post Vincennes will be taken proper notice of."

On the 11th of March the Pottawatomi held a council at Detroit, at which they begged De Peyster not to abandon them to the rebels. De Peyster told them that they would be protected as long as they adhered to the King of Great Britain; he also told them that they must not expect ornaments or conveniences until they could show themselves deserving of them.

Thus on both sides we find good reasons for the friendship existing between the British and the Indians. The soldiers needed the assistance of the savages to aid in their war against the rebels, and the Indians needed the soldiers to prevent the families of Americans from taking up and cultivating the lands of the Indians and driving them from their hunting grounds. De Peyster told them, "The English have treated you well, and the Indians on the other side of the Mississippi are so sensible of the goodness of an English father, that they have invited him to send his troops to drive the Spaniards out of the country."

On the 15th of April, another Indian council was held by De Peyster with the Shawnees. They said that in the fall of the preceding year their village was destroyed by the enemy, and since that time their nations had been in constant councils, and that Simon Girty, with some Huron Indians, had taken one Richard Rue prisoner. Rue informed them of the danger which menaced them. He asked De Peyster to collect his warriors as speedily as possible and meet them at their village at the end of the month. Haldimand assured De Peyster that Clark could not collect sufficient force at Williamsburg to warrant

him in making a western progress, as the soldiers were in constant employment where they were, and could not be spared.

On the 26th of April, De Peyster held another Indian council with the Six Nations, Huron, Ottawa, Chippewa and Pottawatomi. They asked immediate assistance to repel the rebel forces in the Ohio country. De Peyster told them that he would furnish them with ammunition and clothing, but that he had no soldiers to spare. He advised them not to leave in small parties, but to collect in one body and meet the enemy in a general engagement. He said the enemy had taken Kaskaskia and were inclined to go to St. Dusky (Sandusky). Brant, who was present, advised all the Indians to collect at St. Dusky and hold a council there, and promised to be present. Some of the Indians complained because De Peyster did not go out to assist them, and he closed the council with the following promise:

“You seem to hint that I should go with you to war. My reasons are already assigned, which prevent my going out with you, and I hope that when you reflect on them that it will appear to your satisfaction. You say I sit still, but don't you see that I am not idle? Have I not raised the ground and made this place strongly fortified against any attempt whatever, that I may be able to protect my children and supply them with necessaries? I now conclude with assuring you that the officers belonging to your department shall be ordered to be in readiness to attend you.”

Simon Girty wrote from Upper Sandusky on May 4th that on the 20th of the preceding month Colonel Brodhead, with 500 men, had burned the town of Cushoking; that Brodhead had set off for Sandusky with 1,000 men, and Clark had gone down the Ohio River with another thousand. Girty was ready to start off on an expedition of his own with 120 Wyandottes, but when the Indians got this news, they concluded to wait for news from De Peyster. De Peyster had no troops to send, but contributed more largely than either he or Haldimand desired, to supplying the Indians with trinkets and other things to keep them firm in the king's cause. He told Haldimand that he hoped in a month to have the fort in readiness to resist “any force they can possibly bring, notwithstanding that our other works accumulate fast.” He did not credit the reports of a thousand men, but knew that the militia of Kentucky, exclusive of 200 soldiers at the Falls, amounted to 1,100 men.

Haldimand replied that De Peyster need not feel alarmed. “Virginia troops cannot be spared to act in conjunction with the settlers upon the frontiers, who alone are the enemies to be apprehended in that quarter.” As long as the Indians at Sandusky were supplied with provisions from Detroit, they would not leave their camp. The enormous expense attending the purchase of Indian goods at the posts had caused Haldimand to determine to purchase the goods in England, and he directed his orders to be published at each post, forbidding the purchase of rum or Indian goods for the government. “In the consumption of this essential article (rum),” he wrote, “I think it will be much in your power, by means of the most prudent of the sachems, to make a diminution essential at the same time to the object of expense, to the punctual execution of service, and to the health and well being of the people.” De Peyster, however, was to “inform them that it is not for the paltry consideration of its value that he withholds it from them,” but for the pernicious effects it had on their warriors and young men, and the poverty and disease it brought upon their families. “It is because I wish to preserve to the former the character of a brave and

warlike people so long enjoyed by their ancestors, and to the latter the happiness resulting from sobriety and industry. This is the duty of a father who loves his children, and consequently mine, to the king's faithful allies."

We have seen that Père Pierre Potier, the missionary in charge of the Church of the Assumption, on the south side of the Detroit River, had been killed by falling on July 16th, and that two of the church trustees had been appointed to go to Haldimand to obtain a successor. The Indians also took the matter in hand, called a council at Detroit, at which De Peyster presided on the 29th of July, and delivered some speeches which were to be conveyed to Haldimand and to Monseigneur Briant, bishop of Quebec. It is possible the Indians were more truthful in their utterances than Haldimand was in the reasons he gave for withholding rum from them. Some of their petitions were certainly very earnest and perhaps eloquent. It will be remembered that they were reported by De Peyster, or under his direction, and that he was not a Catholic and consequently would not over-exert himself to make a favorable impression on the Catholic bishop. If the Indians meant all they said in their speeches, it was probably because the greater the rogue the greater the need he had of religion. One of the Indians, addressing De Peyster, said, "The death of our pious missionary, Père Potier, has thrown an inconceivable trouble on our minds, since then the ignorance with which we are surrounded has darkened and holds us in a pitiful state, which solicits your fatherly compassion in our favor." He asked De Peyster to say to Haldimand for him, "My father, deign, if you please, to consider the sad state of our nation since the loss of our missionary. We lamented our unhappy state and have come, without knowing to whom to apply," and to the bishop he made known his wants as follows:

"My father, in the name of God and of all the Huron nations, help us in our present need of a missionary. The loss of Père Potier has left a general desolation in our villages, which will only cease when he is replaced by another. Instructed from infancy in the principles of the Christian religion, we follow them faithfully under the direction of our spiritual leaders; but today what have we become? The souls of our warriors will tremble henceforth at the thought of death which follows them every moment. The blood of our old men and women will freeze at the approach of the last moment of their lingering lives. The mothers are distressed at the state of their children."

De Peyster took pains to report that at this conference the principal women of the Huron nation were present.

Brant's success over Clark's detachment was reported to De Peyster on September 7th, but he was afraid the success would have the effect to disperse the Indians, and urged McKee, who was at Sandusky, to do his utmost to keep them together "lest Clark should attempt to revenge the blow when he can assemble the militia." He reported to Haldimand that Clark's second division had fallen into his hands, and on the following day he drew on Haldimand for £35,225, 13s. 6¼d. "for sundry expenses incurred in the different departments at this post." He was thus following out the advice he gave to McKee: "Please to tell my children that there is nothing like striking the iron whilst hot." In the action which occurred on the 29th of August, near the Ohio, Brant, with about 100 whites and Indians, intercepted Clark's army on their march from Fort Pitt to Sandusky, and the whole party were either killed or taken prisoners. Colonel Lockey, commandant of the party, six officers and thirty privates were killed. Major Craigenafts and eleven other officers and fifty-two privates were

taken as prisoners. De Peyster did not believe that Clark was permanently disabled. He was afraid Clark might collect sufficient reinforcements to lead a party, in person, against Detroit. He was afraid, also, that the Indians, elated by their victory, would disperse, and that he would be unable to collect them to aid in resisting Clark. He wrote to McKee to keep the Indians a little longer, in order to see what Clark would do. He sent presents to the Shawnee and Delaware at Sandusky to prevent them from coming to Detroit. He threatened them with the most awful punishment that could be inflicted upon an Indian. "Tell them I have stopped the rum, nor will give further or suffer one drop to leave Detroit till I am convinced that Clark has given over all thoughts of entering their country. This I shall do out of regard for the Indians, for whom only I can fear."

McKee thought that the Moravians were friends to the rebels, and he urged De Peyster to remove them, and De Peyster sent word to the Hurons to bring to Detroit the six teachers and a few of the principal chiefs of the Moravians. He did not want the Moravian, or Christian, Indians to come to Detroit to settle, as he would be compelled to sustain them.

McKee reported on October 10th that his scouts brought him information that Clark would not undertake an expedition to the north of the Kentucky and Salt Creek, in order to cover the small forts in that neighborhood.

#### DE PEYSTER'S INDIAN DIPLOMACY

A contingent from the Six Nations had aided the western Indians throughout the summer, and when they were on the point of leaving, a council was called at the Upper Shawanese, and the western Indians thanked them publicly for the assistance rendered, and at the same time told them that "nothing would be more satisfactory than to see the Six Nations turn their attention towards Fort Pitt as the source of all the enemy's capability to distress their country, and that while the enemy are in possession of this door into it, they live in neither ease nor safety."

Captains Pipe and Wingineun (both Indians) were sent by McKee to take the Moravian teachers to Detroit.

Notwithstanding the desires and orders of De Peyster that the Indians should remain at Sandusky and not crowd around Detroit, numbers of them came up and a conference with them was held here on the 21st of October. Half King, an Indian chief of the Hurons, stated that he had taken the Moravian Delaware from their village, as he found they were inclined to assist the rebels, and had settled them in his village, where they were under his eyes.

On the 29th of October another conference was held with a party of the Miami Indians, who were sent in all haste for powder and ball. They reported that a detachment of the enemy was advancing from St. Vincennes, consisting of French, Indians and rebels, and they asked for assistance. De Peyster told them that he had already sent officers to the St. Joseph Indians with instructions to go to their aid, and that if the report they brought was true he would assist them in all things as he might be able. The Miamis evidently wanted something more than "powder and ball," and continued their entreaty for other supplies. "Our chiefs," they said, "have recommended to us so strongly to pray to you not to think anything too precious for the young warriors, but give them freely, which you will do to us as deputies and warriors who have been this summer for the king's cause against the enemy, and after you have furnished us all with

arms and precious clothing we hope you will be good enough to give us in profusion of that shining metal, an ornament which draws the attention of the warriors, which is the true way of engaging them, their lives and their blood to the king."

With such demands as this coming from all sides, it is not surprising that the Indian accounts for the post were large, or that new taxes had to be laid in England to pay them. At the very time this demand was being made by the Miami, Haldimand was writing to De Peyster that, owing to the caprice of the Indians in dispersing at the time their assistance was most wanted, Brant's success against Clark could not be followed up, "but this conduct (on the part of the Indians) has been uniformly their system and notwithstanding the treasure which has been, I must say from their conduct, thrown away upon them this year, it appears that no more than one hundred could be brought into action, and those from the influence and under the direction of Joseph [Brant], a Six Nation chief. If even as many more, and the company of rangers had joined the party, Mr. Clarke's fate would have been decided."

Every effort was made by De Peyster to prevent the Indians from coming to Detroit, as he was unable to supply their demands, and their presents being discontinued they became troublesome. He sent an invoice of goods to McKee, a portion of which McKee forwarded to Elliott at the Indian villages, to be distributed there, so as to prevent the Indians coming to Detroit after their goods. He wrote to Haldimand in November that a large body of Miami were on their way to visit Detroit when they received the information that the Creoles, joined by some Virginians, were on the march toward their villages to avenge the death of La Balme, and they returned at once, sending only a detachment to demand ammunition. De Peyster had no ammunition. The supplies of goods that came earlier in the year did not contain any, but he expected some by the winter express, and proceeded to equip the Indians and volunteers, so that they could set out on their expedition before the ice should clear out of Lake Erie in the spring. Haldimand thought the expenses of the Indian department were too great and that De Peyster was lavish in supplying the demands of the Indians. De Peyster wrote to him:

"You may rest assured that I am not in the least over delicate with, or afraid of giving offense to the generality of Indians, but their necessary wants must nevertheless be supplied, or we must give them a prey to the enemy. They cannot hunt while the war lasts; they are all provided with horses, and, having been accustomed to saddles, they cannot do without them. The enemy use rifles; they must, therefore, have rifles. It would be tiresome to repeat all their impertinences, but I must give your excellency some insight into the temper of these people."

An Indian named Morgan had been useful to the British. De Peyster resolved to reward him. He was fitted out handsomely and was then asked if he was contented. "Yes, father, but won't you give me a rifle: it will be well bestowed: I know how to use it." De Peyster gave him a rifle. "Father, you have only given milk at one breast: I would willingly have a keg to speak to the young men when I get home, in order to rouse their spirits to martial deeds." De Peyster gave him a keg. "Father, my saddle was stolen last night. You will surely give me a saddle." There were no saddles to be had, so an order was given to Morgan that he might obtain a saddle when the next supply of goods came up. But angered by the postponement of the gift of the saddle,

Morgan threw his load in the street, mounted his horse bareback, and rode off to his village. These, or similar circumstances, were happening all the time and the commandant needed a great deal of patience and diplomacy to get on with the savages at all.

Whenever a body started into the Ohio country, and as soon as they had passed by the lake villages, small detachments began to break off from the main body, and soon the number left was so small that it was incapable of meeting any force and was compelled to return. The most successful leader was Joseph Brant, himself an Indian, but well educated, enterprising and faithful to the British. Then there were Bird, McKee, Elliott, the three Girtys, Dequindre, Chene and perhaps a dozen others, all white, but by association allied to the Indians. They were all good Indian leaders, but their success always depended upon their ability to keep the Indians in a body and in preventing them from separating at the first approach to actual war.

The Moravian teachers were brought to Detroit in the early part of November by the Delaware and Mohawk Indians, and interrogated by De Peyster in the presence of the chiefs of those nations. There were six teachers, sent by their bishop from Bethlehem, in Pennsylvania, to each Indian town. There were 350 Indians in their mission. The teachers denied taking any part in the war or carrying on any correspondence with either side. De Peyster had contemplated keeping the teachers in Detroit, but at the request of the Delaware he permitted them to return with that tribe. De Peyster promised these Indians to give them such things as they might need during the coming winter, and said that Haldimand would provide for them as long as they were engaged in the war, but that he would not give them liquor except under proper restraints.

It seemed to be the prevailing custom among the Indians to introduce themselves to the commandant at their councils by the presentation of one or more scalps. If the scalps were fresh they were called "fresh meat," and if old they were termed "dry meat." On the 8th of December 240 Delaware warriors, with seventy of their women and ninety children, called on De Peyster, and one of the chiefs, Buckaginitas, introduced the subject of his visit by producing sixteen scalps, explaining that they came at a time when there was nothing to apprehend from the enemy, and presented to De Peyster some dried meat, "as we could not have the face to appear before our father empty-handed." They complained that they were fatigued and hungry, and desired to speak with the commandant after they were refreshed. The council was postponed until the 10th, and the chiefs of the Huron nation were summoned to be present on that day. The burden of the Indians' complaint on this occasion, as on others, was that they were not properly supplied with clothing, food, firearms and ammunition, and in addition they complained because the Moravian teachers had been returned to Sandusky. De Peyster promised that everything should be done for them that he was able to do, and agreed to send for the Moravian teachers again in the spring and have them taken to Quebec. In behalf of Haldimand he told them that the war had been of long duration and might continue longer, but that he would never abandon his children, but would send them up such things as might be really necessary for them. He refused to furnish them liquor because they drank to excess, but he added, "The weather being severe, I shall order a sufficiency for your journey." We can imagine that the major was better pleased to speed the parting than to welcome the coming guest.

In the year that was about drawing to a close, a vast sum of money had been



spent on these worthless vagabonds. The trinkets and articles that were sent were typical of the children who were the recipients. In examining the list of Indian presents that were in store at Detroit in 1781, we find there were 843 plain shirts, 503 fine ruffled shirts, 33 scarlet coats, laced, 525 yards tinsel lace, 18 gross finger rings, 5 gross jewsharps, seven and one-half dozen watch chains, and many other similar articles that were utterly useless to these wild Indians, whose most useful occupation was to die young.

#### UNPOPULARITY OF WAR IN ENGLAND

England felt the strain of procuring these articles. It became necessary to levy new duties to obtain the moneys necessary to carry on the expensive American war. Lord North proposed duties, dues and impositions in parliament that had never been heard of before in England; duties that were so unknown that he could not foretell the amount that would be raised by them. There was to be annual duty on all sums of money insured on houses and goods from fire; a duty on inland bills of exchange; a tax on admissions to places of entertainment; and a tax on carriage of all kinds of goods. These taxes were to be raised in addition to all that had in times past been collected from the already tax-ridden people. There had always been a class of Englishmen who were opposed to the prosecution of the war, and this class grew in number as the tax burdens increased. In the debate in the House of Commons in December, 1781, on Sir James Lowther's motion for putting an end to the American war, Viscount Maitland said that the ministers then in power began the war, and he called upon them to abandon it. "It is now universally unpopular. From one end of the kingdom to the other people are impoverished and clamorous. To that war and to your measures they ascribe all their calamities," and the viscount was only uttering the sentiments of the whole House.

So unpopular had the war become that, although the motion to censure the ministry and the motion to withdraw confidence from them were both lost by a close vote, the ministry resigned in March, 1782, and the administration of Lord North came to an end.

#### DETROIT NOT AN ACTIVE PARTICIPANT IN WAR

Detroit was not a witness to the war. The British soldiers and the Indians passed through the village to the battle grounds, the scenes of murder and of pillage in the south, and on their return bore with them the trophies of their incursions, the scalps of their murdered victims or prisoners half dead from fatigue in being driven by their savage captors through the marshes and across the rivers, but at Detroit there was no fighting, no Indians or white men came here to contend for the independence of our country or the supremacy of Great Britain. Many of the prisoners taken by the Indians in their Ohio incursions and brought by them to Detroit for rewards from the commandant, remained here as citizens, made their homes here and have left to posterity many who are still with us.

In spite of the horrors of an Indian warfare, with its base of operations here, Detroit continued to grow rapidly. A census of the district had been taken in 1773, a short time before the breaking out of the war, which showed an aggregate population of 1,357 people, white and black. Five years later there were 2,144 people in the district. A census taken the following year showed a population of 2,653, including garrison and prisoners. In 1780 there were 2,207

exclusive of prisoners and soldiers, and after peace was declared in 1783 there were 2,291 civilians, showing a net increase during the decade of 70%.

The Indians needed the assistance of the British at all times, and if they could have been informed of the situation would have been very urgent that peace should not be declared. The whole theory of British occupation was to keep the Indians in their proper places as hunters, and to preserve the continent for its furs. Only such parcels of land were disposed of by the government as were within or contiguous to the fortified enclosures. When the war broke out, the people in the thirteen colonies began to leave them and proceed westward into Kentucky, Ohio, and Illinois; they took possession of the Indian hunting grounds, and it was only by the aid of the British soldiers that they could even hope to be successful in driving them back. Unfortunately for their cause, the Indians did not, possibly could not, understand the situation. They could not be kept constant to their only friends, the British. Early in the year 1782 we have a letter from De Peyster, in which he said: "With regard to the Indians in general, I am very sorry that they are not under better discipline. I have wrought hard to endeavor to bring them to it, but find it impossible altogether to change their natures. I assemble them, get fair promises and send them out, but when once out of sight, the turning of a straw may divert them from the original plan. If too severe with them upon such occasions, they tell us that we are well off, that there are no Virginians in this quarter, but such as they bring here against their inclinations. The treasure given to them, I must own, is immense. I cannot, however, think it altogether thrown away in the last campaign. The Indians in this country must be looked upon as a large body of irregulars, fed and clothed to prevent the inroads of the Virginians into this country, and who must be delicately managed to prevent their favoring these rebels."

#### MASSACRE OF MORAVIAN INDIANS

We look upon the warfare as carried on by the Indians as cruel. And so it was, but considering the provocations and the uncivilized condition of the savages, it was not more cruel than one would expect. Nor was the cruelty alone on the side of the Indians. In June, 1782, Crawford was taken by the Indians and burned at the stake and we cannot find words adequate to express our idea of the horrible act, but what shall we say of the massacre of the Moravian, or Christian, Indians by our own countrymen that immediately preceded the burning of Crawford? These Moravian Indians were not fighters; they had not been engaged with either party in the war. A band of them had gone to Gaudenhutten to obtain food for their starving families at Sandusky and while engaged in collecting the corn which they had left there the preceding fall, they were taken prisoners by a party of borderers (Americans). They agreed to go to Fort Pitt with their captors and sent off messengers to their families to come to Gaudenhutten to accompany them to the fort. When they had all collected together, they were told they must die. They begged for mercy. They fell upon their knees in prayer and while thus engaged one of their captors picked up a cooper's mallet and "with a hasty stride forward he dashed out the brains of the nearest Indian, whose eyes were closed and hands uplifted as he still knelt in prayer. Not an Indian stirred as the murderer proceeded down the line. Again and again he performed the act of murder until a row of fourteen ghastly corpses marked his bloody path. Breathless with the awful work, he

tossed the mallet to a companion, saying, 'Go on with the glorious work. I have done pretty well.' This was but the opening scene of the tragedy. The flood gates of murder were open. The tide would have its way. Old men and young men, loving mothers, gentle maidens, and unconscious babes, innocent in the sight of earth and heaven, meek and unresisting as lambs led to the slaughter, were massacred outright. Ninety persons were put to death within half an hour." After reading this horrible thing, do we blame these ignorant and wild savages for retaliating?

De Peyster wrote in May regarding the affair that, "The nations in general as yet take it patiently. How it will operate when they overcome the consternation this unparalleled cruelty has thrown them in, I cannot pretend to say." The remaining Moravians desired to come to Detroit to live, where their teachers, six in number, with four women and two children, were already collected. The Chippewa Indians consented to allow them to cultivate a tract of land on the river, which was then known as the River Huron of Lake St. Clair, but is known now as the Clinton River, and De Peyster gave them permission to move to that section. "Being sensible that those people must soon fall upon our hands for succor, it is therefore most prudent to put them in a way of raising stock to support themselves and it is evident that by showing them kind treatment it will insure us the confidence of the other nations." The Indians from the neighborhood of Vincennes came to Detroit in the latter part of February, 1782, to give notice that the rebels had vacated Vincennes and to complain that the usual quantity of Indian goods had not been sent down to them the previous autumn. De Peyster told them that he had not sent down the presents because the Indians had not aided the British, and advised them to return home and prevent the rebels from coming back to Vincennes. He gave them such necessaries as thought best for them, but would not permit them to take anything for those whom they left at home. He told them that whenever he heard that they were engaged in war and had shown themselves in number he would give such ammunition and clothing as might be necessary. He told them not to kill their prisoners, but to bring them in alive. They agreed not to listen any more to the rebels, but return home and do as the commandant requested.

#### SURRENDER OF CORNWALLIS

The news of the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown did not reach Detroit until April and reports were not at first credited. The Indians under McKee at Sandusky were preparing for an incursion into the lands along the Ohio. De Peyster notified McKee of the rumor and added, "If the accounts from Fort Pitt concerning Lord Cornwallis be true, it may make them (the Indians) alter their plans. You will be the best judge whether to communicate the resolutions to the Shawanese or not. I have thought best not to say anything to the Indians here till I hear further, lest we give the alarm to the enemy."

De Peyster at the same time undertook to persuade the Indians to a different mode of warfare and at a council held in Detroit on the 22nd of April he told them, "to take as many prisoners as possible and avoid spilling blood of women and children. When warriors meet you and they fall in action, it is what they must expect." But the Indians were thoroughly exasperated and filled with a desire for revenge; on June 8th they met the enemy at Sandusky and repulsed them with a heavy loss. A few prisoners only were taken, but 250 were killed and wounded. Among the prisoners was Colonel Crawford,

who had been the leader of the Virginians. The burning of Crawford, which immediately followed his capture, was one of the most horrible events of this Indian war and cannot help being considered as the sequel of the bloody massacre of the Christian Indians.

#### APPOINTMENT OF HAY AS LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR

Hamilton, who had not ceased to be titular governor of Detroit, though in fact an absentee, in prison or in England, was on April 27th appointed lieutenant-governor of Quebec, to supersede Cramache, and Jehu Hay was appointed lieutenant-governor of Detroit.

Hay had been at Detroit in the Indian Department and held the rank of lieutenant in the Eighth Regiment. He had accompanied Hamilton on his unfortunate expedition to Vincennes and had been taken prisoner by Clark. His imprisonment was not as rigid as Hamilton's, but was sufficiently well-published to mark him for promotion.

The first protest against the appointment of Hay is from Brig.-Gen. H. Watson Powell, who wrote from Detroit under date of August 7, that he had recently learned of the appointment of Hay, who had only the rank of lieutenant in the army; he was convinced "it will be very disagreeable to Major De Peyster (who has commanded here a long time with great credit to himself and to the satisfaction of the inhabitants in general) to serve under an officer of that inferior rank. I therefore beg to know if it will meet with your excellency's approbation should I give him leave to go down to Canada, if he applies for it."

De Peyster's services were too valuable to permit him to leave Detroit at this time. It is probable that there were other protests made and it is also probable that Haldimand did not need to be persuaded in the matter. De Peyster asked permission to leave Detroit either before or immediately after the arrival of Hay. He said he was willing to serve in any capacity, "under Mr. Hay excepted, for various reasons." Haldimand wrote to Townshend in October that Hay was only a lieutenant, and added, "Though I have no objection to Mr. Hay, yet that circumstance has put me under the necessity to detain him this winter in Montreal, as his taking the command from Major De Peyster at the time when the enemy, though repulsed in two actions, persist in their attempts against the Indian country, might be attended with great inconvenience to the service." Though De Peyster might have been persuaded to remain under Hay, "yet that is a mortification which in the present state of things I think improper in me to impose upon so deserving an officer."

Hay protested against being kept away from his command, but his protest was not listened to, and he was not permitted to come to Detroit until after the treaty of peace was signed and De Peyster was removed to a more favorable station.

As Hay was not permitted to displace De Peyster, and as the latter could not be permitted to leave Detroit, the command of this post and of all its southern and western dependencies remained in his hands. The labor of managing Canadian civilians, whose hearts were with the enemy, and Indians who were as much too aggressive as the Canadians were too sluggish, required much more than ordinary abilities, and De Peyster showed that he possessed what was required to a remarkable degree. Under his directions the Canadians formed companies of volunteers that worked heartily with the Indians; not

only worked with them in leading incursions, but worked to the satisfaction of De Peyster in restraining their horrible massacres when once victorious. The threatened approach of the Virginians kept the garrison in constant turmoil. Haldimand appreciated the situation of the Americans better than could De Peyster. He saw that it was unlikely that Congress would send the soldiers to the west when there was such an urgent call for them in the east. He wrote that he was unable to send such assistance as De Peyster wanted, and he thought there would be no occasion for it. The Indians seemed to support their own rights and the rights of the crown "and if they are firm in the resolution, and will take the field and stick together, Mr. Clark's attempt must prove as fruitless as the former. He may alarm the Indians, but to penetrate to Detroit with such a force and preparation as to insure success is hardly probable unless the rebels were in a situation to abandon other objects of infinitely greater consequence."

Haldimand also advised the Six Nations and Delawares not to undertake the destruction of Fort Pitt. On all sides the British were to urge the Indians to participate in the war against the Virginians by making use of the massacre of the Christian Indians; they were to dislodge the settlers at Chicago; to sweep the Illinois country and the Ohio Valley free from settlers, and were to stick together, but they were not to attack any fortified place nor any organized force, if it were possible to avoid it. McKee was stationed at Sandusky and at this place gathered together the bands of Indians and started southward; after an absence of a few days or a few weeks, according to circumstances, he would return, collect a new force and start off again. McKee was quite urgent that he might be permitted to do more. He wanted a large force and some cannon. De Peyster told him that the year's campaign had not been begun on the offensive plan and McKee was to inform the Indians that if they were "capable of defeating the enemy in the field, they must content themselves to let their posts alone till a more favorable opportunity."

The change in the ministry had an immediate effect, even as far as Detroit. It was rumored here that "there is the greatest reason to believe that a peace will succeed the cessation of arms."

Information came from Sandusky on August 16th that General Irwin was mustering men at Fort Pitt, to start for Sandusky in the beginning of September and kill and burn all before them, thus to avenge the death of Crawford, but apparently De Peyster did not credit the information, as two days later he wrote to Haldimand, "We have been alarmed here lately with the accounts of a formidable body of the enemy (under command of Gen. Hands) advancing this way, which occasioned my reinforcing Captain Caldwell, and sending Captain Grant to the south of the Miami with the armed vessels and gunboat. Our scouts now report the enemy retired. Captain Caldwell remains encamped on the banks of the Ohio and Captain Grant arrived here yesterday."

Captain Caldwell, with a few rangers and a body of Lake Indians, successfully attacked a detachment of troops on the Ohio on the 21st of August, and then, conformable to De Peyster's orders, at once set out for Sandusky to await the expected advance of Colonel Williamson from Fort Pitt. The scouts that McKee and Caldwell sent out returned with certain news of the approaching 1,200 rebels from Fort Pitt, and in the latter part of September Caldwell applied to De Peyster for assistance, as thirty-eight of his small army

were sick. De Peyster sent fifty soldiers to the Roche de Bout in order to support McKee at the blockhouse at the mouth of the Miami, and at the same time gave orders that if McKee could not resist successfully, to retreat, and give time for the Indians to assemble. Captain Brant was sent out to stir up the Six Nations, and the Ottawas were assembled and informed of the enemy's approach. But the enemy did not come, and in November Brant was sent off to Niagara for the winter, as no new advances were anticipated from the Virginians. There were still rumors enough to keep all in a state of readiness, but the season was too far advanced and the negotiations for peace lulled everyone to sleep. Caldwell was at Sandusky with seventy men, half of them unfit for service. McKee was at the blockhouse, at the mouth of the Miami, calling upon De Peyster for assistance, but now calling in vain. De Peyster, at Detroit, wrote McKee that it was not within his power to send a sufficient force at that season to aid the Indians, and advised them to avoid the enemy if the latter was too strong in numbers to cope with, and added, "It would therefore be imprudent in me to sacrifice those few troops which may be of use to them in the spring."

#### DE PEYSTER'S IMPROVEMENTS IN DETROIT POST

The year just drawing to a close had not been without important events affecting the little village of Detroit and its surroundings. The season which had started out full of promise for the farmer and for the laborers at work on the new fort, turned out to be wet and rainy as that of the preceding year. Crops rotted in the ground, and the continued rains washed the new fort into the ditch. De Peyster wrote on the 21st of June to Brigadier-General Powell, "You will see that they (the Indians and rangers) push me for more assistance, which it is not in my power to grant in the ruinous state of the new fort at present. If this weather continues, I fear it will level our works. The oldest people here do not remember such a rainy season." The pickets of the old enclosure, which stopped at the northeast and northwest corners of the ancient village, were extended so as to strike the corners of the new fort and thereby greatly enlarge the size of the enclosure. Other improvements made by De Peyster this year can as well be related by giving a copy of one of his hitherto unpublished letters. There seems to have been a great deal of hard feeling existing between De Peyster and Jehu Hay, and this letter is in answer to charges made by Hay that De Peyster had left both the rear and front of the village exposed to the Indians by removing the pickets. He said:

"I have to observe that it astonishes me how Mr. Hay can be so ignorant with respect to his own situation as to suppose the town of Detroit lies exposed to the rear. The plan which accompanies this letter will at first view evince the contrary. The pickets which formerly ran parallel with the town, and almost touched the houses, were by my order run in a line from the angle blockhouse up to the glacis of Fort Lernoult, flanked by the half portion of that fort, whereby a safe communication is kept up with the town; the streets laid open to the guns of the fort; a grand parade gained and the general powder magazine inclosed. On the flank of the town the continuation of the pickets are brought down from the above said blockhouses to the water's edge in which position I nearly found them. The front of the town, I acknowledge, is open to the river, but had Lieut.-Gov. Hay given himself the trouble to have inquired of the first person he met before he made his report to your excellency,

he would have been informed that the greatest part of the pickets illy supported (as I am informed under his own inspection) were blown down and floated off by a sudden rise of the river, which carried them into Lake Erie. The few remaining pickets were employed to complete the continuation of the line up to the glacia and some few were employed to inclose waste ground which left an ugly looking place near the old powder magazine."

De Peyster gave public notice to the owners of lots on the river front of the village that if they would fill up the space between their lots and the water, they might have the land so made, and if they did not care to go to the expense and trouble, he would give the land to other persons who would do the work. For this act also, Governor Hay complained to Haldimand, and in explanation of it, De Peyster stated that the parcel of land thus given away "consisted of a small space of a ragged hill which was a public nuisance, being a receptacle for all manner of filth and a retreat for drunken Indians, who frequently made fires and were very troublesome when dislodged. I therefore requested the proprietors to enclose the ground back of their several lots, which some of them did, more to oblige me than from any real advantage to themselves, leaving a road of communication from the front of the town to the king's wharf, which was much wanted and which I had not the leisure to make. When the lines of pickets stood upon the water's edge, Indians used frequently to fasten their canoes to them and have sometimes passed through vacancies, as seldom a night passed without some pickets falling down."

Before the lots were filled up in front, the space between the water's edge and the foot of the hill was used to store wood for the village. After the pickets were removed and the hill graded down to fill the quagmire, the commandant directed the wood to be stored "in a spacious, dry place adjoining the east gate and immediately in front of the sentry and protected by him more than ever in its former position."

#### FURTHER NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN DE PEYSTER AND INDIANS

We have seen that the Moravian teachers were at Detroit, and that the remaining Indians were directed to come here also. The Chippewa Indians had granted them a tract of land on the Huron (now Clinton) River and thither they removed, built for themselves a little village, and lived by fishing, hunting, making woodenware, picking berries and making maple sugar. They took no part in the war. Whatever things they got or produced found a ready market in Detroit. The steps taken by De Peyster in behalf of the Moravians met with the hearty approval of Haldimand. It also must have had a great effect on the other Indian tribes. De Peyster was constantly, through these years of trouble, urging the Indians to be merciful in their warfare; to kill in battle, but to spare the lives of the prisoners. At nearly every council held with the Indians we find these injunctions issued by him. His letters to McKee, Elliott, Caldwell and others all breathe the same principle. The massacre of the Christian Indians by Williamson and his company was so horribly inhuman that even the Indians were startled. De Peyster thought that he would no longer be capable of controlling them. He wrote to McKee on the 19th of August:

"You are sensible that I have lost no opportunity to request that you would recommend humanity to the Indians. It has ever been the principle that I have acted upon and I am convinced that no task is more agreeable to

my wishes. Upon my arrival here, I found the Indians greatly civilized from the good advice they received from you and my predecessors, in which disposition by my earnest endeavors, we continued them, till the imprudent step of the enemy at Muskingum called up their savage ferocity. I see they still hold their prisoners, formerly taken, in mild captivity, while their resentment only shows itself upon those newly taken, looking upon them as a part of the people who imprudently declared by words and signs that they were come to exterminate the Wyandotte tribe."

He requested McKee to convince the Indians that the cruelty committed by them upon Colonel Crawford and the two captains was the sole ground for the late invasion of their country by the whites.

De Peyster's task in undertaking to keep the Indians within proper bounds was a difficult one. Not only were the Indians cowardly, treacherous, ungrateful, not to be depended upon in case of emergency, not to be depended upon even when alone and apparently their own masters, but they were upon occasions, when they thought they could be with safety to themselves, haughty, overbearing and almost rebellious in their actions with the commandant. This spirit De Peyster was continually forced to meet, and he stemmed the current or turned it aside with considerable skill. Towards the end of 1782, when there were rumors of the approaching suspension of arms, originating in the change of ministry, Haldimand was greatly in fear of the effect of a peace on the Indians. He wrote to Townshend regarding the Indians that:

"An unremitting attention to a very nice management of that people is inseparable from the safety of this province, which has been indisputably preserved hitherto in a great measure by their attachment. They must not be considered subject to order or easily influenced, where their interests or resentment are concerned. Great pains and treasures were bestowed to bring them to act. They have suffered much in the cause of the war in their lives and possessions, so much that the Mohawks, who were settled in ease and affluence, have entirely lost their country; the rest of the Six Nations (the Oneidas excepted) have been invaded and driven off their settlements. They have so perpetually harassed the enemy that they cannot look for reconciliation upon any other terms than abandoning the royal cause. They are thunderstruck at the appearance of an accommodation so far short of their expectations from the language that has been held out to them, and dread the idea of being forsaken by us and becoming a sacrifice to the vengeance which has already in many instances been wrecked upon them. Foreseeing the possibility of the Americans becoming an independent, powerful people and retaliating severely upon them, they reproach us with their ruin, and while their fears are thus alive, if the Americans are disposed to take advantage of them and are in a situation to supply their wants liberally, the consequences may be very fatal."

A short time after this letter was written, De Peyster held a council in Detroit with a band of Seneca Indians, which displays the impudence occasionally possessed by these untutored savages. The record shows that the leader's name was Ay-on-wi-ainsh, and this may in part excuse his assurance. He reminded De Peyster that when the Indians first espoused the king's cause they were promised that not only their own wants, but the wants of their families, should be supplied in great profusion. Last summer, he continued, the commander-in-chief forbade him to treat prisoners cruelly, assuring the Indians



that it was contrary to the laws of God and the custom of nations. "You will, however, recollect that we have injuries to revenge and, although you protect the enemy from the stake, you shall not from their death, for the warriors are determined not to spare them in battle; therefore, be not surprised at seeing in the future more scalps than prisoners." He reminded the commandant that his people returned home from Detroit unprovided for, "owing to the want of wherewith to supply them, as you told them you had not the things which they wanted. I beg of you not to use the same discourse to us, that you want certain things; but that you will provide, not only for those who have accompanied me hither, but for those also whom we have left behind to guard our village."

He expected not only necessaries in abundance, but also "such ornaments which are acceptable and pleasing to young men." He said that the last time he was there he lost a prisoner, whom De Peyster promised to return to him, and added, "I am therefore surprised that you have not yet satisfied me on that subject, as it does not correspond to your promise. I find by experience from my knowledge of mankind, that from the late altercation, you only speak from the mouth."

It was to such demands as this that the skill of De Peyster was shown, either in dealing harshly with the savage and by punishing him make an example for his nation, or by turning aside his impudent demands and by supplying them in part, retained the good will and assistance of the tribe. He told the Indians that the vessel bringing their presents from England had been taken by the enemy and again retaken, but it had finally arrived too late to permit the presents to be brought to Detroit that year, and if the Indians were too impatient to wait, they must go home with only such presents as he could give them. He said he had always urged them to treat prisoners with humanity and it was to their interests that they should do so. "If Captain Pipe had not put that colonel (Crawford) to death after he had made him prisoner, the enemy would not have made an attack upon the Indian country this year, for, from every intelligence which I receive, they intimate it was only to avenge his death." He said he had promised to return the escaped prisoner if he found him, but he had not found him yet. Then Mr. Baby was instructed to treat the Indians as well as he could from the stores on hand, and they left the village contented.

#### HARVESTS IN 1782

We have seen that the king's commons was considered as the property of the village and not subject to be enclosed or cultivated for the benefit, either of the garrison or of any of the officers, and that the inhabitants looked with distrust upon even a trifling violation of their common rights in this land.

The village also claimed the exclusive right and title to Hog Island, but their claim here was not that of exclusion, but of the right of cultivation for the support of the garrison. Their rights were maintained by the higher authority at Quebec and Whitehall, and actual possession of the property was taken by the commandant for that purpose.

In 1780 De Peyster was instructed to take possession of the island and put expert farmers on it and cultivate it for the garrison. Two families only were placed on the island, as it contained only 783 acres and much of it was reserved as a run for the king's cattle. One of the farmers was Capt. Isaac Ruddle, who had been taken prisoner by Captain Bird on one of his incur-

sions into the Ohio country, and had been placed on the island by De Peyster on the recommendation of Bird. Ruddle remained quietly on the island till the fall of 1782, when he heard of an expected exchange of prisoners and obtained the permission of De Peyster to go to Quebec in hope of being exchanged.

De Peyster thought it best for the maintenance of the garrison that a mill should be erected on the island for the purpose of grinding wheat and corn, but the artificers and laborers were so constantly employed in putting the post in security, that he was unable to do the necessary work on the island. Michilimackinac was in need of provisions, and Haldimand requested De Peyster to send all the corn he could spare to that place. The bad weather during the summer months had greatly injured all the crops and an order had been issued at Detroit forbidding the exportation of any produce, but at this request of Haldimand, the commandant undertook to send whatever he could spare, remarking at the same time that he had an expedition on foot in the Indian country and that the settlement barely produced what was necessary. The wheat raised in this year did "not require much grinding, owing to the violent falls of rain." He raised 800 bushels of corn on the island, that needed no grinding, and the Indian horses swam around the fences and destroyed nearly all of the wheat. He gave up expectation of erecting a mill, remarking that it would be more expensive than useful. The census taken in July showed that there were 29,250 pounds of flour, 1,804 bushels of wheat and 355 bushels of Indian corn in the district, and De Peyster calculated that the island would produce 100 bushels of wheat and 700 or 800 bushels of corn in addition. The time of the year at which the census was taken indicates that it was nearly correct. There were in the district 13,770 acres of land under cultivation, an increase of 1,700 acres over the quantity in 1780.

#### EXPECTATION OF PEACE

Thus closed the year 1782. The provisional treaty of peace had already been signed in Paris, but its existence was unknown here at the opening of the new year, and while it cannot be said that preparations for war were actively carried on, affairs were still kept upon a war footing. The Indian presents expected in the fall had not arrived and the Indians were disposed to be afraid that De Peyster had concluded to abandon them to the enemy.

In expectation of a coming peace, large reductions had been made in the forces kept under pay. The regular soldiers were still kept, but the militia and rangers were dismissed from service wherever it was thought they could be spared. Thrown out of employment and discontented on account of their dismissal, they tended to increase rather than allay the fear the Indians already had of a permanent peace among the whites. The militia and rangers were of the class more nearly allied to the Indians by their manner of life and association for years as equals and almost as brothers. The discontent thus aroused among the Indians made the situation harder for De Peyster to control, and while he complained to Haldimand, he exerted more than ordinary diplomacy in allaying the fears of the savages. In January, he called together the Shawnee, Delaware and Six Nations in council at Detroit; told them he was always ready to assist them in time of need; told them that an abundance of presents was on the way to them, but the season would not admit of their crossing Lake Erie and urged them to do as the great man advised them, "keep close together and be strong, for by dividing we lessen our strength." Two companies

of the Thirty-fourth Regiment were expected to come to Detroit upon the opening of navigation with the Indian presents. The Indians were requested not to commit depredations, but to be ready for war at call. An incursion of the Virginians in the fall of 1782, resulting in the destruction of two Indian villages and the killing of ten Indians, had so excited the Six Nations that they determined to retaliate, and Haldimand not only used his own best efforts to persuade them to retire, but also instructed De Peyster to do all that lay in his power in that direction. He wrote to De Peyster in February: "Under the express orders that I have received and communicated to the different posts, it is impossible I can comply with their request (to aid them); on the contrary, it becomes our duty to use every possible means to dissuade them from their purpose. Assure them that I shall afford them every aid in my power to secure and defend their own against any incursions of the enemy."

In order to systematize and regulate the affairs of the Indian Department, Sir John Johnston was appointed superintendent general and he at once, in February, issued instructions to the commandant at Detroit to regulate the transactions of that department so as to keep them within the proper limits of expense and yet to provide for the Indians all that might be necessary for their needs. Complete records of all transactions were to be kept and return made to Montreal monthly and quarterly.

One of the instructions given by the superintendent displays a curious phase of dealing with these Indian wards, that might be recited in full. "Should the Indians," the superintendent said, "as is customary at some posts, lay down presents of any kind, they are to be taken up with thanks and in return presents exceeding the value of theirs are to be given them, in which cases the chiefs and head warriors, etc., are to be distinguished."

It is needless to add that Sir John was a successful manager in his department.

As the prospects of a permanent peace between the whites began to be understood by the Indians, they desired to be recognized in the matter and to receive the protection of neutrality. A meeting of Indians was called at Sandusky in April with this end in view, and a communication sent to De Peyster, requesting him, among other things, to remember them in the treaty of peace, if any should be going on. The matter of the peace at this time was not of so much importance to Indians other than those in the Ohio region and New York. Those farther west were not disturbed by the encroachments of the settlers, and it was not believed that any lands on the north of the lakes would be included in the new government of the United States.

The preliminary treaty of peace, which was signed at Paris, November 30, 1782, contained a sufficiently definite description of the boundaries of our new government. Our country was to include all the land south of the Great Lakes, extending westwardly to the Mississippi and southerly to the northerly line of West Florida. It is probable that the contents of the treaty were not known to Haldimand, for as late as the 12th of March, 1783, he instructed De Peyster to keep watch of the rebels, as "there is every reason to suppose they will employ every effort to extend as far as possible their frontiers in the upper country, to secure in a case of peace some valuable settlements and to get the fur trade into their hands. These exertions will naturally be made as early as possible and will require the utmost vigilance on our parts to discover and counteract." He also, in the same letter, said that the rebels had

lately attempted to take Oswego with the intention of claiming it as a part of the United States, as being in their possession at the time the treaty was signed. If Haldimand had been permitted to see the treaty already made, he would have found the boundaries of the conceded territory well defined and would have ceased to annoy the settlers on the frontier. The treaty itself, in its preamble, contained a few words that caused a great deal of annoyance to Washington, Franklin, Adams, Jay, and in fact to every American citizen who understood the situation of affairs. The treaty of 1782 was termed "provisional" because in its preamble it set forth that it was to be inserted in and constitute the final treaty, which was not to be concluded until a treaty of peace should be agreed upon between Great Britain and France; so that, until the French treaty was actually signed, the United States did not know whether peace or war awaited them.

The country was exhausted and in straitened circumstances. England was in a similar condition, but we were required to maintain our army and be always prepared for war.

The preliminary treaty of peace between Great Britain and France was signed at Versailles on the 20th of January, 1783, and thus another step was taken towards the final settlement of our trouble.

In anticipation of the final cessation of war, all efforts of De Peyster were turned to restraining the Indians. He wrote to McKee at Sandusky in April: "It behooves us to do our utmost endeavors to restrain the Indians by assuring them that should they persist to act contrary to the intentions of their British father, we cannot support them, but on the contrary, if they remain quiet, should the enemy in the meantime enter their country, we will give them every assistance in our power."

On the 25th of April, Haldimand received the king's proclamation for a cessation of arms and lost no time in sending word to the upper posts, accompanied with instructions to totally cease work on all fortifications and all public work whatever. In acknowledging the receipt of instructions, De Peyster wrote to Haldimand that "in general the Indians are well disposed to follow such instructions as they may, from time to time, receive, and your excellency may be assured that the Virginians will be the first to break the truce." De Peyster also wrote to McKee that he had received a proclamation of peace and advised him of the necessity of restraining the Indians more than ever. He said he had sent off word to the Wyandotte, Miami and Wabash, and as the terms of peace were not known to him, he wrote: "It is to be hoped that a short time will bring accounts from General Haldimand, signifying what the terms of peace are. In the meantime, we must sit upon our mats and smoke, or, at most, do no more than keep a lookout for our own security."

In the summer of 1782, when both England and America were exhausted, and the questions of peace and the independence of the United States were questions of time only, those persons who had throughout the entire trouble been firm friends and adherents of the mother country, began to look around and make arrangements for their own protection. Many of them had suffered the loss of all their possessions; had been driven from home and had their property confiscated for their faithfulness. It would not do for England to desert these friends. There were many of these persons in New York. Many such in the West had already been driven out and some had settled

in Detroit. When the peace should be finally declared, there would undoubtedly be many more compelled to leave the limits of our government.

In October, 1782, Haldimand wrote to Thomas Townshend, afterwards Lord Sydney, then secretary of state, that when the posts were evacuated, "Some loyalists will seek an asylum in this country. I am assured by the loyalists that in case New York is evacuated, a very great number of families who have taken refuge there at different periods of the war, will be obliged to seek an asylum in Nova Scotia or Canada. The situation of these people excites compassion and requires every assistance which the government can afford them. There are already in this province many loyalists and no doubt many more will soon arrive from the frontiers of New England and New York; perhaps an establishment may be procured for them at or near Detroit. The lands there are fertile and can be cultivated with ease. The climate is in every respect advantageous. A settlement of men at that place who, by principle and a sense of sufferings, are attached to Great Britain, will be a support to our Indian allies, who have everything to fear from the encroachments of the Americans. Besides such a settlement would in a few years raise a quantity of provisions sufficient for the garrison, which it will be necessary to keep in the upper country and might prove an essential resource in case at any future period the communication between the upper and lower Canada should be so far interrupted as the supplies of provisions could not be sent from the latter."

The communication of Haldimand was answered by Lord North. It was pleasing to Haldimand to have North enter so willingly into the scheme, but he observed that Detroit was already very well settled and, moreover, it was within the limits of the United States. On the opposite side of the river the land was owned by the Hurons and it was doubtful whether they would allow the white people to settle there. He would do all he could "in alleviating the distresses and in procuring the means of subsistence for men who had been deprived of everything on account of their loyalty to the king and adherents to the constitution of their country."

Many loyalists eventually settled upon the opposite side of the river near Amherstburg and many left Detroit to take up their residence on Canadian soil, but the story of their home-seeking is beyond the limits of our subject.

#### CASE OF GERRIT GRAVERAT

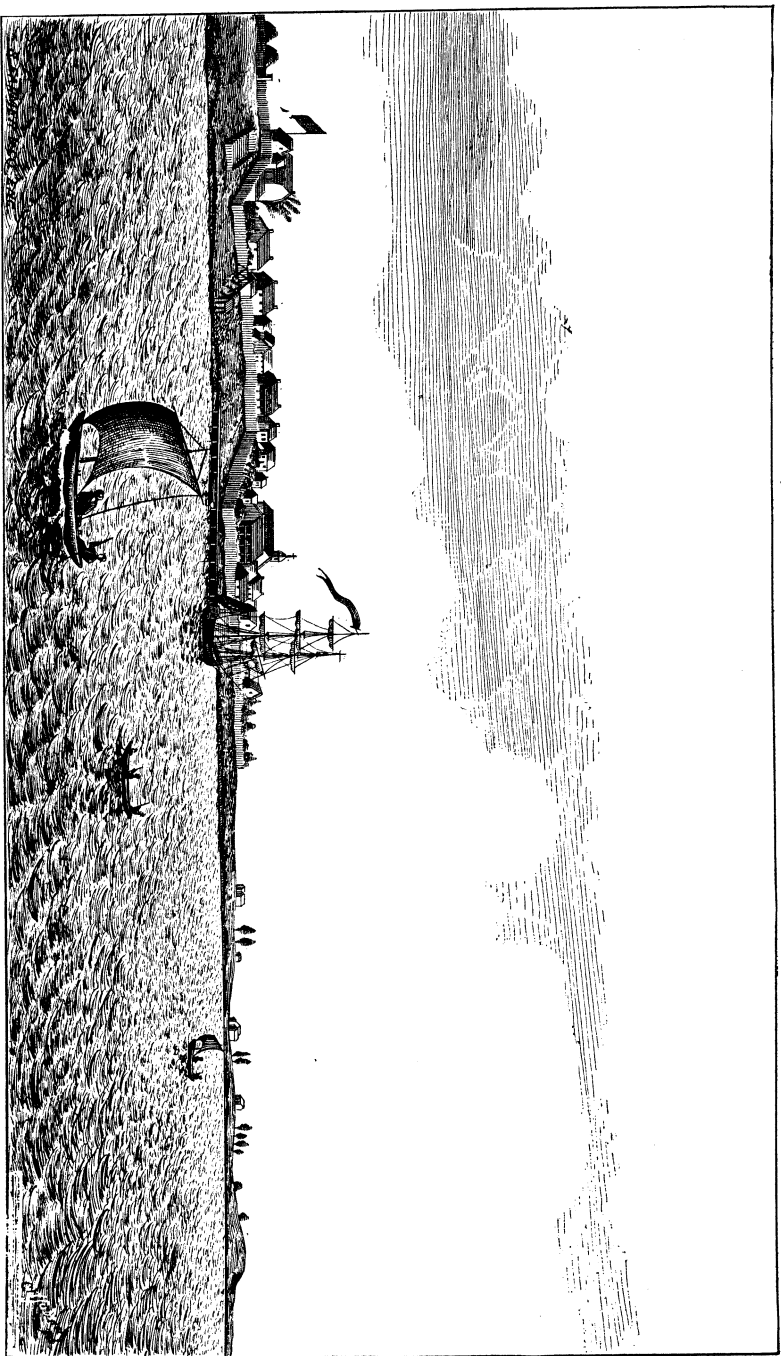
An illustration of the manner in which debts were sometimes collected is furnished by the statement of Gerrit Graverat. Graverat had, some years before 1783, become indebted to one Abraham Cuyler, formerly mayor of Albany, a loyalist, but the debt had been so long unpaid that he considered it barred by limitations of time, or outlawed.

Graverat had, for some years, lived in Detroit and had there formed a copartnership with Colin Andrews and John Visger under the name of Andrews, Graverat & Visger, but the copartnership had been terminated by the purchase of Andrews' interest by the other members of the firm, and the formation of a new copartnership of Graverat & Visger, Mr. Graverat still living in Detroit and Mr. Visger living in Michilimackinac. The new firm was indebted to Andrews for the purchase price of his share in the old firm and it was likewise indebted to Robert Ellice, Taylour and Forsyth, and Angus McIntosh; in all, their debts amounted to £20,000. The closing of the war had greatly injured

their trade, that of general merchandise, and they were forced to make an assignment of all of their property in May, 1783, to the creditors above named, (but not including Cuyler). When the loyalists had begun to leave the United States and pass over into the British possessions, Cuyler obtained the appointment of "inspector of refugee loyalists" and was sent up, or obtained permission to go up, to Detroit. He bore a letter of introduction from Haldimand to De Peyster, informing the latter that he (Cuyler) was there to transact private business and requesting De Peyster to afford him all the assistance in his power consistent with his duty as a commanding officer, to facilitate his business and expedite his return to his duty at Montreal. Cuyler made a demand on Graverat for payment of the amount due him, but the latter said he had no individual property from which to pay the claim and he could not justly pay it from the copartnership capital, until the copartnership debts were paid: and indeed he owned no property whatever, because he had assigned everything to his creditors about a month before this date. Cuyler laid the matter before the commandant, and on June 17th De Peyster summoned Graverat before him. There seems to have been no trial, nor any attempt to ascertain the validity of the claims presented. There were present at the meeting, besides De Peyster, Cuyler and Graverat, Alexander Macomb, William Edgar and John Askin, and possibly Jacob Harson (Graverat's father-in-law). A demand was made on Graverat for the payment of Cuyler's claim and when payment was refused, De Peyster declared, and confirmed the same with an oath of seeming resolution, that if the account was not settled and paid at once, he would send Graverat "down the country" on a vessel that was just ready to sail. Graverat was in real dread lest the threat should be carried into execution and that he would thus be ruined, and he put into Cuyler's hands what properties he then had and a draft on Visger, amounting in all to £4,154, 9s. 4d. Graverat entered a formal protest against this method of collecting debts. Ellice also felt that he and the other creditors of Graverat were injured by De Peyster's action and wrote to Haldimand regarding the affair. De Peyster wrote to Haldimand that he only followed out the orders contained in the latter's letter, to afford Cuyler all the assistance in his power. He did not deny acting as Graverat alleged, but said the threat to send Graverat "down the country" was only made after Graverat had submitted the entire matter to arbitrators and had refused to carry out the award. Haldimand did not interfere with the matter further and Cuyler took the property received from extortion.

#### CONDITION OF AFFAIRS AFTER PEACE

The long delay necessarily incident to their mode of navigation prevented Haldimand from knowing what was going on in New York. The war had been transferred from America to Paris, and there the final battles were fought, with Franklin, Jay, Adams and Laurens on one side and Oswald and the British Parliament on the other. Hostilities had ceased here between the whites, but much difficulty was met in attempting to keep the Indians quiet. The prisoners at Detroit, some four hundred in number, were anxious to be exchanged so as to return home, and ninety-two of them went to Montreal for that purpose, but De Peyster had no authority to permit any to return directly home, and those who did not wish to go to Montreal were forced to remain here. De Peyster wrote in June that nothing would be wanting on his part to stop the Indians from committing depredations on the frontier. He had received no



VIEW OF DETROIT IN 1796, FROM THE ORIGINAL PAINTING IN PARIS  
Brig "Gen. Gage" lying in river. Buildings shown were located between Wayne and Griswold streets as now laid out





accounts concerning the peace other than the king's proclamation and an injunction to restrain the Indians, but he hoped soon to hear from England conclusively, "and then you and I may sit ourselves upon our mat, with the pleasing reflection of having redeemed many of the unfortunate from slavery and saved the lives of those who (if they have the least spark of gratitude) will hereafter bless us."

Nearly at the foot of Woodward Avenue was the workyard of the fort, called the "shipyard," which was under the control of the commandant, but was occupied and used for the purposes of the navy. In this place, also, it is probable that all the timber for the houses within the fortifications was prepared and the lumber squared. This shipyard was on that part of the cleared ground, unenclosed, called the King's Commons. A little to the east of this were several small tracts of land, containing about an arpent each, which had been occupied for many years, and which formed a border to the eastern side of the commons. This line of lots extended from the river to about Fort Street, as now located, and were of a uniform depth of 192 feet. At how early a period these lots were first occupied it is now impossible to ascertain. The entire series of lots would form a portion of what was later called the Brush Farm, if their original conveyance had not antedated the conveyance of the farm.

On the lot nearest the river a hut had been built and the occupation had been granted to one Pike, to oversee the timberyard, or shipyard, already mentioned. Pike misbehaved himself and was turned out of the hut by De Peyster, and Capt. Guillaume La Mothe was installed in his place on condition that he should "keep and eye on" the shipyard. On the next lot north of the one occupied by La Mothe, Alexander McKee obtained permission to settle. When the treaty of peace was a matter of time only, both La Mothe and McKee sought to obtain valid titles to the lots they occupied, and De Peyster requested Haldimand to make the necessary grants. Both men had served the British well and the small recompense asked for would have been a trifling reward for services rendered. De Peyster said that La Mothe had moved into the hut "which he, at his own expense, has converted in a snug little dwelling, and improved the inhospitable beach to a pretty little garden by bringing soil to it, all of which, however, was done at his own cost."

McKee had applied for a grant of his lot in June, 1782, and his request was forwarded by De Peyster to Haldimand at that time, with an offer to pay him one hundred and fifty pounds for the lot, but Haldimand replied that he preferred to make a gift of the lot, and wrote: "I shall, as a mark of my approbation of Mr. McKee's conduct, possess him of it without the consideration proposed."

#### DIFFICULTIES WITH INDIANS

De Peyster was in a worse condition than ever with the Indians. The uncertainty of the preliminary articles of peace gave him uneasiness and he resolved "to evade answering impertinent questions." The Indians flocked into the village to request him to supply the wants of their women and children, who were almost naked; but the supplies had not come at the last of June. "Heavens," De Peyster wrote, "if goods do not arrive soon, what will become of me? I have lost several stone weight of flesh within these twenty days." The Indians complained that they were always ready to fight for the English, and now they said, "We are informed that instead of prosecuting the war, we are to give our lands to the enemy, which gives us great uneasiness; in en-

deavoring to assist you it seems we have wrought our own ruin." De Peyster could only thank them for their past services, inform them that peace had been declared, but that he did not know on what terms, and promised to give them whatever goods came up from below.

The commandant wrote on the last of June that the Indians came in from all quarters. "To avoid a too numerous council I invited four of each nation to meet me about the beginning of July, but it seems that whole villages had set out on their journey for that purpose before my strings could reach them; impatient to know what is to become of them and their lands and to request a supply of goods so long promised them." The Wabash Indians, he said, were very impertinent, "using expressions not proper to be committed to paper."

On the 1st day of May, 1783, Congress requested the secretary of war to take the most effective measures to inform the Indians that preliminary articles of peace had been agreed upon and hostilities had ceased with Great Britain, and the secretary sent Maj. Ephraim Douglass to carry out the instructions of Congress. It was generally understood that as soon as peace was declared the posts of Detroit and Niagara would at once be surrendered to the United States, and consequently that any delegate from Congress might properly, at this time, go among the Indians for any peaceful purpose; but the English did not propose to surrender the posts at all, if they could help it, and certainly not now. British interests were not favorable to treaties of peace between the Indians and the Americans. Douglass proceeded westward as far as Sandusky without meeting the Indians in general council. At the invitation of Captain Pipe, an Indian chief, he accompanied him to Detroit, expecting there to meet several tribes of Indians in council, to whom he could explain his errand. A further invitation was extended to him by De Peyster, but De Peyster requested him not to enter into any negotiations with the Indians until after his arrival in Detroit.

#### FIRST AMERICAN REPRESENTATIVE ENTERS DETROIT

On the fourth of July, 1783, the first representative of the United States Government, in the person of Maj. Ephraim Douglass, entered Detroit. He was cordially received by Major De Peyster, but while the latter professed the strongest desire to bring about terms of peace between the new government and the Indians, he would not permit Douglass to address them nor to inform them that the boundary lines of the United States would include this district.

At the Indian council, held here on the sixth of July, there were present chiefs of eleven nations, extending as far south as the Wabash, the Chippewa, Ottawa, Wyandotte, Huron, Shawnee, Delaware, Kickapoo, Oweochtano, Miami, Pottawatomi, Pienkisha and Seneca. The Indians knew of the presence of Douglass and of his errand. They were greatly pleased that peace was declared and surrounded his lodging all day when he was at home and lined the streets to attend him when he was going abroad, "that they might have," he wrote, "an opportunity of seeing and saluting me, which they did not fail to do in their best manner, with every demonstration of joy." In the absence of instructions from higher authority, De Peyster refused to permit Douglass to negotiate with the Indians, and on the 7th at, the request of De Peyster, Douglass set out for Niagara, where he was accorded the same treatment as at Detroit and was compelled to return home without having accomplished anything of importance. Thus the Indians were left in almost total ignorance

of the intention of the new government to them. They could not know whether they were recognized in the treaty or whether they might consider the United States as a friend or foe.

The summer passed away without further matters of interest on the frontier other than the dissatisfaction of the Indians regarding the treaty. They agreed at the urgent and repeated requests of McKee, who was at Sandusky, to abstain from further incursions and to set their prisoners at liberty. They claimed that it was understood they were to keep their prisoners "to strengthen their nation." They were apprehensive of the designs of the Americans on their lands north of the Ohio, but McKee was able to keep them in very good humor, and the summer wore away; the fall came and on the 3d of September, 1783, the final treaty of peace was signed; the United States was a nation in the eyes of the world; the Revolution was at an end.

## CHAPTER XXXVIII

### INDIAN WARS: 1783-1811

FIRST AMERICAN REPRESENTATIVE AT DETROIT—AMERICAN EFFORTS TO ACQUIRE DETROIT—ENGLISH AGENTS AT WORK—GENERAL HARMAR'S DEFEAT—GENERAL ST. CLAIR'S CAMPAIGN—GEN. ANTHONY WAYNE—CAMPAIGN OF 1794—BATTLE OF FALLEN TIMBERS—RESULTS OF THE INDIAN DEFEAT—COL. JOHN F. HAM-TRAMCK—DETROIT AFTER AMERICAN OCCUPATION—TECUMSEH'S CONSPIRACY—BATTLE OF TIPPECANOE—ALARM IN DETROIT.

The Revolutionary war was technically ended by the treaty of 1783. However, the British not only retained possession of the post of Detroit and other territory conceded to the United States, but they also endeavored to keep the Indians on the war-path against the infant settlements in the Ohio country. Lanman states that, in the negotiation of the treaty, the British commissioners demanded the complete independence of the Indian tribes in the Ohio country, with power to sell their lands to whom they pleased, but the United States commissioners would not consent to such an arrangement.

One of the first aims of the United States was to establish friendly relations with the natives. To this end Maj. Ephraim Douglass was sent to Detroit in the spring of 1783, with instructions to hold councils with the Indians and attempt to gain their confidence and good will. We have seen in the preceding chapter the result of Douglass's visit, the cordiality of De Peyster's reception to him, the enthusiasm and curiosity of the Indians, but the utter failure of Douglass to secure a council with the Indians owing to the interference of the British. Notwithstanding this difficulty, Douglass was ordered to remain in the country for the purpose of observing the movements of the British and, if possible, ascertain their real intentions. Under date of February 2, 1784, he wrote from Uniontown to Governor Dickenson of Pennsylvania:

“Early in the fall Sir John Johnson assembled the different western tribes at Sandusky, and, having prepared them with presents distributed with lavish profusion, addressed them in a speech to this purport: That the King, his and their common father, had made peace with the Americans and had given them the country they possessed on this continent; but that the report of his having given them any part of the Indian lands was false, and fabricated by the Americans for the purpose of provoking the Indians against their father—that they should therefore shut their ears against such reports. So far the contrary was proved that the great River Ohio was to be the line between the Indians in this quarter and the Americans; over which line the latter ought not to pass and return in safety. That, however, as the war between Britain and America was now at an end, and as the Indians had engaged in it from their attachment to the crown and not from any quarrel of their own, he would, as was usual at the end of a war, take the tomahawk out of their hand; though he would not remove it out of sight or far from them, but lay it down carefully at their side that they might

have it convenient to use in defense of their rights and property, if they were invaded or molested by the Americans."

#### AMERICAN EFFORTS TO ACQUIRE DETROIT

On July 12, 1783, President Washington ordered Baron Steuben to proceed to Canada, secure the necessary permits for the evacuation of Detroit, then to proceed here and, if advisable, to organize the French inhabitants of Michigan into a militia body and place the post in their hands. The baron notified Haldimand of his approaching arrival and Haldimand met him with all the courtesy due his rank and mission, but flatly refused to give him the required papers. In fact, Haldimand sent a letter to Washington by Steuben, dated August 11th, in which he informed the president that he considered the treaty only provisional and had received no orders to deliver the posts along the Great Lakes.

A second effort was made in 1784 to induce Haldimand to issue the necessary orders, but failure again attended the efforts of the Americans. This second attempt was initiated by Congress, under the suggestion of General Knox, and was headed by Lieut.-Col. William Hull, afterwards the unfortunate governor of Detroit. Hull arrived at Quebec July 12, 1784, and met Haldimand, but had no better success than Baron Steuben.

Diplomatic correspondence and negotiations then continued with the object of compelling the British to surrender Detroit and other posts. The English informed the United States minister, John Adams, in 1786, that many of the states had failed to live up to the provision of the treaty relative to the payment of debts, consequently they did not feel as if they should give up the western posts. John Connolly, the notorious Virginian, whose activities in behalf of the British are described in another chapter, became a prominent figure in the endeavor to influence the settlers and Indians.

Many rumors were circulated about the British actions in keeping hold of the territory. The Montreal merchants had grown wealthy and powerful through the fur trade from the western country and naturally they used every means in their power to compel the officials to hold to the western posts.

#### ENGLISH AGENTS AT WORK

During the year 1784 there were frequent depredations committed by Indians in the neighborhood of Pittsburg and upon the settlements along the Ohio River. Evidence was not wanting that some of these raids were planned in Detroit. Col. Josiah Harmar was ordered to collect a strong force of militia at Fort Pitt and call a council of the Indians. Congress appointed Richard Butler, Gen. George Rogers Clark and Arthur Lee as commissioners to negotiate a treaty of peace. Major Ancrum, the commandant of Detroit, was warned by Major Elliott that, if a treaty was concluded, it would be followed by an influx of settlers. Matthew Elliott, Alexander McKee and Simon Girty were sent among the Indians to influence them not to attend the council. They succeeded in holding back the Cherokee, Miami, Shawnee and a few minor tribes, but a peace was made with the Chippewa, Delaware, Ottawa and Wyandot Indians.

Incited by the English agents, the Cherokee made a raid in September, 1785, through the Scioto, Hocking, Muskingum and Tuscarawas valleys, where a few white settlements had been started. About this time Maj. John Doughty built Fort Harmar at the mouth of the Muskingum River, on the point of land

opposite the present city of Marietta, Ohio. This was the first American fort northwest of the Ohio River. In November a council was held at the mouth of the Miami River, although Simon Girty and Capt. William Caldwell of Detroit did all they could to keep the Indians from attending. The Americans there built Fort Finney and on February 1, 1786, the Shawnee were given all the territory between the Miami and Wabash rivers, south of the country claimed by the Miami and Wyandot nations. Two months later, at the instigation of Elliott, Girty and McKee, the Shawnee were on the war-path in the Scioto and Hocking valleys.

In June, 1786, British agents induced forty chiefs to attend a council at Niagara, to see Sir John Johnson, who warned them that they would be exterminated unless they united as one nation to drive back the Americans. At this council was Joseph Brant, the Mohawk chief who had been educated by Sir William Johnson, and after its adjournment he went among the different tribes, showing his commission as a captain in the British Army and telling them that the British were their best friends. (Brant was at one time a student in Dartmouth; his sister, Mollie, lived with Sir William Johnson and bore the latter ten children).

For their services, McKee, Girty, Elliott and Caldwell were all given land in the vicinity of Amherstburg at the mouth of the Detroit River. On December 18, 1786, another council was held, this time at Sandwich. It was attended by representatives of the Six Nations, Cherokee, Chippewa, Miami, Ottawa, Pottawatomi, Shawnee, Wyandot and some of the Wabash tribes. At this council the British agents presented the Detroit Indians with a memorial to Congress, pledging themselves to keep the peace if the whites would stay out of the Ohio country. The next year the Northwest Territory was organized and inducements offered to settlers to locate within its bounds.

Early in the summer of 1787 the British garrison at Detroit was reinforced by a full regiment and two companies. The following year Gen. Guy Carleton (Lord Dorchester), ordered the town to be protected by new pickets and the defensive works strengthened. Between the years 1783 and 1788 it is estimated that over one thousand white persons were killed by the Indians, many of the scalps having been taken to Detroit to show to the "English father."

#### GENERAL HARMAR'S DEFEAT

All efforts to make treaties with the Indians having failed, President Washington decided to adopt more vigorous measures for putting a stop to the savage raids on the settlements. Early in the summer of 1789, Col. Josiah Harmar, who had been appointed Indian agent for the Northwest Territory in 1787, was ordered to collect a force and march into the Indian country. Gen. Henry Knox, secretary of war, for some inexplicable reason, sent word to the commandant at Detroit that the expedition was against the Indians only. This action on the part of the secretary was undoubtedly the main contributing factor to the failure of Colonel Harmar's expedition, as the Indians were supplied with arms and ammunition by the Detroit commandant.

Colonel Harmar mobilized his troops at Fort Washington (now Cincinnati), where in September, 1790, he had a force of over fourteen hundred men. Just before starting on his march, he was brevetted brigadier-general. On the 23d of October he reached the head of the Maumee River, where Fort Wayne, Indiana, now stands, and his scouts brought word that a large force of Indians

was only a short distance in advance. Major Wyllys was assigned to make an attack with four hundred men, while Major Hall was directed to gain the rear of the Indian camp. Hall started to cross the Maumee at a ford, but before all his men were over the Indians fled. Those who had already crossed the stream pursued without orders, leaving sixty regulars to the mercy of the savages under Little Turtle. The pursuers followed the Indians up the St. Joseph River and soon came upon a formidable body of Indians. They then began a retreat and fortunately for them the savages did not follow. The regulars suffered the heaviest casualties. As soon as Harmar could extricate his men, he ordered a retreat to Fort Washington. He was severely criticized for his management of the campaign and in January, 1792, resigned his commission. General Harmar's defeat elated the Indians, who marched to Detroit and paraded the streets, and, according to one account, carried long poles strung with the scalps of the American soldiers killed in the engagement.

#### GENERAL ST. CLAIR'S CAMPAIGN

Early in the year 1791, President Washington sent for Gen. Arthur St. Clair, governor of the Northwest Territory, to confer with him in regard to another invasion of the Indian country. The result of the conference was that St. Clair was commissioned commander-in-chief of the army on March 4, 1791, promised 2,500 men, most of them Revolutionary veterans, and instructed to build a line of forts from the mouth of the Miami to the mouth of the Maumee.

Gen. Arthur St. Clair was born at Caithness, Scotland, in 1734; was educated at the University of Edinburg; studied medicine, but purchased an ensign's commission in the army and in 1758 came to America. He was with General Amherst at the capture of Louisburg; was made a lieutenant in 1759; distinguished himself with Wolfe at Quebec; settled in Pennsylvania at the close of the French and Indian war, and commanded the Second Pennsylvania Regiment in the Revolution. When the Northwest Territory was created in 1787 he was appointed governor.

In May, 1791, while St. Clair was making preparations for his campaign, Gen. Charles Scott, of Kentucky, led eight hundred men up the Wabash valley almost to where Lafayette, Indiana, now stands and destroyed a number of Indian villages. Gen. James Wilkinson, with five hundred men, made a raid in the same territory in August and destroyed the Kickapoo villages. Some of the Indians driven out by Scott and Wilkinson sought a refuge at Detroit, where they were encouraged by the British to make more desperate efforts to hold the country.

With two thousand troops, General St. Clair left Fort Washington in September. Twenty miles up the Miami River he built Fort Hamilton (now Hamilton, Ohio) and forty-two miles farther north he built Fort Jefferson. Leaving the latter fort late in October, he established a camp on a small tributary of the Wabash River, in what is now Darke County, Ohio.

Just before daylight on November 4, 1791, while the men were preparing their breakfast, the war-whoop resounded through the forest on all sides. During the night Little Turtle, the head chief of the Miami Nation, had planted his warriors around the camp and as soon as it was light enough to see the attack commenced. The onslaught was so sudden and unexpected that the camp was thrown into confusion. Several of the American officers were killed or wounded by the first volley. Colonels Butler and Darke and Major Clark

tried to rally the men, but they were too badly panic stricken. Out of 1,400 men in the camp, 593 were reported killed or missing, while 38 officers and 242 men were wounded. The survivors managed to reach Fort Jefferson, General St. Clair having made his escape on a pack horse. He was vindicated by Congress and continued as governor until the state of Ohio was formed in 1802. Alexander McKee, Matthew Elliott and Simon Girty were among the Indians, though the fact was not known until after the Treaty of Greenville, nearly four years later. (A copy of Alexander McKee's will, dated August 19, 1794, is preserved in the Burton Historical Collection.)

At the suggestion of Secretary Knox, Washington consented to make one more effort to treat with the Indians. On March 1, 1793, he appointed Benjamin Lincoln, Timothy Pickering and Beverly Randolph commissioners to meet the chiefs of the hostile tribes at Sandusky. Again the English agents frustrated the design. A number of chiefs attended the council, but they had been previously advised by the British to accept no boundary other than the Ohio River. The council came to an end on the 16th of August without accomplishing anything.

#### GEN. ANTHONY WAYNE

In the meantime preparations for sending another military expedition against the Indians were going forward. The president had little faith in General Knox's theory that a peace treaty could be made, and had called Gen. Anthony Wayne to the command of the army upon the resignation of General St. Clair. Wayne's instructions were to assemble at Fort Washington a force large enough to insure the effectual chastisement of the Indians.

General Wayne was born at Waynesboro, Pennsylvania, January 1, 1745. While a school boy he developed a taste for military matters, designing forts, drilling his classmates, etc., until his teachers pronounced him incorrigible. He finally acquired sufficient education to enable him to become a surveyor, though his interest in military affairs was never abated. When the Revolutionary war began in 1775 he already had a regiment organized, of which he was commissioned colonel. In the spring of 1777 he was made brigadier-general. On July 15, 1779, when Washington asked him if he could storm Stony Point, Wayne saluted and replied, "General, I'll storm hell if you will plan the attack." He did storm Stony Point and although wounded insisted upon being carried in at the head of his men. This and similar exploits gave him the sobriquet of "Mad Anthony." Such was the character of the man whom Washington selected to lead the new expedition.

In May, 1793, Wayne began mobilizing his forces at Fort Washington, but undertook no aggressive movement until after the Sandusky council. The summer was spent in organizing and drilling his army. Early in the fall he was joined by the "Kentucky Rangers" and soon afterward began his march up the Miami. On the 6th of October he reached Fort Jefferson. About a week later the army arrived at the scene of St. Clair's defeat, where Wayne built Fort Recovery and went into winter quarters. General Knox, who still clung to the idea that treaties of peace could be made, was fearful that Wayne would meet the same fate as Harmar and St. Clair. Before the army moved from Fort Washington he begged Wayne not to invade the Indian country, and early in the spring of 1794 he sent a messenger to Fort Recovery urging Wayne to use caution. Harmar's army consisted mainly of militia and raw recruits; St. Clair



was defeated because he failed to take the necessary precautions to guard against a surprise; but now a different story was to be told. Wayne's men were well drilled and equipped; now, many of them were experienced Indian fighters; and, what was of the utmost importance, they all had confidence in their commander. Wayne was always on the alert. Because of his cunning and swiftness the Indians gave him the name of the "Black Snake." Attempts to surprise him failed and Little Turtle called him "The man who never sleeps."

Although Harmar and St. Clair were defeated, their expeditions made an impression upon the Indians. When they learned that Wayne was preparing to move against them, several of the tribes began to realize the power of the United States and correspondingly to lose faith in English promises. Renewed efforts were therefore made to regain their good will and hold their allegiance by the distribution of presents, and otherwise convince them that they should not yield to the demands of the United States.

#### CAMPAIGN OF 1794

On June 30, 1794, a large party of Indians and British disguised as Indians made an attack upon a detachment of dragoons escorting a pack train to Fort Recovery, but were repulsed with considerable loss. A slightly different version of this incident, from the British viewpoint, is presented in the letter from Alexander McKee to Colonel England, commandant at Detroit, under date of July 5, 1794. This letter follows:

"I send this by a party of Saganas who returned yesterday from Fort Recovery where the whole body of Indians except the Delawares, who had gone another route, imprudently attacked the fort on Monday, the 30th of last month, and lost 16 or 17 men, besides a good many wounded.

"Everything had been settled prior to their leaving the fallen timber (where Wayne's battle was afterward fought) and it had been agreed upon to confine themselves to taking convoys and attacking at a distance from the forts, if they should have the address to entice the enemy out; but the impetuosity of the Mackina Indians and their eagerness to begin with the nearest, prevailed with the others to alter their system, the consequences of which, from the present appearance of things, may most materially injure the interests of these people, both the Mackina and Lake Indians seeming resolved on going home again, having completed the belts they carried, with scalps and prisoners, and having no provisions there at the Glaze to subsist upon, so that His Majesty's posts will derive no security from the late great influx of Indians into this part of the country, should they persist in their resolution of returning so soon.

"The immediate object of the attack was 300 pack horses going from this fort to Fort Greenville, in which the Indians completely succeeded, taking and killing all of them. But the commanding officer, Captain Gibson, sending out a troop of cavalry, and bringing his infantry out in front of the post, the Indians attacked them, and killed about 50, among whom is Captain Gibson and two other officers. On the near approach of the Indians to the fort, the remains of his garrison retired into it, and from their loopholes killed and wounded as already mentioned. Captain Elliott writes that they are immediately to hold a council at the Glaze, in order to try if they can prevail upon the Lake Indians to remain; but without provisions, ammunition, etc., being sent to that place, I conceive it will be extremely difficult to keep them together."

McKee's letter was written for British consumption. The fact of the matter

is that soon after this engagement, if it could be so called, the Indians went to Wayne with overtures of peace. The general told them first to surrender all American prisoners, after which he would talk to them. This ended the negotiations. Again the British were reduced to the necessity of bracing up the Indians by specious promises and a plentiful supply of rum, and for the time all peace talk was ended.

Wayne began his march into the Indian country on the 4th of July. At the mouth of Auglaize River he found a deserted Indian village and here he built a strong stockade, to which he gave the name of Fort Defiance. Here he was joined by Gen. Charles Scott with sixteen hundred mounted Kentucky Rangers, "as tough a lot as ever drew bead on a redskin." This reinforcement gave Wayne's army a strength of over three thousand men. At Fort Defiance Wayne perfected his plans for the remainder of the campaign. In this he was greatly aided by William Henry Harrison, then a lieutenant, who afterward won distinction as commander-in-chief of the United States forces in the War of 1812.

Leaving a detachment to garrison Fort Defiance, Wayne moved with the main body of his army down the Maumee River. Early in August, near the head of the rapids and within a few miles of Fort Miami, he built Fort Deposit as a depot for his supplies. He then sent messengers to the Indian chiefs, offering them peace and security and counseling them against listening to the advice of the bad white men at the foot of the Rapids. Little Turtle, the great Miami chief, was in favor of accepting Wayne's terms.

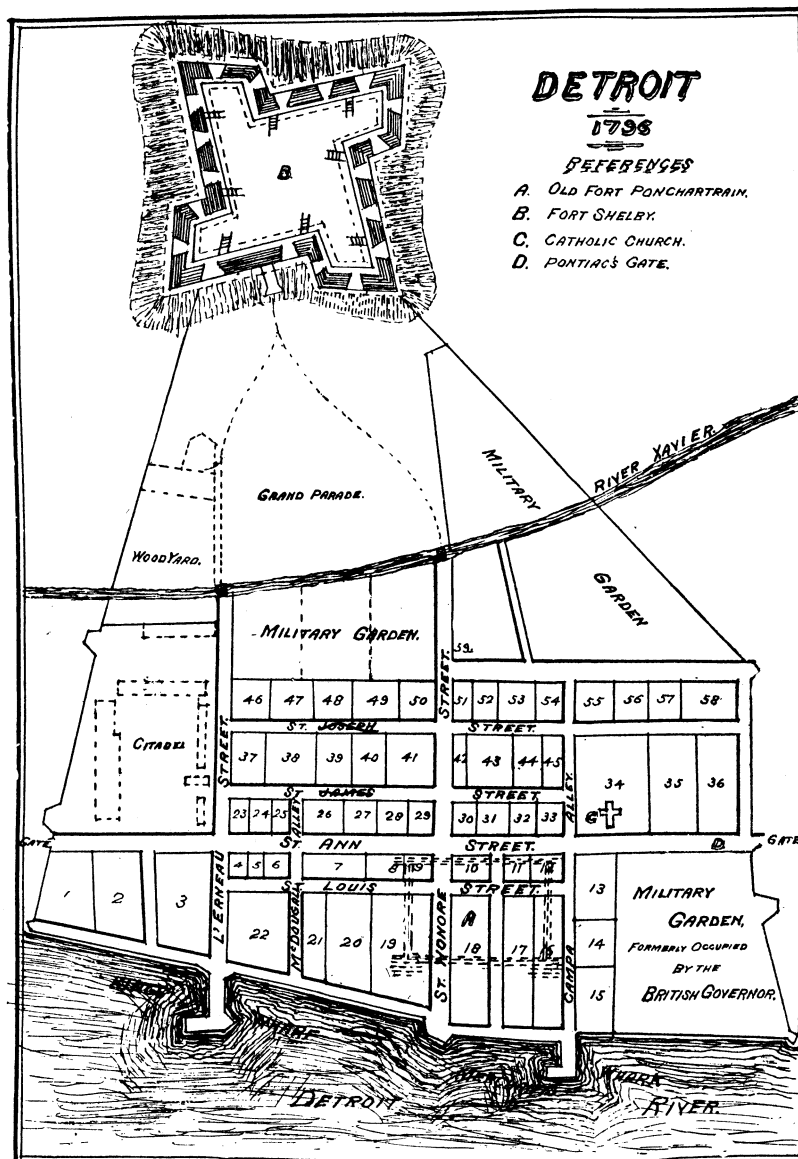
"We have beaten the enemy twice," he said, "under different commanders. We cannot expect the same good fortune always to attend us. The Americans are now led by a chief who never sleeps. The night and the day are alike to him. During the time he has been marching on our villages, in spite of the watchfulness of our young men, we have never been able to surprise him. Think well of this. There is something whispers to me it would be prudent to listen to offers of peace."

Fortunate for the savages it would have been had they heeded the advice of the canny old chief. A majority of the chiefs, however, voted to reject all peace proposals and urged an immediate attack upon the American forces. Wayne was aware of all this and was resolved to act upon the offensive.

#### BATTLE OF FALLEN TIMBERS

Early on the morning of August 20, 1794, the army advanced from Camp Roche de Bout, at the head of the Rapids, toward Fort Miami, where the Indians were gathered. Major Price's command was deployed in front as a skirmish line, closely followed by a battalion of mounted riflemen with instructions that if fired upon to retreat in confusion, in order to draw the enemy from cover. The morning was cloudy and dark and a misty rain was falling. No drums were heard and the army marched as silently as possible for about five miles, when the skirmish line was driven back by a heavy volley from a foe concealed in a dense wood on the borders of a wet prairie. A tornado had uprooted so many of the trees in the wood that the mounted riflemen were unable to carry out their part of the program and the plan of battle had to be altered.

The enemy's left rested on the bank of the Maumee, their line extending into the fallen timber, which formed an ideal cover for the Indians. Wayne sent Maj. Robert Campbell to turn the left flank, while the dismounted Ken-





tucky Rangers and the famous Wayne Legion advanced on the center and right. The orders were: "Let them shoot once, then advance on the double-quick, fire at short range, and before they can reload give them the bayonet."

Major Campbell was severely wounded early in the action and Maj. John F. Hamtramck took command, receiving honorable mention in Wayne's report for the skillful manner in which he conducted the flank movement. As soon as the American right was actively engaged, Wayne advanced according to the revised plan and the Indians, unable to withstand the bayonet charge, fled toward Fort Miami. Then it was discovered that the Indians and British had been posted in three lines, within supporting distance of each other, but after the first line broke the others could not be rallied and the rout was complete. The fight lasted about an hour. Wayne's loss in killed and wounded was 133 men. An American soldier who took part in the battle wrote to a friend in Kentucky: "We drove them nearly three miles and the woods were full of dead Indians, and by the side of each one was a British musket and bayonet."

Near the bank of the Maumee, at the scene of the battle, may still be seen a large stone on which are rude carvings resembling bird tracks. When the Indians began to waver, the renowned Ottawa chief, Me-sa-sa (Turkey-foot), mounted this stone to exhort his warriors to stand firm, when a well-aimed shot from the rifle of a Kentucky Ranger ended his earthly career. For years after this, members of his tribe would come to the stone, bringing offerings of dried meat, parched corn and other edibles. Sometimes these parties would linger for days, weeping and calling the name of Me-sa-sa, and some of them carved the crude images of turkey tracks upon the stone as a monument to their departed chieftain.

After the battle Wayne destroyed the Indian villages, laid waste their corn-fields, and burned the house occupied by Alexander McKee, the British Indian agent. On the 21st he paraded his army in front of Fort Miami and rode up almost to the walls. He had orders from President Washington to attack the fort if he considered it necessary and dislodge the garrison, as it was clearly in American territory, built there at a time when England and the United States were supposed to be at peace. Wayne's conduct on this occasion was something like that of a boy "with a chip on his shoulder," hoping the other boy would muster up enough courage to knock it off. He saw the gunners standing with lighted matches awaiting the order to fire, but that order was not given. Hearing that reinforcements were coming from Niagara to Fort Miami, Wayne remained in the vicinity for three days, hoping to bring on an engagement that would utterly crush the British influence among the Indians of the Maumee Valley. On the 25th he began his march back to Fort Defiance and later in the year built Fort Wayne at the head of the Maumee, where the city of Fort Wayne, Indiana, now stands.

In his report of the campaign, Wayne stated that he met "a combined force of hostile Indians and a number of volunteers and militia of Detroit and defeated them on the 20th of August." His sweeping victory broke the hostile spirit of the savages.

The British at Detroit, under the commandant, Major William Campbell, were alarmed at the proximity of the American troops and some correspondence passed between Campbell and Wayne. Ten days after the battle of Fallen Timbers there were in Detroit about thirteen hundred Indians, who had fled there to place themselves under British protection. An extra hospital and another

surgeon were provided to care for the large number of wounded among them. Lieutenant-Governor Simcoe endeavored to bolster up the Indian courage by telling them that the Ohio country belonged to them, and that he had given orders to the commandant at Fort Miami to fire on the Americans if they again appeared. But the chiefs had lost confidence in British promises. They asked themselves why the commandant had not fired on the Americans when he had such a favorable opportunity, and the answer was unsatisfactory. They were tired of warring against Wayne, who was building forts in their country in spite of their opposition, and in August, 1795, all of the leading tribes entered into a treaty of peace at Greenville, Ohio.

General Wayne arrived in Detroit about the middle of August 1796, and remained in the town about three months. He then went to Presque Ile (now Erie), Pennsylvania, and died there on December 14, 1796. Wayne County and Wayne Street in Detroit were named in his honor.

The surrender of the post of Detroit is described in Chapter IX of this work, but there are a few details of the event which are interesting as a part of the military history of the time. Col. John F. Hamtramck's letters give a few intimate glimpses of the preparations of the American troops for the occupation of Detroit. Two of these, written to General Wilkinson, follow:

"Fort Miamis, July 11, 1796.

"On the 7th instant two small vessels arrived from Detroit, in which I sent a detachment of artillery and infantry consisting of sixty-five men, together with a number of cannon with ammunition, etc. The whole under the command of Captain Porter.

"On the 9th, a sloop arrived from Detroit, at Swan Creek, purchased by Captain De Butts, which carried fifty tons and which is now loaded with flour, quartermaster's stores and troops. That, together with eleven bateaux which I have, will be sufficient to take all the troops I have with me, leaving the remainder of our stores deposited at this place, which was evacuated this day, and where I have left Captain Marschalk and Lieutenant Shanklin with fifty-two men, infantry, and a Corporal and six of artillery; that is, including the garrison at the head of the Rapids. \* \* \* I shall embark within two hours with all the troops for Detroit."

"Detroit, July 17, 1796.

"I have the pleasure to inform you of the safe arrival of the troops under my command at this place, which was evacuated on the 11th instant and taken possession of by a detachment of sixty-five men, commanded by Captain Moses Porter, whom I had detached from the foot of the Rapids for that purpose. Myself and the troops arrived on the 13th instant."

The coming of the Americans to Detroit wrought a great change in the character of the post. The red and white uniform of the British officer was replaced by the blue and white of the American. The hardy, adventurous fighting man known as the Kentucky Ranger possessed very few drawing-room qualities; he knew little of etiquette. He had spent his life campaigning, living with and fighting savages, enduring hardships, subsisting on rough food and governing his actions by his desires. The belles of the post found him a much different man from the powdered and perfumed officer of the crown with whom they had associated, and in general treated him with cold contempt. Letters of that day narrate of the picnics and other celebrations enjoyed by the American soldiers, which generally ended in a free-for-all fight. But they were tried and

true, tempered in the flame of battle, and to their valor we are indebted for the acquisition of the last bit of territory in this western country which belonged to the United States.

Of Col. John Francis (or Jean Francois) Hamtramck a great deal could be written. He was born at Quebec, August 16, 1756, a son of Charles David and Marie Ann (Bertin) Hamtramck, or Hamtrenck. His father was a barber and a son of David and Adele (Garnik) Hamtramck, of Luxembourg, diocese of Treves, Germany, and married Marie Ann Bertin at Quebec, November 26, 1753. The Hamtramcks belonged to the Canadian and Nova Scotian refugees, but John F. joined Washington when eighteen years old and in 1776 became a captain of the Fifth New York Infantry. In 1786 he was advanced to the rank of major. When Congress organized the first regiment of infantry by special act, April 30, 1790, Hamtramck was made lieutenant-colonel and later colonel. Colonel Hamtramck's meritorious service with Wayne at Fallen Timbers has been mentioned and he was the one chosen to become the first American commandant at Detroit. Colonel Hamtramck died at Detroit in his forty-sixth year and was first buried in the graveyard of Ste. Anne's. In July, 1866, the remains were removed, placed in an oaken casket, and laid to rest in Mount Elliott Cemetery, where they are today, above them reclining the stone slab upon which is inscribed:

"Sacred  
 to the Memory of  
 John Francis Hamtramck, Esq.,  
 Colonel of the 1st United States Regiment of Infantry  
 and  
 Commandant of  
 Detroit and its Dependencies  
 He departed this life on the 11th of April, 1803,  
 Aged 45 years, 7 months & 28 days.  
 True Patriotism,  
 And a zealous attachment to National liberty  
 Joined to a laudable ambition  
 led him into Military service at an early  
 period of his life.  
 He was a soldier even before he was a man.  
 He was an active participator  
 in all the Dangers, Difficulties and honors  
 of the Revolutionary War;  
 And his heroism and uniform good conduct  
 procured him the attention and personal thanks of  
 the immortal Washington.  
 The United States in him have lost  
 A valuable officer and a good citizen,  
 And Society an Useful and Pleasant Member;  
 to his family the loss is incalculable,  
 and his friends will never forget  
 the Memory of Hamtramck.  
 This humble monument is placed over  
 his Remains

by the officers who had the Honor  
to serve under his command—  
A small but grateful tribute to  
his merit  
and  
his worth.”

For more than ten years after the Treaty of Greenville, Detroit and the Ohio settlements enjoyed comparative peace. A few depredations were committed by roving Indian bands, but there was no attempt at a general uprising. The English, however, continued their efforts to keep the savages attached to their interests and were liberal in the distribution of presents. Never had the red-coats given up the idea of regaining possession of the western posts and his majesty's officers continually usurped authority upon American soil. Many of the Indians yet exhibited signs of hostility toward the Americans and on this account, in the spring of 1807, a new stockade was constructed at Detroit. Large bodies of Indians continually passing to and fro on their visits to the British post at Amherstburg also kept the people of Detroit in a state of suspense. On August 6, 1807, James May, adjutant general of the territory, ordered a patrol guard of militia to be kept at the Indian council house, the guard to consist of three officers and twelve privates. On the 11th following he issued his "General Orders," assigning the several companies to their respective positions in case of attack. This document is interesting in showing the personnel of the guard and the character of the defense.

"After this night the Guards will be kept in the following manner: Visgers' and L'Ecuyers' companies will alternately furnish a guard of a Sergeant and six privates, to be stationed at the old Blockhouse. The rifle company, the artillery and cavalry will furnish a sergeant and eight privates every night to be kept at the north Blockhouse.

"Hickman's light infantry—Campeau's and Anderson's companies of the first Regiment will alternately furnish a Subaltern Sergeant and twelve privates as a guard to be kept in the East Blockhouse.

"The Adjutant-General will detail a Captain of the day, who will visit all the Guards by night and give them their instructions. In case of an alarm or attack on the place, the following disposition will be made of the Troops: Scott's company of Riflemen at the north blockhouse, Anderson's company at the east blockhouse, and L'Ecuyer's company at the old Blockhouse. Hickman's company will defend the Pickets between the two Blockhouses; Visger's, the Pickets between the fort and the north Blockhouse; and Campeau's company, the pickets between the east Blockhouse and the river; all the other companies will form at Curry's Corner and wait for orders.

"Colonel Woodward will command from the West Blockhouse to the fort and so on from the fort to the river, and on the river as far east as Abbott's store, but in such manner as not to interfere with Captain Dyson's command.

"Colonel Brush will command from Abbott's store on the river to the east gate; and north to the Blockhouse, including said blockhouse.

"In case the Enemy should break through the Pickets and get into the town Hickman's company will immediately take possession of the Stone Council House, Campeau's of the Bank, and Visger's of the Old Blockhouse and May's stone house. Captain Dodemead's and Smith's companies will parade at the stone council house, where they will receive their orders.



“Doctor McCoskry will attend at May’s stone house and Doctor Brown at the Council House, where the wounded will be sent.”

## TECUMSEH’S CONSPIRACY

The unrest among the Indians at this time was due to the propaganda of the Shawnee chief, Tecumseh, and his brother, Tenkwatawa. Encouraged by the English, these two Indians undertook to organize the western tribes into one grand confederacy for the purpose of driving the American settlers out of the country. The plan of this conspiracy was similar to that of Pontiac in 1763. As soon as the Indians were organized they were to surprise the posts at Chicago, Detroit, Fort Wayne, St. Louis and Vincennes, massacre the garrisons and then raid the settlements.

Tenkwatawa (the Prophet) began his work in 1806. He told the people of his tribe that the Great Spirit had appeared to him in a vision and had told him the white man must be driven back to the ocean whence he came; that the Shawnee, being the oldest of the western tribes, must be the leader in a movement to regain possession of the hunting grounds taken from them by the pale-faces; that it was the Manitou’s will for them to renounce all intoxicating liquors, throw aside everything they had received or learned from the white race, and return to the customs and weapons of their ancestors; that when they did all these things the Great Spirit would cease to be angry with them and help them to exterminate their enemies. In his addresses to the savages he worked himself into a frenzy and it was not long until many of his hearers were almost as frantic as he. Tenkwatawa was a successful agitator and kept alive the spirit of revolt, while his brother proceeded along more quiet and practical lines to organize the conspiracy.

Early in the year 1807 the two brothers sent their emissaries to the tribes about the Great Lakes to distribute war-belts and induce them to join the confederacy. But the Indians had not forgotten Wayne and Fallen Timbers and were slow to respond to the invitation. Thus the work went on for four years. When a comet appeared in 1811, Tenkwatawa declared it to be a messenger sent by the Great Spirit to express his displeasure at the delay of his red children in driving out the Americans, who were growing every day. The British aided and abetted the conspirators by a liberal distribution of presents to those who appeared to be favorable to the movement. On September 17, 1811, Governor Harrison wrote to the secretary of war as follows:

“All the Indians of the Wabash have been, or are now, on a visit to the British agent at Malden. My informant has never known more than one-fourth as many goods given to the Indians as they are now distributing. He examined the share of one man (not a chief) and found that he had received an elegant rifle, ninety-five pounds of powder, fifty pounds of lead, three blankets, three pieces of strouds, ten shirts and several other articles. A trader of this country was lately in the King’s store at Malden and was told that the quantity of goods for the Indian department, which had been sent out this year, exceeded that of common years by £20,000 sterling. It is impossible to ascribe this profusion to any other motive than that of instigating the Indians to take up the tomahawk. It cannot be to secure their trade, for all the peltries collected on the Wabash in one year, if sold in the London markets, would not pay the freight of the goods which have been given to the Indians.”

## BATTLE OF TIPPECANOE

Upon receipt of the above letter, the secretary of war ordered Colonel Boyd, commanding the Fourth Regiment of Infantry, composed mainly of Massachusetts and New Hampshire men, to "report to Gen. William Henry Harrison, Governor of Indiana Territory, at Vincennes." At the same time Kentucky was called upon to furnish three regiments of volunteer mounted riflemen. As soon as these troops arrived at Vincennes, General Harrison moved up the Wabash River towards Prophets Town, where a large body of Indians was assembled. Prophets Town, the home of Tenkwatawa, was situated on the Tippecanoe River, near the point where it empties into the Wabash about six miles above the present city of Lafayette, Indiana. On the evening of November 6, 1811, Harrison went into camp on the high ground near the Indian village, hoping the presence of the troops would overawe the Indians and they would return to their villages. A strong guard was set and the men slept on their arms.

About 4 A. M. on the 7th, the camp was aroused by the war-whoop and the firing of the pickets. Most of Harrison's men had been engaged in Indian fights before and knew what was going on. Although the camp was nearly surrounded, they formed with the coolness of veterans and poured a heavy fire into the ranks of savages. As it grew lighter Harrison turned the defense into an attack and in a short time the Indians were flying in all directions, pursued by the Kentuckians until their officers ordered them to desist. Harrison's loss in killed and wounded was 188 men. The Indian losses were not ascertained, but they were much heavier.

At the time this battle was fought, Tecumseh was absent, trying to enlist the cooperation of other tribes in his project. When he learned what had occurred, he hurried to Prophets Town, cursed his brother for his fanaticism, and even threatened to kill him for precipitating a battle when their plans were nearly ripe for action. But his wrath could not undo his brother's mischief. Harrison's victory broke the backbone of Tecumseh's conspiracy, though the peace that followed was of short duration, for before another year had passed Congress declared war against Great Britain and many of the tribes allied themselves with the English.

## ALARM IN DETROIT

The hostility of the Indians created an alarm in Detroit which was not even calmed by the defeat of Tecumseh's men at Tippecanoe. A town meeting was held December 8, 1811, which was sort of a home defense meeting. Solomon Sibley was chairman of the meeting and Judge Woodward secretary and the result was the appointment of a committee of five—Sibley, Woodward, James Witherell, George McDougall and Col. Daniel Baker—to collect money and ammunition. A thirty-day night watch was also organized. Witherell and Baker declined to act and H. H. Hickman and Richard Smythe were appointed in their place. Two days later another meeting was held and a memorial to Congress was adopted, appealing to the national body for additional posts in the western country and military reinforcement for Detroit. The memorial went to Congress on the 27th, but no action was taken.

## CHAPTER XXXIX

### THE WAR OF 1812

CAUSES OF WAR—RIGHT OF SEARCH—THE EMBARGO ACT—WAR DECLARED—LOCAL CONDITIONS—MILITARY PREPARATIONS—ARRIVAL OF GENERAL HULL—CAPTURE OF THE CUYAHOGA—HULL CROSSES INTO CANADA—HULL'S PROCLAMATION TO CANADIANS—JOHN ASKIN—OPERATIONS IN CANADA—CAPTURE OF MACKINAC—FIRST AMERICAN BLOODSHED—SITUATION AT FORT MALDEN—FURTHER CANADIAN OPERATIONS—THE FIGHT AT BROWNSTOWN—HULL LEAVES CANADA—BATTLE OF MONGUAGON—MOVEMENTS OF THE CASS-MCARTHUR DETACHMENT—BROCK ARRIVES AT AMHERSTBURG—BOMBARDMENT OF DETROIT—THE DAY OF THE SURRENDER—BROCK'S PROCLAMATION—SUMMARY OF TROOPS ENGAGED—HULL'S GUILT OR INNOCENCE—HULL'S TRIAL—DEARBORN'S CAREER: HIS MISTAKES—BEGINNING OF THE TRIAL—HULL'S CAREER AFTER THE TRIAL—INSUBORDINATION OF HULL'S OFFICERS—DETROIT UNDER BRITISH RULE—THE ARMY REORGANIZED—MASSACRE AT THE RAISIN—CONDITIONS IN DETROIT IN 1813—PROCTOR'S UNSUCCESSFUL OFFENSIVE—AMERICAN COUNTER OFFENSIVE AND PERRY'S VICTORY—BRITISH EVACUATION AND BATTLE OF THE THAMES—DEATH OF TECUMSEH—CONCLUDING EVENTS OF THE WAR—PRIVATIONS IN DETROIT.

During the quarter century following the Revolution, the people of the United States were socially and commercially dependent upon Europe, particularly England. No one was more aware of this fact than the British statesmen and diplomats, who questioned the ability of the Americans to maintain a republican form of government. They not only doubted, but they also committed many overt acts to break down that which President Lincoln, many years later, aptly termed a "government of the people, by the people, for the people".

British men-of-war, without so much as a "by your leave", made free use of American bays and harbors and patrolled the United States coast. They followed French ships and captured them within the three-mile limit, regardless of treaty stipulations; cononaded and burned a French man-of-war off the coast of Carolina; anchored inside the entrance of Chesapeake Bay while lying in wait for French vessels farther up the bay, and treated with contumely all American protests against such a course.

For weeks at a time, singly or in groups, these armed vessels would anchor off the bar at Sandy Hook, at the request of Thomas Barclay, for several years the British consul-general at New York, under the flimsy pretext of protecting American shipping. Says Channing: "Thomas Barclay was an American loyalist, a man of ability, and, from the language of his letters, appears to have thought that the British had been successful in the Revolutionary war. The captains of the British war vessels likewise looked upon America as under their protection, or as helpless".

The Americans were helpless to the extent that they were not in a position to resent the insult offered by the presence of armed vessels in their harbors in time of peace.

#### RIGHT OF SEARCH

British naval officers of that period were often brutal, the food furnished seamen was of poor quality, little attention was given to the sanitary condition of quarters and desertions were frequent. Conscription was resorted to in order to maintain the navy, and commanders of vessels were authorized to board ships upon the high seas, to search for British deserters—every seaman born in the British Empire and serving under the flag of another power was regarded as a deserter. One of the aggravating results of this "right of search" was the abduction of persons whom they claimed to be British subjects, but who had renounced that citizenship by taking the oath of allegiance to the United States. However, the English adhered to the rule that "once a British citizen, always a British citizen" and in this way many American sailors were impressed into the British naval service. In 1798 Timothy Pickering, then secretary of state, made a report to Congress, in which page after page was filled with the names of American seamen then in the English navy through the activities of the "press gang". This custom was highly distasteful to the American people, but Congress was powerless to obtain redress.

#### THE EMBARGO ACT

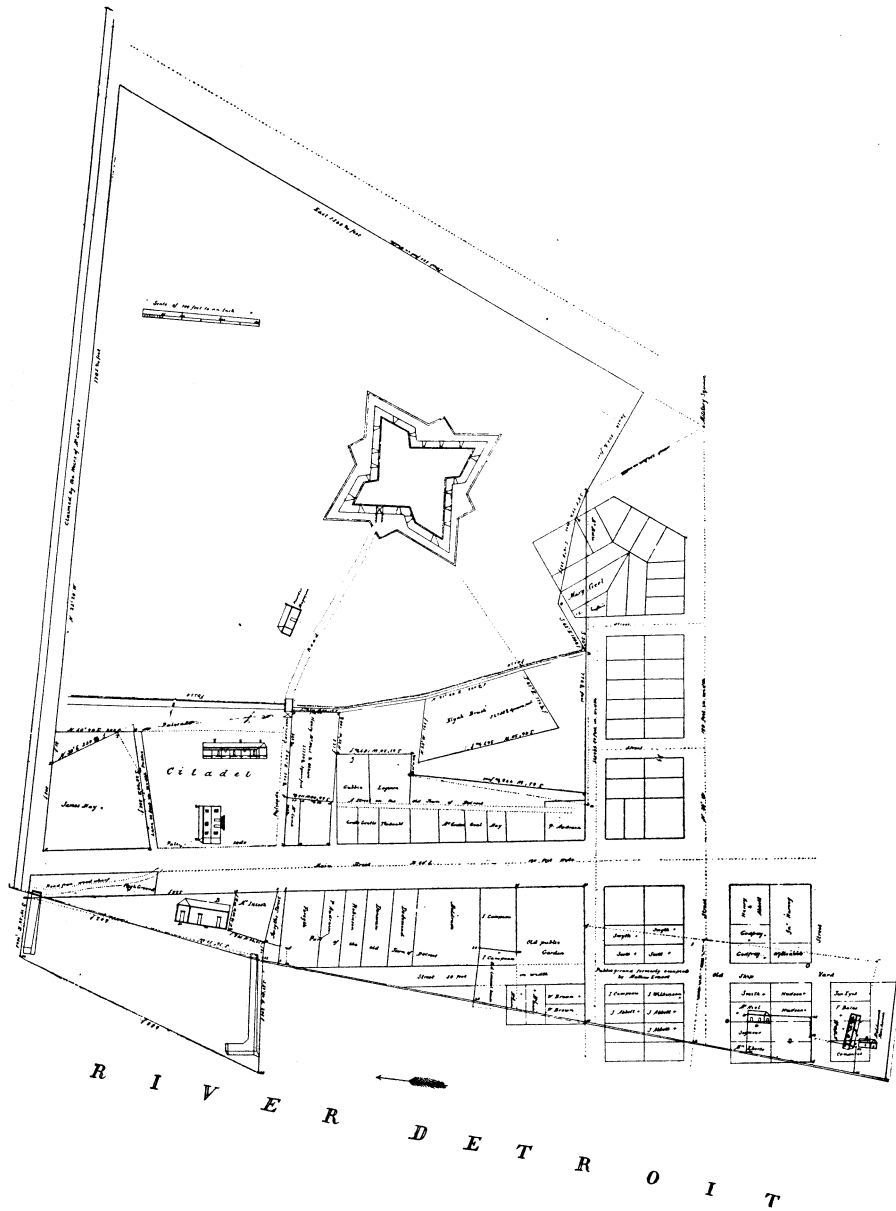
The capture of the Chesapeake by the British frigate Leopard on June 22, 1807, the latter's captain claiming that the American boat harbored deserters from the British navy, further aggravated conditions. The English Government disclaimed the act, but showed no disposition to make reparation, and the relations between the two nations became more and more strained.

President Jefferson's message of December 18, 1807 "set fire to Congress". Provisions were made for arming American vessels and the Embargo Act, prohibiting commercial intercourse with Great Britain, was passed. The act was unpopular with the merchants of New England and it was repealed, to be followed by the Non-Intercourse Act, slightly less rigid in character. A precedent for these acts was found in the administration of President Washington, more than a decade earlier. In 1793, when war with England was threatened, Jefferson, then secretary of state, and James Madison, leader of the house of representatives, sought to put pressure on England by commercial restriction. A bill to that effect, introduced by Madison, passed the house, but was defeated in the senate by the vote of Vice President Adams.

#### WAR DECLARED

England well knew that restrictive measures were unpopular with a great many Americans and at every opportunity added fuel to the flames, hoping to cause a division serious enough to disrupt the union of states. In the political campaign of 1808, English influence was exerted secretly in favor of George Clinton, the son of a former tory governor of New York, but James Madison was elected by an overwhelming majority. Thus matters stood until the early part of the year 1812, when President Madison issued a proclamation ordering British vessels away from American waters.

English sea captains paid no attention to the President's proclamation and



PLAN OF GOV. WILLIAM HULL IN 1809, SHOWING MILITARY RESERVATION



on April 1, 1812, Mr. Madison, in a special message to Congress, recommended an embargo for sixty days, in the belief that such a measure would result in the withdrawal of the British ships. Congress made the embargo for ninety days, instead of sixty, but again the embargo met with opposition from New England trade circles and on June 1, 1812 the President sent another special message to Congress recommending a declaration of war. The act declaring war was approved by President Madison on June 18, 1812.

There are students of American history who will claim that on the 18th of June, when hostilities were authorized, there was less cause for war between England and America than had existed at intervals during the previous period of ten years; that there was almost a certainty that the next ship from England would carry the news of the repeal of the orders of council and this would have removed the only difference between the countries, as England had previously made full amends for that affair of the Chesapeake and Leopard and also had given assurances against impressment. However, England's promises meant nothing; history had proved that Great Britain was not sincere.

#### CONDITIONS LOCALLY AT BEGINNING OF WAR

The list of grievances had been accumulating for ten years and, although it was well understood for several years before the declaration that war must, sooner or later, follow, the country was not prepared for the event. Within the limits of the present State of Michigan there were two fortified posts of importance, Detroit and Michilimackinac (or Mackinac). The post of Mackinac was located on the island of that name, situated in the straits between the two peninsulas of Michigan, and was under the command of Lieut. Porter Hanks, with a force of fifty-seven effective men, including officers. Fort Lernoult was within the limits of Detroit post and at the time of the declaration of war contained Major Whistler's company of infantry and Capt. Samuel Dyson's company of artillery.

The Territory of Michigan had been organized and set off from the Territory of Indiana in 1805 and its first officers were: William Hull, governor; Augustus Brevoort Woodward, John Griffin and Frederick Bates, judges, the governor and judges also constituting the legislative body of the territory. Some changes had occurred before the year 1812, but at that time the officers were: Hull, governor; Woodward, Griffin and James Witherell, judges. There had been constant contention for some years prior to 1812 between the governor and chief justice Woodward. Griffin usually agreed with Woodward and, to some extent, was considered his tool. Witherell refused to agree with either person, but took alternate sides in their controversies, as his judgment dictated to be proper. Woodward was educated, pedantic, overbearing and exceedingly careless in his personal habits. He abused, scolded and domineered Hull and Griffin, but he could not succeed with Witherell.

William Hull was born in Connecticut June 24, 1753 and was, consequently, fifty-nine years of age at the beginning of the war. He had sustained an honorable part in the Revolutionary war and later in Shay's Rebellion in 1786. In 1784 he had been sent by our government to Quebec to demand that the British forces be withdrawn from all posts held by them within the limits of the new government. That he was unsuccessful was not in any manner the fault of Mr. Hull. When he became governor of Michigan Territory, he sought to organize the militia and put it into shape for defending the frontier, but there

were various causes that prevented the organization as he wished, such as the quarrels between members of the legislative body, the poverty of the citizens and their inability or unwillingness to procure proper clothing and arms, the feeling that there would never be another war with England and the fancied security of the citizens against all other foes than the Indians.

#### MILITARY PREPARATIONS

The fort at Detroit was planned by Henry Bird, a captain in the British army, and erected under his supervision in the year 1778. Very little attention had been given to the maintenance of the fortification from the date of its completion by the British and it had fallen into decay. When it became apparent that war between the United States and Great Britain would ensue, some repairs were made on the fort and a new picket line was established around the village, or the old picket line was extended and repaired.

Capt. James Daliba, who had command of one of the batteries at Detroit, gave the following description of the post:

"The fort lies on the highest ground in the circumference of three miles, was a regular bastion fort, composed of four curtains and four half bastions about 100 yards on each face, not including the half bastions, about seventy-five yards being the extreme length of the curtain; the fort was made partly of earth; and the parapet eleven feet in elevation, the thickness of the top of the parapet about twelve feet, the banquet (banquette) for infantry six feet from the foundation or the level of the fort and five feet from the parapet, the whole width of the rampart at its base 26 feet; at the bottom of the exterior or slope of the parapet, there was a horizontal space of ground about two or three feet in width, extending around the whole circumference of the work, the ditch upon an average was from five to six feet deep, and at the bottom twelve feet wide, beyond the exterior or slope of the ditch a scope or glacis or esplanade.

"There was formerly a covert way, of which traces were remaining unhurt. In the bottom of the ditch round the fort, there was a row of pickets of cedar, nearly new, about eleven or twelve feet high. These pickets were fastened together by a rib. The gate was strongly made of plank with spikes. Over the gate was a lookout house, also strongly built in the fall of 1811.

"Cannons were mounted in the embrasures, most of which were repaired and put in good order in 1811, and the fort was generally in good order and in good repair."

The same witness stated that there were thirty-five cannon in the fort and batteries at this time, as follows: eight twenty-four pounders, eight twelve pounders, five nine-pounders, three six-pounders, two four-pounders, one three-pounder, one eight and a half inch howitzer, one five and a half inch howitzer, two three and a quarter inch howitzers, three six-inch howitzers, all of brass.

On December 27, 1811 the people of Michigan, fearing an Indian outbreak, sent a petition to Congress asking that some measures be taken for their protection. No definite action was taken and when, in the spring of 1812, Governor Hull was called to Washington, he urged that something be done to strengthen the frontier. He explained that Fort Wayne, Fort Mackinaw (Michilimackinac), and the posts at Chicago and Detroit were all poorly fortified, with weak garrisons; that the entire military force of Michigan Territory was but five thousand men, whereas the Canadian militia numbered more than ten times as many; and that the forests around Detroit were filled with Indians



ready to begin hostilities at Tecumseh's signal. He especially dwelt upon the importance of Detroit as a base of operations in the event of war, and recommended a strong naval force on Lake Erie to cooperate with the land forces.

His representations may have had some weight, as prior to the formal declaration of war Congress authorized the President to call for militia from the several states. As soon as this fact became known at Detroit, the citizens held a meeting and requested the secretary (the governor being absent) to call out the militia. The territorial secretary, Reuben Attwater, not being certain of the governor's whereabouts and thinking it possible he might be within the territory, refused. The detention of citizens of Detroit by the Canadian authorities, the erection of fortifications at Amherstburg and the planting of batteries where they would command the Detroit River indicated that the English were preparing for war.

In the absence of the governor and the refusal of the secretary to act, John R. Williams, George McDougall, Solomon Sibley and Elijah Brush took it upon themselves to order out the militia and within twenty-four hours some six hundred men from the city and the adjacent farms were assembled at Detroit and placed under the command of Maj. James Witherell, one of the territorial judges. A troop of cavalry was also organized and a three-gun battery was planted near the present intersection of Jefferson Avenue and Wayne Street, on the bluff overlooking the river. On June 27, 1812, Major Witherell issued a general order to the effect that "The signal of an alarm on the north bank of the river will be three rounds fired from a field piece near the south gate of the Town of Detroit, and the militia will then and there assemble."

#### ARRIVAL OF GENERAL HULL

While in Washington, Hull was called into frequent consultation with the President. The subject of the expected war was uppermost in these interviews and plans were discussed for the protection of the northern frontier. At first Hull declined the appointment of brigadier-general, which would place him in command of the army of the Northwest, but finally consented to accept the appointment.

In April, 1812, Hull departed for Detroit and reached Pittsburgh on the 26th of that month. Descending the Ohio River, he reached Marietta on May 3d and Cincinnati on May 8th. Here he met Gov. Return Jonathan Meigs, who had been enlisting volunteers for the army to accompany Hull to Detroit. The rendezvous for these volunteers was at Dayton and here Hull met, on May 23d three militia regiments, comprising 1,200 men. The field officers of these troops were: Duncan McArthur, colonel, and James Denny and William A. Trimble, majors, of the first regiment; James Findlay, colonel, Thomas Moore and Thomas Van Horn, majors, of the second regiment; Lewis Cass, colonel, Robert Morrison and J. R. Munson, majors, of the third regiment. Governor Meigs gave the command of these troops to General Hull on the 25th of May and on the 1st of June they marched to Staunton. At Urbana, on the 10th, they were joined by the fourth regiment of the United States regulars, which unit contained about three hundred men. The militia were zealous, but entirely untrained and ignorant of military discipline. It is probable that had it not been for the coercion exercised by the regulars Hull would not have been able to control them until they reached Detroit. Being civilians, they were unwilling to obey military orders, unless the orders conformed to their ideas of propriety,

and they were quite as unwilling to receive punishment for their refractory acts. Some of them even refused to march at Urbana.

From Urbana to Detroit, a distance of some 200 miles, a pathway had to be cut through nearly unbroken forests. The line of march, as laid down upon a modern map, indicates that Hull passed from Urbana through Kenton and Fort Findlay, and reached and crossed the Miami River near the Falls, not far from where the battle of Fallen Timbers took place in 1794. Following down the northerly bank of that river until near the site of the present City of Toledo, Hull took a direct course for Monroe, or French Town, as it was then called, on the River Raisin, and thence proceeded along the line of the government road—then probably an Indian trail—and hugged the shore line of the Detroit River until he reached Detroit. Four block-houses were built on the way, in which were left the invalids and a few soliders for the protection of convoys.

War with Great Britain was declared during the time Hull was on his wearisome journey to Detroit. Not until July 2d did the letter containing the information of the fact reach him. That the administration was seriously in error in not forwarding the information to Hull sooner, there is no doubt. By some this neglect is charged to President Madison, but it was just one of many mistakes of this campaign. It is comparatively easy, in after years, to show where individuals made mistakes, even when they were earnestly working to do the right and proper act. There was, however, a serious delay in notifying Hull of the declaration of war. While warlike preparations were openly being made, no formal statement that war existed had been issued and until such a notice was given both sides were at liberty to proceed about their own affairs without fear of molestation. As before stated, the declaration was dated June 18th, and notice was at once given to the British officials.

News of the declaration came to General Brock by special express from New York, sent by John Jacob Astor to Thomas Clark of Niagara Falls. The British made haste to convey the news across the border and the soldiers in the various garrisons and the militia officers were notified as quickly as special messengers could carry the news to them.

On the other hand, the President trusted to the slow motions of the mail carriers to give the notice to Hull, which to him was of more importance than to any other American. When Hull was at Findlay, Ohio, he received one letter, announcing that war would soon be declared. This letter was dated June 18th, the very day that the declaration was issued, but upon this fact the letter was silent. Hull proceeded with his army until he had crossed the Maumee (Miami) River and was on his way to Detroit before the second letter containing the official news reached him on the 2d of July. The two letters, both dated June 18th, were sent by different modes of conveyance. The one which contained no news of importance was sent by special messenger and reached him at Findlay: the other, containing the news of the greatest possible importance, reached Cleveland in the ordinary mail and might have remained there several days longer if it had not been for a young attorney named Charles Shaler, who was hired for \$35 to take the letter forward. This inexcusable delay, or error in dispatching the letter, resulted in serious loss to Hull.

#### CAPTURE OF THE CUYAHOGA

On July 1, 1812, Hull arrived at the Maumee River, where he chartered the Cuyahoga, a small schooner, or packet, belonging to a Captain Chapin, to carry

the hospital stores, officers' baggage and some sick soldiers to Detroit. Thirty men were placed on board as a guard and the vessel weighed anchor. At Fort Malden, or Amherstburg, there was a small detachment of British regulars and quite a body of Canadian militia, under command of Col. T. B. St. George, who knew that war had been declared by the United States and was on the lookout for Hull's army. Hull, of course, did not know of this when he sent the Cuyahoga on its voyage up the river. When the boat undertook to pass between Fort Malden and Bois Blanc Island on the 2d of July, it was easily captured by the British soldiers, the occupants made prisoners, and the luggage ransacked. In the latter were the private letters and instructions of Hull and the plans for his future work, the possession of which gave information of much importance to the British. On the same day that the Cuyahoga fell into the hands of the British, Hull received the news of the declaration of war.

He pushed steadily on with his troops, but his progress was greatly delayed by rains and bad roads, and it was not until the 7th of July that he reached Detroit. On the 6th of July, about the time the marching troops had reached the River Rouge, Hull sent Colonel Cass and Captain Hickman (Hull's son-in-law) to Colonel St. George at Amherstburg, with a note intimating that he would like the baggage captured on the Cuyahoga returned, also suggesting some arrangement for the return of prisoners (Letter in Michigan Historical Collection, XV. 96). The reply of St. George is not known, but it was apparently unsatisfactory, as the captured baggage was not returned, and on July 16th Hull sent another letter to Colonel St. George, from the "Headquarters of the North Western Army of the United States, Camp at Sandwich", in which he stated:

"Among the Articles on Board the Boat commanded by Captain Chapin which was taken into Amherstburg, were a number of papers which it is presumed will be of no service to the British Government, nor to the Commanding Officer at Amherstburg, nor to the Captors of the boat. The papers have undoubtedly undergone an examination before this time and the bearer, Captain Brown of the Fourth United States regiment of infantry is authorized to receive them.

"I am anxious to learn your determination relative to the private apparel and Baggage taken in the Boat and belonging to Officers and Men who were not on Board at the time of the Capture. You have already reciprocated the sentiment that private property should be considered sacred; indeed it will operate to the advantage of Canada that it should be so considered.

"I have it in my power to retaliate signally any aggression on such property, or to avenge an unjust delay in the restitution of it."

Hull's army was warmly received by the militia officers at Detroit, the citizens of the town, and by Major Whistler, who turned over to General Hull the command of the garrison. The soldiers spent a few days resting and employed themselves in cleaning and repairing their arms and getting ready for active work.

In anticipation of the declaration of war, the citizens of Detroit made some preparations for arming the militia. There were many men then living in the place who had taken active part in the Revolution and their ardor was in no way abated by the trials through which they had passed. Their desire to punish England for her constant insults and aggressions since the close of the war revived their spirits. A committee of safety was chosen and a popular sub-

scription was started to obtain funds with which to purchase gun-powder, the same to be distributed by the committee. Hull, as governor, was commander-in-chief of the militia, and in his absence the duties fell upon Reuben Attwater, who was secretary and acting governor. (Reuben Attwater, son of Reuben Attwater and his wife, Mary Russell, was born May 11, 1768. His first wife was Eliza Willard and after her death he married Sarah, daughter of Gen. John Lamb. He died in 1831. He was secretary of Michigan Territory from 1808 until he was removed in 1813. He left Detroit at the time of the outbreak of the war and did not return when the place was reoccupied by American troops. When it was proposed to supersede him by the appointment of Woodbridge, he protested that he had never been ordered to return to Detroit. The President curtly told him that he had never been directed to the leave place and if he had remained at his post, a direction to return would not have been necessary.)

James Witherell was appointed major in command of the detachment of militia raised at the rivers Huron, Raisin and Maumee. (James Witherell was born at Mansfield, Massachusetts, July 16, 1759; was a soldier under Washington at the siege of Boston, and was in the battles of Rhode Island, White Plains, Bemis Heights, Saratoga and Monmouth; he was adjutant in the 11th Massachusetts Regiment at the close of the war. He then moved to Vermont, studied medicine, and in 1807 was elected to Congress. In 1809 he was appointed one of the three judges of the territorial supreme court of Michigan, to succeed Frederick Bates, who had resigned. Witherell held the office of territorial judge for many years. He lived in a house where the Detroit Opera House now stands on Cadillac Square and died there January 9, 1837. Hon. Thomas W. Palmer, late of Detroit, was one of his descendants.)

George McDougall, Solomon Sibley and Elijah Brush were also present with their companies to welcome Hull and his army and to put themselves under the command of the general. The term of service of the militia began April 21, 1812. The following are the names of a few of the principal officers of this organization: Abraham Geel, first lieutenant; George Johnston, second lieutenant; Isaac Lee, of the cavalry; Richard Smyth, captain of cavalry; Christian Clemens, lieutenant-colonel of First Regiment; John Macomb, ensign; Antoine Dequindre, captain; John Palmer, corporal; Thomas Hunt, sergeant major; Robert Forsyth, lieutenant; Hubert Lacroix, captain; William Brown, sergeant; William Little, sergeant major; Stephen Mack, captain; Josiah Brady, lieutenant; William Blackmer, ensign. There were at this time 290 militia enrolled under Major Witherell, as follows: Captain Smyth's troop of cavalry, 90; Captain Dequindre's rifle company, 57; Captain Mack's company, 62; Captain Lacroix' company, River Raisin, 81; total 290. There were undoubtedly other companies which crossed the river with Hull a short time afterwards.

#### HULL CROSSES INTO CANADA

Early in the morning of the 12th of July, 1812, the army passed along the river road to the eastward of the post and crossed the river to the Canadian shore at Belle Isle (then called Hog Island). The Americans met with no opposition. The Canadian militia had been summoned to the aid of the regulars and had gathered at Malden and Sandwich. At Sandwich there were 460 men under Col. James Baby and Matthew Elliott, also a few regulars. At Malden were many more. There were also two or three hundred Indians in constant attendance under their chief, Tecumseh, and many more warriors were expected

to come when needed. The militia was only partly armed. They had left their farms and vocations at the call of the British officers, but were impatient to return to their homes and harvests.

St. George, in command of the troops opposing the Americans, was not overly confident of their mettle. In his letter of July 10th he stated that if the Kent and Essex Counties militia continued to be so much alarmed, he would withdraw them from Sandwich to Malden. Continuing he wrote:

"I am at present so disagreeably situated from the prevailing disposition of both officers and men, that I have no doubt in an attack on Sandwich, which the enemy appears to be preparing for, the force there will be obliged to retreat to this place (Amherstburg) before that happens, which would throw the militia into a state of confusion liable to disorganize the whole body before it is too late. I shall most likely think it incumbent on me to bring them down to this place, and make the most of them—perhaps they will show a better spirit when they have a larger body of regulars to set them an example." (Michigan Historical Collection, XV, 100.)

Immediately upon seeing Hull cross the river, the Canadian militia withdrew to Amherstburg, taking with them all the cattle and provisions that could be found, Francis Baby having been commissioned to carry off everything which the Americans might confiscate. The Canadian militia at this time left the army in great numbers, for the purpose of returning to their homes and reaping their harvests. St. George reported at this time that there were only 471 men left and these were in such a state as to be entirely inefficient in the field. Most of the militia returned to the ranks eventually, after their work was done, as shown in the testimony at Hull's trial and the Canadian Government records

#### HULL'S PROCLAMATION TO CANADIANS

General Hull was now at Sandwich and held possession of Mr. Baby's house as his headquarters. Entrenchments were thrown up and batteries were placed in position along the line toward Malden. Hull issued a proclamation to the Canadians on the 13th, directing them to remain in their houses. This proclamation, the authorship of which was claimed by Lewis Cass, follows:

"By WILLIAM HULL, Brigadier-General and Commander of the North Western Army of the United States.

#### "A PROCLAMATION.

"INHABITANTS of CANADA: After thirty years of Peace & prosperity, the UNITED STATES have been driven to Arms. The injuries & aggressions, the insults & indignities of Great Britain have once more left them no alternative but manly resistance or unconditional submission. The Army under my command has invaded your country & the Standard of the Union now waves over the Territory of Canada. To the peaceable unoffending inhabitants, it brings neither danger nor difficulty. I come to find enemies, not to make them. I come to protect, not to injure you.

"Separated by an immense Ocean & an extensive Wilderness from Great Britain, you have no participation in her Counsels, no interest in her conduct. You have felt her Tyranny, you have seen her injustice, but I do not ask you to avenge the one or to redress the other. The UNITED STATES are sufficiently powerful to afford you every security, consistent with their rights & your expectations. I tender you the invaluable blessings of Civil, Political & Religious Liberty & their necessary result, individual and general prosperity:

That Liberty which gave decision to our counsels and energy to our conduct in our struggle for INDEPENDENCE, and which conducted us safely and triumphantly thro' the stormy period of the Revolution. That Liberty which has raised us to an elevated rank among the Nations of the world, and which has afforded us a greater measure of peace and security, of wealth and improvement, than ever fell to the lot of any people.

"In the name of my Country and by the authority of my Government, I promise you protection to your persons, property and rights. Remain at your homes. Pursue your peaceful and customary avocations. Raise not your hands against your brethren. Many of your fathers fought for the freedom & Independence we now enjoy. Being children therefore of the same family with us, and heirs to the same heritage, the arrival of an Army of friends must be hailed by you with a cordial welcome. You will be emancipated from Tyranny and oppression, and restored to the dignified station of freeman. Had I any doubt of eventual success I might ask your assistance, but I do not. I come prepared for every contingency. I have a force which will look down all opposition & that force is but the vanguard of a much greater. If contrary to your own interest, and the just expectation of my Country, you should take part in the approaching conflict, you will be considered & treated as enemies, & the horrors & calamities of war will stalk before you.

"If the barbarous & savage policy of Great Britain be pursued, and the savages are let loose to murder our Citizens, & butcher our women and children, this war will be a war of extermination.

"The first stroke of the Tomahawk, the first attempt with the scalping knife, will be the signal for one indiscriminate scene of destruction. No white man found fighting by the side of an Indian will be taken prisoner. Instant destruction will be his lot. If the dictates of reason, duty, justice and humanity cannot prevent the employment of a force which respects no rights, & know no wrong, it will be prevented by a severe and relentless system of retaliation.

"I doubt not your courage and firmness; I will not doubt your attachment to Liberty. If you tender your services voluntarily, they will be accepted readily.

"The UNITED STATES offer you Peace, Liberty and Security. Your choice lies between these & War, slavery and destruction. Choose then, but choose wisely; and may He who knows the justice of our cause, and who holds in his hand the fate of Nations, guide you to a result the most compatible with your rights and interest, your Peace and prosperity.

"By the General

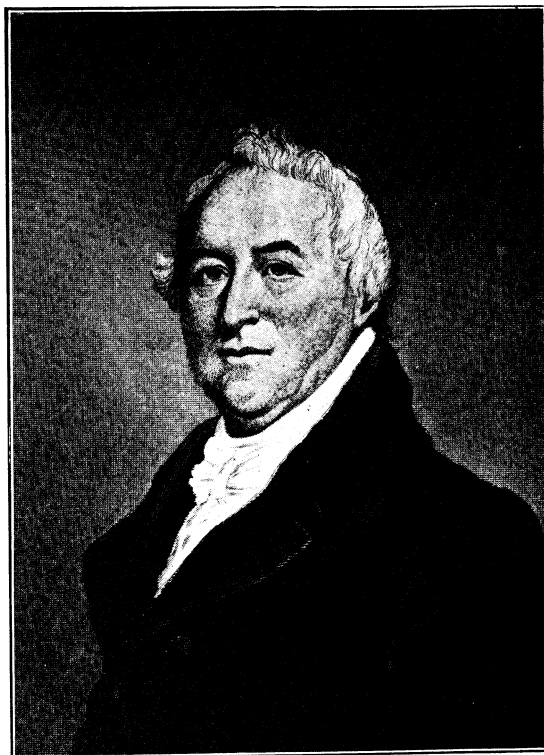
"A. T. Hull (Signed)

"W. Hull (Signed)

"Capt: 13th U. S. Regt. of Infantry and Aid de camp."

About two hundred copies of this proclamation were issued and it was quickly circulated among the homes of the Canadians and found its way to the militia assembled at Malden.

Hull's army, at this time, as reported in the "Defense of General Dearborn", consisted of 2,075 soldiers, as follows: Fourth Regiment of Infantry, 483; Colonel Findlay's regiment of volunteers and militia, 509; Colonel Cass' regiment of volunteers and militia, 483; Colonel McArthur's regiment of volunteers and militia, 552; Captain Sloan's troop of Cincinnati light dragoons, 48. In Hull's "Defense", page 54, he stated that only 1500 men passed with him into Canada, and that none of the Michigan militia and only a portion



WILLIAM HULL

Ledwith 16<sup>th</sup> Aug<sup>r</sup> 1812.  
Genl. Brock -  
I propose a cessation  
of hostilities for one hour  
to open a negotiation for  
the better of us. Ledwith -  
I am Sr Wm Hull  
M<sup>r</sup> Genl. Comdg

FACSIMILE OF HULL'S FIRST LETTER TO BROCK





of the Ohio militia would cross the river. The latter is more nearly the correct estimate.

This proclamation encouraged the departure of the Canadian militia for their homes. A letter from Matthew Elliott, the British Indian agent, dated at Amherstburg, July 15, 1812, explained the situation as follows:

“Their proclamations have operated very powerfully on our militia, (who had come forward with as much promptitude as could have been expected). Since their issuing, our militia have left their posts and returned to their homes, so that since Sunday the number is reduced to about one half, and I expect that in two or three days more, we shall have very few of them at the post. We expect to be attacked today or tomorrow. The Indians with us are between 300 and 400, who have resisted every allurements which General Hull laid before them. Tech-Kum-thai (Tecumseh) has kept them faithful—he has shown himself to be a determined character, and a great friend of our government.”

On the next day Hull sent Captain Brown, of the Fourth Infantry, to St. George, with the letter quoted before, demanding the return of the Cuyahoga baggage. St. George refused to comply with Hull's request and told him he regretted to find the words “retaliation” or “avenge” in his letter, and added: “You must be aware that retaliation can be carried to a great degree on both sides till there is no saying where it will stop. I hope that for both our sakes, I shall not be obliged to use the means in my power as you those in yours.”

Hull did not proceed at once to attack Malden as predicted by Elliott. A council of officers decided to wait until preparations could be made for heavy ordnance and work was begun for this purpose and continued until August 5th. Not to keep his forces idle in the meantime, Colonel McArthur was sent with a detachment to the River Thames (then called the Tranch) to secure flour and other provisions belonging to the British. He returned on the 17th of July with a quantity of goods for which he had given receipts. A letter from John Askin stated that Hull would not permit his soldiers to take anything from the Canadians, but he officially seized certain goods of McGregor, Baby and David, Canadian citizens, which were to be returned when the property captured on the Cuyahoga was given up. Askin placed great faith in the intentions of the Americans, especially in Governor Hull.

#### JOHN ASKIN

In this connection it may not be amiss to write of John Askin, one of the most important characters of the time and a man of great influence. He was born in Strabane, near Belfast, Ireland, about 1741, and came to America in 1756 or 1757. He was a volunteer in the British Army at the first attempt to take Ticonderoga and, about this time, fell in with Maj. Robert Rogers, whom Parkman considered to be one of the most successful and intrepid leaders of the American scouts. Askin's tastes inclined him more to trade than to war, and he afterward formed a trade partnership with Rogers at Albany. The venture was not a success and Rogers, who had no real worth outside of soldiering, left the burden of debts upon Askin's shoulders. The latter secured an extension of time from his creditors and paid them in full. When Pontiac was besieging the post of Detroit in 1763 and the garrison and inhabitants were in need of food, Askin, as commissary, accompanied a body of troops with provisions from Albany, eluded the Indians, and succored the village.

He was located at Mackinac prior to and during a part of the Revolution and held a position in the British commissary. Subsequently he moved to Detroit and engaged extensively in trade and the purchase of real estate. These latter purchases were made mostly from the Indians and in expectation that the titles thus obtained would be confirmed by the United States Government. In this he was partly mistaken, for many of the titles and claims were rejected. He was interested in these purchases with many influential and wealthy men of Canada and England, including Alexander Henry, James and Andrew Magill, Isaac Todd and Ebenezer Allen. He was one of the five or six men who purchased from the Indians 3,000,000 acres of land in the northern part of Ohio, including that part of the city of Cleveland site west of the Cuyahoga River. He also, with others, obtained deeds to a vast tract of land on the Maumee River, including the site of Toledo, and he bought out the Moravian settlement on the Clinton River in Michigan, consisting of 20,000 acres and his purchases on both sides of the Detroit River, in small parcels, aggregated several thousand acres.

He was an officer in the Canadian militia and was only deprived of his command because of old age. He regretted that he was unable to take an active part in the War of 1812. He was an ardent loyalist and not only refused to remain in Detroit after it was surrendered by the British, but secured the refusal of a long list of inhabitants to become citizens of the new republic. He was elected a trustee of the village of Detroit in 1802, but refused to accept the office and moved across the river into Canada, where he built a house about a half mile east of the present Walkerville and called it Strabane.

John Askin, Jr., was the eldest son of John Askin and spent the greater part of his life among the Indians. It is supposed that his mother was from one of the Indian tribes. He was an officer in the Indian Department, was fairly well educated, and possessed great influence over the Indians. There were two other children, Catherine and Madeline, full sisters of John Askin, Jr. After the death of the mother of these children, the father married Marie Archange Barthe of Detroit on June 28, 1778, and by her had nine children.

In his long mercantile life in Mackinac and Detroit, he had a vast correspondence in business and social affairs, most of which was preserved by him and finally became the property of the Burton Historical Collection. Mr. Askin died at his home in Strabane, Canada, in 1818, and was buried at Sandwich.

#### OPERATIONS IN CANADA

As noted before, General Hull established his Canadian headquarters at the Baby house in Sandwich. On the morning of July 13, 1812, he sent a reconnoitering party under Captain Ullery toward Malden. The party returned that afternoon and the captain reported that he had gone as far as Turkey Creek, where he learned that Tecumseh and some 200 of his savages were lying in ambush on the opposite side of the stream. About the same time came a rumor that the British were preparing to send a fleet up the river to cooperate with the land forces in an assault upon the American position. Hull immediately ordered the fortifications strengthened on the side toward Malden and placed the few cannon he possessed in battery to command the river.

Another rumor that reached the American camp was that a body of Indians had been seen up the river. On the 14th Hull sent a detachment of Sloan's

cavalry to reconnoiter and Sloan sent back the word that he had discovered a war party, evidently on the way to join Tecumseh. Colonel McArthur, with a hundred men, was then sent in pursuit. Leaving camp about 8 P. M. he overtook the Indians and scattered them. From this duty, McArthur went on his foraging expedition above the Thames.

In the meantime Colonel Cass, with 250 men, accompanied by Colonel Miller, moved down the Detroit River on the Canadian side to determine the enemy's position. Upon reaching Aux Canards River (or Ta-ron-tee) which empties into the Detroit River about four miles above Malden (Amherstburg), he found the south end of the bridge guarded by a small detail of the Forty-first British regiment and some Indians. Leaving about two score of his riflemen to sweep the bridge from concealment if necessary, Cass marched the remainder of his force up the river again about three miles, crossed at a ford, and just about nightfall attacked the British who were guarding the bridge. So skillfully had the coup been executed, the enemy was first apprised of the Americans' presence by a storm of bullets. Consequently they fell back towards Malden, followed by Cass, who soon returned to the bridge. The British lost something over a dozen men killed and wounded, while the Americans were unscathed.

The road to Malden was apparently open and a courier was dispatched to Hull for permission to hold the bridge, but Hull deemed it unwise to attempt it at that particular time, as it was too close to Malden and the American artillery was not yet strong enough to keep such a precarious position. Some authorities have claimed that Malden would have fallen an easy victim at this time, had Hull ventured a direct attack in full force. The worst that could be said of Hull's decision at this time was that he was overly discreet, but had he attacked and been defeated by the British and Indians, the post at Detroit would have been helpless. A study of the facts, which in later years were revealed, leads one to believe that perhaps Hull knew of the enemies in his own ranks and hesitated to follow the direction or suggestions of those of his officers who were plotting his downfall.

Malden was in poor condition at this time, and according to Lossing, "All the buildings were of wood, roofed with dry shingles. A few shells would have destroyed the works. The garrison was composed of about two hundred men of the Forty-first Regiment, commanded by Captain Muir; a very weak detachment of the Royal Newfoundland Invincibles, and a subaltern command of artillery, under Lieutenant Troughton. The exact number of Indians there at the time is not known. Colonel St. George, the commander of the fort, was so well convinced of his inability to hold it against a respectable force, that orders were given to the garrison to be ready at a moment's notice to leave the works. He preferred to risk a battle in the open field rather than to incur the dangers of a siege in a fortification so untenable."

Late in the afternoon of July 17th, a report reached the American camp that the Queen Charlotte, a British vessel carrying eighteen guns, was on her way up the Detroit River. Colonel Findlay was ordered to take a detachment of his regiment and reconnoiter as far as the River Canards. He discovered that the flooring of the bridge had been torn up and the planks used to construct a barricade on the south side of the river, and on his return reported that the vessel was lying at the mouth of the Canards.

The next day another reconnoitering party was sent out under Capt. Josiah

Snelling. A few hours after its departure Hull issued orders for all troops to be ready to move at a moment's notice. The men became eager when the order was read to them, for they believed it meant that Malden was to be attacked. On the strength of the order, Colonel McArthur, with 150 men, marched down the river as far as Petite Cote, a small settlement about a mile above the bridge over Aux Canards River, where he effected a junction with Snelling's party. He had been instructed to ascertain the situation at the bridge. Accompanied by his adjutant, McArthur went to the top of a ridge, from which they could see a battery on the south side of the river, supported by about one hundred and twenty-five British troops and Indians. While on the ridge, McArthur was fired upon by a gunboat, whose presence until then he had not suspected.

A number of Indians crossed the river on the bridge timbers and became engaged in a skirmish with the American troops. Soon a larger number, under Tecumseh, crossed over and the engagement became more general. Fearing he might be cut off, McArthur sent back for reinforcements. Colonel Cass was ordered to take 150 men and a six-pounder and hasten to McArthur's support. Cass met the retreating Americans at Turkey Creek, whereupon McArthur rallied his men, joined Cass, and together they advanced to the bridge, where a few artillery shots were exchanged, but without effect. The troops then marched back to Sandwich. There were no losses.

#### CAPTURE OF MACKINAC

The neglect of our Government to notify the frontier posts and commandants of the declaration of war caused a serious disaster at this time, one which vitally affected the fate of Detroit. As before stated, Hull did not know of the declaration until after the capture of the Cuyahoga, although St. George had, for some days, been aware of the declaration and was awaiting him. John Askin noted that the news of the declaration of war reached him (at Sandwich) at midnight of July 1st, and it was some time after this that Hull was informed.

Lieut. Porter Hanks was in command of the American fort at Mackinac and he was likewise ignorant of the declaration of war. Capt. Charles Roberts, in command of the British post, Fort St. Joseph, on St. Joseph's Island in St. Mary's River near the Canadian shore, planned to attack and capture Fort Mackinac (or Michilimackinac) and hastily set out with such forces as he could muster, consisting of about 200 Canadians and 280 Indians, also 40 men of the 10th R. V. Battalion.

The best account of the capture of the place is contained in the report of John Askin, Jr., who had command of the Indians on the expedition. (Michigan Historical Collection, XXXII-482.) The expedition reached Mackinac Island an hour before daybreak and waited for dawn. On landing they hastily crossed the island, dragging their one six-pounder, and placed it upon the rising ground which commanded the fort. At 10 o'clock on the morning of July 17th a flag of truce was sent to the fort, with a demand for surrender. Lieutenant Hanks felt compelled to surrender, as he was taken by surprise, and totally unable to resist the threatened assault. In one hour's time the fort was in the possession of the British, not a shot having been fired. Great credit should be given to Roberts and Askin that the Indians were not permitted to commit any depredations. Askin reported that it was "a happy thing for the Americans that they did not fire a shot, for had they fired and wounded any person,

not a soul would have been saved from the hatchet". Lieutenant Hanks and the soldiers with him, fifty-eight in all, were paroled and at once left for Detroit, where they were when this post was surrendered a month later. As noted later, Hanks was killed by a British cannon ball on the day of the capitulation.

#### FIRST AMERICAN BLOODSHED

Although Hull's headquarters were in Sandwich, he spent several days at a time in Detroit. During these absences Colonel McArthur was in command of the United States forces in Canada. On July 22d, while Hull was in Detroit, McArthur planned an attack on Malden, but being unable to find a passage through the swamps for his artillery, the project was abandoned. Two days later (Hull still being in Detroit) he learned that a body of Indians had been seen in the vicinity of Turkey Creek and sent Maj. James Denny, with about one hundred and twenty militia, to drive them back.

On the 25th Denny had several skirmishes with the Indians. In the last one, the enemy having been reinforced, Denny's line broke and his men retreated in confusion for more than two miles. After crossing Turkey Creek, they met reinforcements coming to their aid, but the fighting for that day was over. In these skirmishes, Denny lost six men killed and two wounded. This was the first American bloodshed in the War of 1812.

#### SITUATION AT FORT MALDEN

Lieutenant Colonel St. George had, according to the report of July 30, 1812, at Fort Malden, 470 militia and 300 regulars of the 41st Regiment. The militia continued to come and go and could not be depended upon. The fort itself was in poor condition, but had twenty pieces of mounted cannon. Every effort was made to place the fortifications in condition, for the British believed that Hull intended to attack at once. The only road between Malden and Sandwich crossed the River Canards not far from its mouth: Aux Canards River lay about twelve miles below Sandwich, flowed into the Detroit River, was about fifty feet wide and quite deep. The bridge was guarded by the English troops on land and was further protected by the small armed vessel, the Queen Charlotte, which was anchored in the Detroit River within easy range of the bridge.

#### FURTHER CANADIAN OPERATIONS

In order to take his troops across the bridge, Hull endeavored to drive off this boat, and to do this he set about making some floating batteries strong enough to hold ordnance of sufficient calibre to attack the vessel. Three of these floating batteries were begun and two of them were completed. While these preparations were being made, Capt. Robert Forsyth, with his company, was sent to forage at Belle River, and on the 27th he returned with one large boat and ten small boats laden with forage, a small drove of cattle and six or eight hundred sheep. The sheep were of the Moravian breed and were very small and ugly. In Hull's trial, later, it was alleged by one of the witnesses that these sheep were given to Hull as a reward for his "perfidy" in surrendering Detroit. In Cass' testimony it appeared that the sheep were recaptured by the British at the time of surrender and were probably used by the British soldiers for food.

St. George was superseded in the command of the British forces by Col. Henry Procter, who arrived at Malden on the 26th of July, with a reinforce-

ment of approximately one hundred men of the regulars. A few days later, August 1st, news of the fall of Fort Mackinac was received at Detroit. There was an occasional skirmish with the British and Indians, but no decisive battle took place, nor was any effort made to proceed against Malden with the army. A site for the erection of a picket fort was chosen near Sandwich and work was begun upon it under the supervision of Maj. John Anderson.

A few days after the receipt of the news of the fall of Mackinac, the officers in Hull's army were called in council, and it then appeared that the floating batteries and the heavy guns would be ready for an attack on Malden in a few days. Although the officers were anxious to make the attack at once, Hull was not confident of success, and was fearful lest his defenses on the American side were in great disorder. Hull's officers, who were not friendly to him, used this judgment of his against him in their testimony at his trial. However, one who understands the tactical position of Hull's army at this time, when communication with supplies down the river was threatened, appreciates his hesitation to attack Malden with his entire force (which it would have required) and thus leave his troops without food. A letter written by Hull on the 4th of August, directed to the secretary of war, fell into the hands of the British and gave them full knowledge of the situation of his army. (Michigan Historical Collection, XXV-327.) Hull stated in this letter that the council of officers determined that it was not advisable to attempt to storm Malden. This contradicts nearly every witness who testified on this point at the trial and yet it was written at the time and must have been true as Hull stated it. Hull was much depressed by the news of the approach of Major Chambers of the British army, who was proceeding across country from Niagara to attack him in the rear. He was also afraid that the fall of Mackinac would release a horde of savages from the North, who were allied to the British. He proposed to complete the work on the floating batteries and then march down the river to attack Malden, unless he was required to send a portion of his troops across the river to the American side in order to keep open his communication with Ohio.

Hull's fears regarding his food supply were realized. The Wyandotte Indians, who were friendly to the Americans, but had not taken any part in the war, were located on their reservation in Monguagon, some fifteen or eighteen miles below Detroit. On the 2d of August a detachment of Indians and British troops crossed the river and drove the Wyandottes, as willing prisoners, to Malden in expectation that they would join the other savages on the British side.

#### THE FIGHT AT BROWNSTOWN

Early in August, Hull received word from Gov. Return J. Meigs, of Ohio, that Capt. Henry Brush, with a detachment of soldiers, and Captains Rowland and Campbell, with their companies, were on the road to Detroit with supplies for the troops. At the time this news was received, Brush had not yet entered the Territory of Michigan, but Hull was afraid that the communication between his army and these supplies would be cut off and the supplies captured by the British. At a council of officers Hull stated that he proposed to send Maj. Thomas B. Van Horn, of Colonel Findlay's regiment, down the river on the American side to keep open the communication with the approaching party under Brush. Accordingly, Van Horn was despatched with about

two hundred men, including riflemen and militia, though Colonels Cass, Findlay and McArthur protested that the number of troops was too small to resist the enemy. Van Horn's orders really were to take 150 riflemen and the militia which had refused to cross into Canada; and, had he taken them all, his command would have numbered about three hundred and thirty men. When the subsequent fight took place he also had with him the mail escort which numbered eighteen or twenty men. There is no positive proof, however, that Van Horn had more than 200 men.

There was a road leading from Detroit to Ohio which passed along the margin of the Detroit River, so close to the water that it could be guarded by armed boats from the river. Along the line of this road the country was cultivated a short distance back from the river bank, but no passageway was open save the one indicated. Major Van Horn crossed the Detroit River and passed down to the River Ecorse on the afternoon of August 4th. The men camped on the banks of the Ecorse that night and slept on their arms.

The next morning dawned still and sultry, with a slight fog hanging over the country along the river. At an early hour Van Horn resumed his march, taking the precaution to send Captain McCullough (or McCulloch) with four men in advance to keep a lookout for the enemy. McCullough and his men became confused in the fog and were fired upon by Indians concealed in a thicket. McCullough was mortally wounded and before his men could reach him he was scalped by the savages. Soon after another soldier in the company of Captain Rostan was shot and killed. The soldiers were then formed into three sides of a hollow square, the rear being held open for the bringing up of the bodies of the two men who were killed. A halt was made to await the coming of the mail, which was expected shortly and which Van Horn was to escort to Captain Brush. This halt was made about 9 A. M. and also at this time the officers were called together in council.

When the advance was resumed, the troops proceeded in two columns, one on each side of the road and about thirty yards distant therefrom. An advance guard was sent out under Ensign Rolly and a rear guard under Captain Boerstler, who was ill. As the American force approached Brownstown the road led through a narrow prairie, skirted by timber and Brownstown Creek. The advance guard had reached the creek itself, where it came down to the road, when a heavy fire was opened on them by the Indians. Van Horn ordered a retreat to the woods, but a few mounted men and the mail escort retreated so far that they could render no assistance. The other soldiers retreated a quarter of a mile before they could be reformed, but upon rallying they stood their ground for five minutes, then again retreated, under the direction of Van Horn, to form again under an isolated clump of trees. The soldiers, however, did not stop at these trees, but continued their flight in disorder. The Indians pursued and a running fight was kept up for some distance. The troops did not stop until they had reached Ecorse, even though the Indians followed them only half the distance. According to his own statement later, Van Horn lost eighteen killed, twelve wounded and seventy missing. Van Horn reached Detroit the same evening, the 5th, and after him most of the missing men trailed into the post. On the British side only one was killed, an Indian interpreter. There were no white troops engaged on the English side, only Indians under the command of Tecumseh. According to Van Horn's statement, the enemy consisted of some three hundred Indians

who had been crossing the river during the entire night of the 4th. The mail was captured by the Indians and thus the letter of Hull dated August 4th (quoted later) fell into the hands of the British, giving them full information of the plans of the Americans. The officers killed in the battle on the American side were: Captain McCullough, Captain Gilchrist, Captain Ullery, Captain Boerstler, Lieutenant Petz and Ensign Roby. (The death of Boerstler is not confirmed, as the Canadian Archives, 1893-p. 108, show that he was a prisoner.)

#### HULL LEAVES CANADA FOR DETROIT

The paroled troops of the Fort Mackinac garrison arrived at Detroit on August 4th. On the morning of August 7th, preparations were made by Hull for an immediate attack on Malden. Possibly against his better judgment did he make this decision and undoubtedly because of the insistence of his subordinate officers. However, about noon of the 7th he ordered these preparations abandoned. It is probable that at this time Hull received the news of Van Horn's defeat and felt that it would be of more importance to keep open the road to his supplies on the south than to attack the fort at Malden. He sent for his field officers and told them that he had determined to cross the Detroit River and to abandon the attack on Malden. This aroused a mutinous spirit among the officers, but obey they must, and on the night of the 7th of August and the morning of the 8th the soldiers and supplies were transported to the north side of the river, leaving only a few soldiers under Maj. John Anderson to hold position at Sandwich. Hull reported that he had built a work opposite Detroit and garrisoned it by 230 infantry and 25 artillerymen. This force consisted of 130 convalescents and Anderson's artillerymen under Major Denny. Denny was instructed to hold possession of Upper Canada; to afford all possible protection to the well-disposed inhabitants, and to defend his post to the last extremity against musketry, but, if overpowered by artillery, to retreat. The reasons for the retirement from Canada were summed up by Hull in his letter of August 4th to William Eustis, Secretary of War, and which epistle was captured by Tecumseh's Indians at Brownstown on the 5th. This letter follows:

"Sandwich, Upper Canada,  
"August 4th, 1812.

"Sir,

"At the time when the army under my command took possession of the part of the Province of Upper Canada, everything appeared favourable and all the operations of the army have been successful. Circumstances have since occurred which seem materially to change our future prospect.

"The unexpected surrender of Michilimackinac, and the tardy operations of the Army at Niagara are the circumstances to which I allude. I have every reason to expect in a very short time a large body of Savages from the North whose operations will be directed against this Army.

"They are under the influence of the North and South-West Companies and the interest of the Companies depends on opening the Detroit River this Summer.

"It is the channel by which they obtain their supplies, and there can be no doubt but every effort will be made against this Army to open that Communication. It is the opinion of the officers and the most respectable gentlemen





GEN. LEWIS CASS



from Mackinac that the British can engage any number of Indians they may have occasion for, and that including the engages of the North-west and South-west Companies, two or three thousand will be brought to this place in a very short time. Dispatches have been sent to Malden, and the messengers have returned with orders.

“With respect to the delay at Niagara, the following consequences have followed.

“A Major Chambers of the British Army with fifty-five regulars and four pieces of Brass Artillery, have been despatched from Niagara and by the last accounts had penetrated as far as Delaware, about one hundred and twenty miles—for this place. Every effort was making by this Detachment to obtain reinforcement from the Militia and Indians, considerable numbers had joined, and it was expected this force would consist of six or seven hundred. The object of this force is to operate against this Army. Two days ago all the Indians were sent from Malden with a small body of British troops to Brownstown and Maguago, and made prisoners of the Wyandotts of these places. There are strong reasons to believe that it was by their own consent, notwithstanding the professions they had made.

“Under all these circumstances you will perceive that the situation of this Army is critical.

“I am now preparing a work on this bank which may be defended by about three hundred men. I have consulted with the principal officers and an attempt to storm the fort at Malden is thought inadvisable without artillery to make a breach.

“The picketts are fourteen feet high and defended by bastions on which are mounted twenty-four pieces of cannon.

“I am preparing floating batteries to drive the Queen Charlotte from the mouth of the river Canard, and land them below that river, and it is my intention to march down with the Army, and as soon as a breach can be made, attempt the place by storm. Circumstances, however, may render it necessary to recross the river with the main body of the Army to preserve the communication for the purpose of obtaining supplies from Ohio. I am constantly obliged to make strong detachments to convoy the provisions between the foot of the Rapids and Detroit. If nothing should be done at Niagara and the Force should come from the North and the East, as is almost certain, you must be sensible of the difficulties which will attend my situation.

“I can promise nothing but my best and most faithful exertions to promote the honour of the Army and the interest of my country.

“I am,

very respectfully,

Your most obedient servant,

(Signed) W. Hull.”

“To

the honourable

Wm. Eustis.

Secretary Department of War.”

Hull's letter proves that he had given careful thought to the situation, had weighed the advantages of the enemy in the scales with his own strength, and was willing to attack Malden if circumstances were at all favorable. It is difficult to reconcile the later statements of some of Hull's discontented offi-

cers, when they gave vent to their prejudice, with Hull's own statement of their concurrence with his judgment that an attack without sufficient artillery would be folly. Military history of a century since then has proved the correctness of Hull's viewpoint.

#### BATTLE OF MONGUAGON

The defeat of Van Horn at Brownstown plainly indicated the desperate situation in which Hull was placed. Separated from his base of supplies and needed reinforcements, he would soon be at the mercy of the British and Indians. There was scarcely food enough in Detroit to supply the normal population, but now an army had to be fed, the farmers had been called from their homes in harvest time to defend the frontier, and the Indians were overrunning their lands, destroying their crops and driving off or killing their stock. It would have been better if Hull had retreated with his army to the Miami, and he even contemplated this, but feared a defection among the troops. However, he resolved to do what he could to keep open the line of communication with Captain Brush at the Raisin and for that purpose ordered Col. James Miller to take 600 men and open the road. Miller's force consisted of his own regiment—the Fourth United States Regulars; two small detachments of the First Regiment, commanded by Lieut. Dixon Stansbury and Ensign Robert A. McCabe; a detachment of Ohio militia and sixty men of the Michigan Legion under Capt. Antoine Dequindre; part of Captain Dyson's artillery under Lieut. John Eastman; a howitzer squad commanded by Lieut. James Daliba; and a squadron of Sloan's cavalry and Smith's dragoons commanded by Captain Sloan. Major Van Horn and Major Morrison accompanied the expedition as field officers and Capts. Henry Brevoort and A. F. Hull (son of the general) volunteered as aides to Colonel Miller.

This command left Detroit in the evening of August 8th and marched about fifteen miles to a place near the site of the village of Trenton, then a wilderness. Here on the morning of the 9th, they met the British and Indians under Captain Muir. The British forces numbered 400 regulars and Canadian volunteers and there were between 200 and 300 Indians under Tecumseh. The British were protected by a breastwork of logs hastily thrown together and the Indians were scattered through the timber. Capt. Josiah Snelling led the advance guard and was the first to receive the fire of the enemy. He stood his ground alone for a few moments, when the main body under Colonel Miller came up and the conflict became general. Both sides protected themselves as much as possible by the trees and fallen timbers and for some time no decisive movement was made. At length Colonel Miller ordered an advance and when the troops were within a short distance of each other, the Americans dislodged the British by a well-directed fire and put them to flight. They were enabled to make good their escape by means of boats. The Indians temporarily retired into the woods, but crossed the river to Malden when the opportunity offered. Capt. Thomas Maxwell was sent forward to reconnoitre and returned with the information that the enemy had retreated and could not be found. Colonel Miller believed that the road to the Raisin was now free and that his further advance was unnecessary. During the skirmish the soldiers had dropped their knapsacks in order to make more rapid progress in their attacks and they now found themselves without provisions. The Americans encamped on the field for the night and in the morning sent Captain Snelling back to Detroit for sup-

plies. In this battle the Americans lost twenty killed and sixty wounded. The British reported four killed, fifteen wounded and two missing of the soldiers and militia, and two killed and six wounded among the Indians. Philemon Churchill and Antoine Vermette were among the Americans killed—Sutherland died of wounds, and Captain Muir was wounded. The records show that for gallant conduct at this engagement brevets were conferred upon Lieutenant-Colonel James Miller, Capt. Josiah Snelling, Capt. Daniel Baker and Capt. Charles Larrabee. Miller was brevetted a full colonel and the captains were advanced to the rank of major.

One of the best accounts of the Battle of Monguagon we now have is that written by Benjamin F. H. Witherell and published in the Detroit Advertiser May 6, 1859. Following is this narrative in full:

“The name and memory of General Hull have been loaded with obloquy and reproach. Traitor, coward and other opprobrious epithets have been freely showered upon him. In my boyhood I knew him well. His appearance was venerable and dignified; his heart was the seat of kindness and he was unquestionably an honest man.

“The old settlers of Michigan, those who knew him well, and who suffered most from the last great error of his life, acquit him of the charge of treason. They believe that age and perhaps premature mental decay had unnerved him; that the responsibility of the command of the army, and the charge of the civil government of the country, were too heavy for him, but that he carried as honest a heart in his bosom as he did when he followed ‘Mad Anthony’ at the head of his storming columns over the ramparts of Stony Point.

“The general had a most excellent family, some of whom are yet living—one daughter, I think, in Chicago. His only son fell, bravely fighting for his country, at Lundy’s Lane. Mrs. Hull, a portly, fine-looking woman, made it the principal business of her life to visit the sick and provide for the destitute poor. ‘The blessings of many who were ready to perish’ were hers. In 1807 the general built and occupied the house lately known as the American Hotel, where the Biddle House now stands (south side of Jefferson just east of Randolph). General Hull was active in the discharge of his duties till the evening was upon him, then he seemed entirely unnerved—he became irresolute and undetermined.

“The Battle of Monguagon was fought on the 8th (9th is correct) of August, 1812. There were no roads leading to the states—only Indian trails and bridle paths—except a few rough passages cut by the army of General Hull and these were beset with hostile savages, so that a strong force was required to pass in safety.

“The first news of the battle and victory received in the States was accompanied by the astonishing fact of the surrender of the whole army and country—the glory of the victory was swallowed up and lost in the sad calamity that followed it. I think that no detailed report was ever made by General Hull. Many of our people bore a distinguished part in the battle; some fell on the field and some are yet living among us.

“Major Van Horn, a brave officer of the Ohio troops, had been surprised and defeated a few days before at Brownstown, with some loss, and the communication with Ohio was completely blocked. General Hull saw the absolute necessity of opening the communication and on the 7th of August ordered Col. James Miller (the late General Miller) to march with the 4th Regiment

(except one company, left under Major Denny, to garrison a small stockade on the Canada shore), a small detachment from the 1st Infantry; and a few men from Captain Dyson's artillery, then stationed in the fort—about 300 regular troops in all—a detachment from the Michigan Legion of about 60 men under Capt. Antoine Dequindre, and a part of Smyth's troop of cavalry. The Michigan troops were mostly volunteers from among our French inhabitants, and braver fellows never entered a battlefield. There were 40 Ohio dragoons under Major Sloan and 200 Ohio riflemen under Major Morrison. The detachment also had a six-pounder under Lieutenant Eastman and a howitzer under Lieutenant Daliba. The whole force comprised 600 men. Commodore Brevoort, who was a captain in the 2d Infantry, but commanded the government vessels on the lakes, and Capt. Abraham F. Hull, a son of the general, volunteered as aids to Colonel Miller. Maj. Thompson Maxwell led the spies and was to reconnoiter and point out the route: he was accompanied by several citizens of Detroit.

“The troops paraded on the north side of Jefferson Avenue, nearly opposite the Michigan Exchange. Colonel Miller rode to the front and said: ‘Soldiers, we are now going to meet the enemy and beat them; the reverse of the 5th (Van Horn's defeat) must be repaired; the blood of our brethren, spilled by the savages, must be avenged. I shall lead you. You shall not disgrace yourself nor me. Every man who shall leave the ranks or fall back, without orders, shall be instantly put to death. I charge the officers to execute this order.’ Then addressing the regiment, he said: ‘My brave soldiers, you will add another victory to that of Tippecanoe, another laurel to that gained on the Wabash last fall. If there is now any man in the ranks of the detachment who fears to meet the enemy, let him fall out and stay behind.’ A general ‘hurrah’ followed the speech and cries of ‘I'll not stay. I'll not stay’ ran through the ranks. Many of our citizens, and among them Thomas Palmer, Esq., were present and remember the circumstance.

“The detachment then wheeled by sections to the right into open column and marched off in high spirits, through Springwells to the River Rouge, which they reached at night. There being no bridge, and but two scows, it was about 10 o'clock before all were over, and they bivouacked till daylight and then marched, Major Maxwell in advance with the spies, the vanguard, under the chivalrous Snelling, consisting of forty men, following. The infantry marched in two columns, about 200 yards apart, the cavalry in columns of double file, in the center, keeping the road. The artillery followed, with flank guards of riflemen, and a rear guard marched at a proper distance. By this formation, the troops were ready to form their line of battle on any front upon which they should be attacked.

“About 9 o'clock a few scattering Indians were seen flying in the distance, and the spies rapidly advanced, but not discovering any considerable force, fell back to report.

“A few moments afterward old Mr. White, who kept a little store where Bagg's Building now stands, and who had gone with the troops, an amateur, and who was ahead of the spies, was shot from his horse by some Indians who were concealed behind Walk-in-the-Water's house. He was scalped and the Indians fled on horseback before the vanguard could reach the place. The horse of poor White, with the saddle and blanket stained with his life blood, was brought back to his young son.

“The troops moved on in order. About 3:30 o'clock the columns arrived at the oak woods and in a very few moments a volley was heard from Snelling's advance guard and another returned. The troops were eager for the fight. Colonel Miller rode at full speed to the center and gave the order to form the line of battle to the front, which was promptly executed. The dauntless Snelling held his ground until the line was formed and marched to his support; he stood within pistol shot of the enemy's breastwork, amidst a shower of balls, till more than half of his guard was cut down by the leaden tempest.

“The line advanced and received the enemy's fire from their whole front and left flank; the savages gave a tremendous war-whoop, in which they were joined by their allies, and a desperate conflict ensued. The incessant firing in the center ran diverging to the flanks. From the crackling of individual pieces it changed to alternate volleys and then to one continued sound of waving roll, the discharge of the sixpounder occasionally bursting on the ear. Colonel Miller was thrown from his horse. He was supposed to be shot and as the savages saw him fall they sprang over the breastwork to scalp him, but were instantly driven back. The colonel remounted and rode along the line. He saw one or two men edging away to a shelter behind some trees and instantly gave the order, ‘Charge with bayonets!’ The men who were edging away, with the others of the whole line, heard the order as it was passed along, brought down their pieces, gave one loud ‘Huzza’ and in double-quick time marched directly into the breastwork. From the grape of the six-pounder and the steel of the infantry, the foe recoiled, broke and fled. Their right flank, near the river, was charged by Major Dequindre with his Michigan men and a company of Ohio volunteers and with the utmost intrepidity instantly carried the breastwork, Dequindre being the first man to mount it.

“Tecumseh, who was posted on the enemy's left flank, stood his ground longer. Several of his warriors, certain of victory, jumped over the breastwork, but the bayonets sent them back again. Tecumseh tried to outflank our right, but was met at every point and repulsed. The savages finally fled to the woods and the British troops regained their boats and fled to Malden.

“Major Muir commanded the enemy's forces, which consisted of 200 regulars of the 41st Regiment, 100 militia and 450 Indians, in all about 750 men. They had the advantage of numbers and a strong position. Major Muir was a gallant and experienced soldier, had long commanded at Malden and was well-known in this city. Tecumseh, Walk-in-the-Water, Mainpot (Lame Hand) and, it is said, Split-Log, with many chiefs of lesser note, led the savages.

“Col. Daniel Baker, who died several years since in this city, was in the battle, fought on our right flank against Tecumseh, and by his courage and steady coolness foiled the wily chief in all his attempts. Baker was shot through the thigh, but refused to leave the field till the victory was won and the wounded all brought off.

“When the enemy broke and fled, Colonel Miller ordered the cavalry to charge them, but Major S. (Sloan), who commanded them, delayed, hesitated, stood still. The gallant Snelling saw it and, the remnant of his guard having fallen into the line, he ran to the major, ordered him to dismount, mounted the horse himself and bareheaded, his red hair streaming in the wind, on he went with the cavalry at full speed, cutting down such of the foe as came in his way.

“Colonel Whistler, lately in command at this post, was a captain, and his

younger brother, John Whistler, was an ensign: both were distinguished for bravery and good conduct in battle. The latter was badly wounded and afterwards died of his injuries. They were brothers of Mrs. James Abbott, of this city, whose father was then a captain in the army and stationed at this post. Lieutenant Larrabee of that regiment had his left hand badly shattered by a ball and was persuaded to retire. On his way to the rear he found the men having great difficulty in getting the howitzer up and, although his left arm was dangling by his side, he seized the drag ropes with his right hand, cheered the men on and helped get the gun into action.

“Maj. Thompson Maxwell, so well known in this city, who led the spies, was an old soldier, had fought in the old French War, was in the Battle of Bloody Bridge above the city, was through the War of the Revolution, with Wayne in his Indian campaign and the blast of the war bugle in 1812 again brought him to the saddle. He afterwards followed Colonel Miller up the bloody heights of Bridgewater and as the enemy's shot swept away the files, the old soldier's voice was heard, ‘Close up, steady men, close up and forward’. He, for the last time, ‘grounded arms’ on the River Rouge some thirty years since.

“At Monguagon an officer observed several balls strike near him from a quarter where he could see no enemy. He directed a soldier to look for the smoke of a gun. Then they saw an Indian perched among the thick branches and foliage of an oak. Loading his gun, the soldier coolly drew up his musket and with ‘a bloody end to your soul, damn you’, fired. The savage tumbled head foremost from his limb and a half dozen bayonets despatched his spirit to the Indian heaven.

“Among others, I recollect that Vermette, of the River Rouge, fell while bravely fighting. He was mortally wounded and soon died. Lieut. George Johnson commanded the Michigan Cavalry in the action. He behaved with gallantry, charged with the utmost impetuosity and showed the courage of a lion. His horse was killed under him. In the thickest of the fight he thought one of the men wavered a little and was about to show the white feather. Johnson drew a pistol and was going to kill him on the spot. Colonel Miller observed it and said: ‘I think the battle is going in our favor—spare him.’ Johnson was the Murat of the cavalry: he died last year (1858) at Green Bay. Nathaniel Champ, Esq., then a young man, was a sergeant in the company of Ohio volunteers who fought with Dequindre on our left and gallantly entered the enemy's ranks at the point of the bayonet. His father was the man selected by General Washington, during the Revolution, to seize the traitor Arnold in the midst of the British Army in the City of New York and, but for an accident, he would have succeeded.

“It will be remembered that the object of Colonel Miller's expedition was to open the communication line with the River Raisin, where Captain Brush and our late townsman, Major Rowland, had arrived with a small reinforcement and supplies. The day after the surrender of the army at this place (Detroit), a British officer approached their camp with a flag. Rowland met him and when told of the surrender, cried: ‘Treason, by ——!’ Captain Brush, who was in command, determined to retreat. Rowland, who was a brave and impetuous soldier, insisted on throwing up some defenses and holding out until relief could arrive from the states. He was told that death would be their lot. He replied: ‘Well, be it so. It is time for somebody to die.’ The



detachment, however, prudently retreated, taking the officer, with his flag, far enough along with them to prevent retreat and then discharging him.

“Lieutenant Daliba belonged to Captain Dyson’s company of artillery. He was a gallant and fearless soldier. While the enemy was bombarding the town, fort and batteries, Daliba had command of a battery placed where the old United States court house now stands, on the corner of Jefferson Avenue and Griswold Street. He worked his long guns so effectively that he dismounted several of the enemy’s pieces on the other shore. Of course he drew a severe fire in return. He generally stood on the top of his battery and when he saw the smoke of their guns, cried, ‘Down’. The men dropped behind the parapet until the shot struck. It was near this battery that a large pear tree stood. Young Miller, one of the volunteers, was directed to cut it down. When half cut, a shot came and split off a large piece. Miller coolly turned around and said: ‘Send me another, John Bull, you cut faster than I can.’”

Colonel Miller was anxious to follow up his victory and push on to meet Captain Brush. He sent a messenger back to Detroit with the information of his success and asking for a supply of provisions. Hull ordered Colonel McArthur to take 100 men from his regiment and 600 rations, proceed down the river in boats and bring the wounded to Detroit. Under cover of darkness, McArthur succeeded in passing the Queen Charlotte, but to avoid being intercepted on his return trip he had wagons sent down to convey the wounded to the fort.

Colonel Miller was slightly injured by a fall from his horse and was unable to continue his march. As before stated, he believed the road to the Raisin was open and that a slight delay would not make any material difference in the general result. However, he decided to hold his position and sent back to Hull for more provisions.

#### MOVEMENTS OF THE CASS-McARTHUR DETACHMENT

On the 14th of August, Colonels McArthur and Cass were directed to form a detachment and proceed to the River Raisin to meet Captain Henry Brush and Thomas Rowland, also a part of Captain Campbell’s company of volunteers under Lieutenant Day, who were resting there, awaiting reinforcements from Detroit before proceeding to the fort with their supplies. Brush sent word that he would take a back road toward Detroit, thus avoiding the Indians and vessels, and requested that a detachment meet him. Hull knew of a route, near the old Wayne trail, and explained its course to Cass and McArthur. This done, McArthur was placed in command of the expedition and a start was made about sunset on the 14th.

There have been varying statements as to the number of men in this detachment, but the most careful estimates agree upon approximately 400 men. Only a short march was made that night, some accounts stating two and a quarter miles and others only one and a half miles. However, they proceeded only a relatively short distance and then made camp for the night. The next day the march was resumed and continued slowly during the day. In the evening McArthur and Cass decided to return to the fort and turned about. They were met shortly after this by Hull’s messenger directing them to return to the fort as Brock had demanded surrender. Instead of obeying this order, the detachment was marched to the camping place of the night before, within an hour’s march of the fort, and as stated by the historians, Hatch and Tuttle, who were

with them, arrived there about midnight. The next morning, the 16th, the detachment moved along a line north of the fort, at a distance of a mile and a half and within sight of the stockade, but made their presence known to Hull by no sign or message. The British at this time were crossing at Springwells and the cannons were being fired. Suddenly the detachment under McArthur and Cass retreated to the River Rouge, a distance of about five miles from the fort. The commanding officers sent a letter to Brock by Captain Mansfield, asking for terms of surrender. Captain Mansfield testified that he delivered this letter to Brock about 11 o'clock in the forenoon and Captain Burton stated that it was delivered before Hull surrendered. McArthur afterward explained that they retreated because they had met a Frenchman who told them the fort had surrendered and that they wished to ascertain the truth from the British commander himself. Statements of the time agree that the Americans placed no faith in the word of a Frenchman, consequently it is difficult for one to place credence in the excuse offered for the retreat to the Rouge. The detachment did not return to Detroit until after nightfall of the 16th.

Colonel Cass testified later that they were to march a distance of twenty-four or twenty-five miles. He stated that on the evening of the 15th some mounted men were dispatched to discover, if possible, a trading house half way to the Raisin. He then stated that the detachment under himself and McArthur began the return march to Detroit without orders. After marching a quarter mile they received Hull's orders to return, meeting the messenger at dark and marching until late that night.

McArthur testified that some mounted guides and dragoons were sent to the River Huron as far as Godfroy's trading house, with instructions to return if they met Brush. The mounted squad returned, not having perceived anything but Indian trails. McArthur stated that a consultation was then held among the officers and a decision made to return toward Detroit, and after traveling a half mile met some mounted men with a note from Hull, ordering their return. He stated that the men rested that night, while the officers stood guard. Col. W. S. Hatch, who was with McArthur's column, stated:

"We resumed this unusual march and without halting until we arrived about midnight at the edge of the woods which we entered the night before."

This indicates that on the night before the surrender the detachment encamped within an hour's march of Detroit. McArthur, in his evidence, said:

"When we reached the spot of encampment on the first night from Detroit, the men were halted for refreshments and the three or four mounted dragoons (one a Frenchman) were dispatched to ascertain what was the occasion of the firing."

Brock's scouts saw McArthur's detachment within three miles of the fort on the night of the 15th and some of the American officers saw Brock's scouts hovering about them in the moonlit forest. The dragoons returned to the column and reported the American flag still flying. Cass testified that on the morning of the 16th, when near Detroit, they killed one or two oxen. He said that they then retreated about three and a half miles and after consultation sent Captain Mansfield with a flag to General Brock, to negotiate a surrender. McArthur testified that, after retreating to the Rouge, an ox was killed, roasted and eaten by the men, after which a consultation of officers was held. The timing of these various events seem to show that Cass and McArthur were near Detroit, in

line of battle, about 8 o'clock on the morning of the 16th, and then retreated to the Rouge.

## BROCK ARRIVES AT AMHERSTBURG

General Isaac Brock arrived at Amherstburg, with 300 soldiers on the 13th of August, and immediately assumed command of the entire British forces. His presence instilled an enthusiasm into the militia which they had not possessed before and all—soldiers, militia and Indians—began preparations for an aggressive movement against the Americans at Detroit. All the troops were concentrated on the Canadian side of the river. The American troops at Sandwich retreated to the American side of the river and the British, having taken possession of the position vacated, began the erection of batteries without molestation. Their work continued for two days before they were in a situation to begin the bombardment of Detroit.

## BOMBARDMENT OF DETROIT

On Saturday, August 15th, shortly after midday, a flag of truce was sent to Hull by Brock with a message demanding the immediate surrender of Detroit. This letter follows:

“Headquarter, Sandwich, Aug. 15, 1812.

“Sir:

“The force at my disposal authorizes me to require of you the immediate surrender of Fort Detroit. It is far from my inclination to join in a war of extermination, but you must be aware that the numerous body of Indians who have attached themselves to my troops will be beyond my control the moment the contest commences. You will find me disposed to enter into such conditions as will satisfy the most scrupulous sense of honor. Lieutenant-Colonel McDonnell and Major Glegg are fully authorized to conclude any arrangement that may lead to prevent the unnecessary effusion of blood.

“I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

Isaac Brock, Major General.

“His Excellency Brig. Gen. Hull,  
Commanding at Detroit.”

The flag of truce was carried by Colonel Macdonell and Major Glegg of Brock's army. These two officers were blindfolded and taken to a house owned by Maj. Henry Jackson Hunt, located near the fort. During this time, Hull's reply was written. The general's letter follows:

“Headquarters, Detroit, August 15, 1812.

“Sir:

“I have no other reply to make than to inform you that I am prepared to meet any force which may be at your disposal, and any consequences which may result from any exertion of it you may think proper to make. I avail myself of this opportunity to inform you that the flag of truce under the direction of Captain Brown, proceeded contrary to orders and without the knowledge of Colonel Cass, who commanded the troops which attacked your picket, near the river Canard bridge. I likewise take this occasion to inform you that Cowie's house was set on fire contrary to my orders, and it did not take place until after he evacuated the fort. From the best information I have been able

to form on the subject, it was set fire by some of the inhabitants on the other side of the river.

"I am, very respectfully, your excellency's  
most obedient servant,  
W. Hull, Brig. Gen.

"Commanding the North West Army of the United States

"His Excellency, Major General Brock,  
Commanding his Britanic Majesty's forces, Sandwich, Upper Canada."

This letter apparently proves that at this date Hull had no intention to surrender Detroit, which is contrary to the idea of a capitulation advanced by Lewis Cass in his letter to Governor Meigs.

Hull's reply to Brock was given to the two officers, Macdonell and Glegg, and they were released. Shortly after their departure across the river, the British began cannonading the city. There were three batteries on the American side within the village enclosure, one placed in what was then called Judge Woodward's garden near the corner of Jefferson Avenue and Wayne Street, on an elevation, and the others near the river bank, one near the garden above mentioned, and the other near the foot of Woodward Avenue. The British had a battery of two eighteen-pounders and one of eight-inch howitzer. The American batteries returned shot for shot until late in the night of August 15th, but only one person was wounded in Detroit. One of the enemy's batteries was silenced.

There was great confusion in Detroit when the British batteries began playing upon the town. Valuables were concealed, gold and silver money buried, and many made haste to get out of range of the guns. We have seen, in Benjamin F. H. Witherell's paper, how Lieutenant Daliba stood above his battery, watching for the smoke of the enemy guns and then calling, "Down." Also, the incident of the pear tree was narrated by Witherell. During the evening a large shell was thrown from a battery opposite the lower end of Woodward. It passed over the present Jefferson Avenue, then the principal street of the town, and fell upon the roof of the house of Augustus Langdon, corner of Griswold and Congress. The shell came down through the two-story house, fell upon a table at which the family was seated and went through to the cellar. The family just had time to escape before the shell exploded, almost wrecking the building.

The anxiety of General Hull, by reason of his situation, the absence of a large part of his troops under McArthur and Cass, the danger that his supplies would be cut off, the threat of Brock to turn the savages upon the defenseless citizens, caused him to consider the surrender of the place without conflict and with the honors of war.

During the night of the 15th about 600 Indians under Col. Matthew Elliott (and perhaps Colonel McKee) crossed the river and encamped along the line of the river road in Springwells, not far from the present Fort Wayne. Some troops and a small cannon had been sent down the river early on the evening of the 15th, under Captain Snelling, to attack the Queen Charlotte, which was anchored in the stream, also to prevent a British landing at Springwells, but no shots were fired and the detachment returned to the fort the next morning. Hull severely censured Snelling for leaving his post without orders and threatened him with court martial. Hull was aware on the night of the 15th that Brock's forces had moved away from Sandwich, preparatory to crossing the river. Before daylight of August 16th, Hull aroused Maj. Thomas S. Jessup, of the 19th United States regulars, and directed him to send a message to McArthur

and Cass to return to Detroit by a back road, not along the river front, as that road was exposed to the British vessels, the Queen Charlotte and the Hunter.

#### THE DAY OF THE SURRENDER

At daybreak on the 16th the cannonading again commenced upon both sides of the river. The British soliders, who were already below the town, began to cross the river under the protection of the two English vessels. No effort was made by the Americans to hinder their progress. Major Jessup was directed to order Colonel Findlay's regiment and the remnant of the regiments of Colonels Cass and McArthur to assume line of battle about a quarter mile below the fort, where there was a line of high pickets. (These pickets consisted of small trees six or eight inches in diameter, planted three or four feet in the ground and extending twelve to fifteen feet above the ground. This particular picket line was near the foot of Thirteenth Street and remained there for many years after the war.)

The Americans soon beheld the British marching along the river road towards the fort. Jessup hastened back to give Hull information of the approach of the British and to obtain orders to open an attack. This was the first information Hull had that the enemy had actually crossed the river. Inside the fort there was much excitement. The shelling was not accurate, but so crowded were the places of refuge within the town that a shell striking most anywhere would have inflicted damage. A court martial proceeding was being held in the fort, investigating the action of Lieutenant Hanks in surrendering Mackinac, and while the trial was in progress a shell exploded in the room, killed Lieutenant Hanks himself, Doctor Reynolds, Lieutenant Sibley and wounded Doctor Blood. Another shot fell into the barracks and killed two soldiers. Another shot fell into Judge Woodward's bedroom in the stone building afterwards known as the Mansion House: the judge was just out of bed, but the shell failed to explode. Numerous other houses in the village were damaged.

Some time near 9 o'clock in the morning, shortly after the killing of Lieutenant Hanks, Hull despatched his son, Capt. Abraham F. Hull, across the river with a flag of truce, bearing a letter reading as follows:

"Detroit 16th Aug. 1812.

"Gen. Brock—

"I propose a cessation of hostilities for one hour to open a negociation for the surrender of Detroit.

"I am Sir, Wm. Hull,

"B. Gen. Comg."

Captain Hull did not deliver this letter in person to General Brock, for the latter had passed down the river some time before this and was probably already on the American side, advancing toward Detroit. In fact, young Hull did not deliver the letter to anyone in authority at the time, but either remained with it on the Canadian side of the river until after the surrender or gave it to another British officer who kept it.

The situation of the troops at this time was as follows: Col. Elijah Brush, with 150 of the Michigan Militia, was stationed in the upper part of the town (probably near the crossing of Randolph and Atwater Streets); a part of Colonel Findlay's regiment was in the rear of the fort (at the present Michigan Avenue); part of the 4th Regiment was stationed in the fort and the residue at the batteries; Cass and McArthur's formidable detachment was several miles from Detroit at the Rouge; and, as mentioned before, there was a detachment at the picket

line some distance down the river. Within the fort there were also gathered all the people of the town who could find places within the enclosure. Major Anderson had charge of the battery in Woodward's garden.

A British officer, Lieutenant Duer, rode up with a flag of truce, and asked why the white flag had been sent across the river, referring to the one carried by young Hull with his father's message to Brock. Lieut. Henry Jackson Hunt was sent to notify Hull of the errand of Lieutenant Duer and to ascertain what reply should be made to him. Hunt returned with a sealed paper addressed to General Brock, and with directions to Captain Snelling to return with Lieutenant Duer and deliver the letter to Brock himself. Brock was a little in advance of his troops, the latter having marched as far as the Henry farm, a point where the Michigan Central now crosses River Street. The letter borne by Snelling read as follows:

"Detroit 16th Aug. 1812.

"Sir—

"The object of the Flagg, which passed the River, was to propose a cessation of hostilities for one hour, for the purpose of entering into a negociation for the Surrender of Detroit.

"I am Sr. Wm. Hull B. Gen.

Comg.

"Genl Brock."

At the trial of Hull later, every particle of evidence which could be obtained against him was produced, but these two letters to Brock were not then known to exist. They were first printed in facsimile in the Toronto Evening Telegram of March 7, 1895.

It does not appear that any person in the American Army, except General Hull himself, knew of the contents of these letters at the time they were sent, neither did he have the assistance or advice of any of his officers in their preparation. Captain Snelling knew of the general terms of the letter he bore, for he was asked by Brock if he was authorized to settle the terms of the surrender and, upon replying that he was not, Colonel Macdonell and Major Glegg were directed to return to the village with him. The British officers were immediately taken to a marquee which had but recently been erected in front of the fort on the southeast corner, near the present location of Congress Street. Here the British officers conferred with General Hull, Capt. Elijah Brush and with Lieutenant-Colonel Miller: the latter was ill and took little active interest in the proceedings.

Colonel Findlay, with some of his own troops and some from the regiments of McArthur and Cass, had been stationed behind the fort, where they had made preparations to resist an anticipated attack from the Indians during the night of the 15th and 16th. They had moved down the river on the morning of the 16th and were formed in line to resist the advance of the British, and were protected by a high picket fence. Findlay received instructions to return at once to the fort without firing a shot and, upon nearing the fort, saw the white flag on the tall staff and was informed of the surrender. Findlay demanded of Hull: "What in hell am I ordered here for?" Hull attempted to tell him that he could obtain better terms from Brock now than he could later, but Findlay interrupted: "Terms! Damnation! We can beat them on the plain. I did not come here to capitulate: I came to fight." This bombastic statement was uttered at a time when Findlay knew it was impossible to fight, as hostilities

Detroit 16<sup>th</sup> Aug 1812

Sir -

The object of the Flag, which  
passed the River, was to propose  
a cessation of hostilities for one  
hour, for the purpose of  
entering into a negotiation  
for the Surrender of Detroit -

Yours Truly  
Wm. Hull Major Genl  
Comd'g -

Genl Brock

FACSIMILE OF HULL'S SECOND LETTER TO BROCK





had ceased. One of the best known American generals of later years remarked concerning Findlay's statement: "In the history of all military expeditions, battles and campaigns there is abundant evidence of the great courage and desire of men to fight when circumstances are such that they know it impossible to do so. It is a cheap kind of braggadocio and a kind, which in my experience, I have not seen brave men indulge."

The white flag had been hoisted (in reality a white tablecloth) over the fort by Captain Burton, under orders from General Hull. The firing from the fort had ceased some time before and the firing from the Sandwich battery stopped soon after the cessation on the American side. Colonel Findlay's men were much displeased and murmured considerably over the order to retreat, but they obeyed and stacked arms near the fort entrance. Within the marquee were soon gathered Governor Hull, Colonel Brush, Colonel Miller and Capt. Charles Fuller, representing the Americans, and Lieutenant-Colonel Macdonell and Major Glegg, representing the British Army. Captain Snelling supplied pen, ink and paper and in a very short time there were drawn up and executed the articles of capitulation which transferred to General Brock and his army the control of the entire Northwest. These articles of capitulation follow:

"CAMP AT DETROIT, 16 AUGUST 1812.

"CAPITULATION for the Surrender of Fort Detroit, entered into between Major General Brock, commanding His Britannic Majesty's forces, on the one part; & Brigadier General Hull, commanding the North-Western Army of the United-States on the other part.

"1st. Fort Detroit, with all the troops, regulars as well as Militia, will be immediately Surrendered to the British forces under the Command of Maj. Gen. Brock, & will be considered prisoners of war, with the exception of such of the Militia of the Michigan Territory who have not joined the Army.

"2d. All public Stores, arms & all public documents including every thing else of a public nature will be immediately given up.

"3d. Private Persons & property of every description shall be respected.

"4th. His excellency Brigadier Gen. Hull having expressed a desire that a detachment from the State of Ohio, on its way to join his Army as well as one sent from Fort Detroit, under the Command of Colonel McArthur, should be included in the above Capitulation, it is accordingly agreed to. It is however to be understood that such part of the Ohio-Militia, as have not joined the Army, will be permitted to return to their homes, on condition that they will not serve during the war, their arms however will be delivered up, if belonging to the public.

"5th. The Garrison will march out at the hour of twelve o'clock, & the British forces will take immediately possession of the Fort.

"Approved	"(Signed) J. Macdonell, Lieut.
(Signed) W. HULL, Brigr.	Col. Militia. P. A. D. C.
Genl. Comg. the N. W. Army.	"J. B. Glegg, Major A. D. C.
"Approved	"James Miller, Lieut. Col.
(Signed) ISAAC BROCK,	5th U. S. Infantry.
Major General.	"E. Brush, Col. Comg. 1st Regt.
"A true Copy.	Michigan Militia.
	"Robert Nichol, Lieut. Col.
	& Qr. M. Genl. Militia."

General Hull himself offered several additional clauses for the articles of capitulation. These, copied from the document in Hull's own handwriting, follow:

"The Officers and Soldiers to be permitted to go to their respective homes, and not to serve in this war, unless exchanged.

"All British Subjects, who have taken protection under the American Government, to sustain no injury in consequence thereof.

"No person of this Army, to be considered otherwise than as a Prisoner of War.

"The Army to march out of the Garrison with the honors of war, and every Individual to be protected against the Indians."

The first clause in the above is crossed out with ink in the original. Another paper, signed by both General Hull and General Brock, is as follows:

"An article in addition to the supplemental article of the capitulation, concluded at Detroit the 16th of August A. D. 1812.

"It is further agreed, that the Officers and Soldiers of the Michigan Militia & Volunteers, under the Command of Major Witherell, shall be placed on the same principles as the Ohio Militia & Volunteers are placed by the supplemental article of the 16th inst."

A copy of the articles of capitulation was handed to Maj. Thomas S. Jessup and at 12 o'clock noon of August 16th, he had the soldiers form in a hollow square before the fort, read the articles to them, and there they stacked their arms and became prisoners of war. The detachment of Cass and McArthur had not yet reached the fort, in fact they did not arrive until after dark on the night of the 16th.

The British occupation of Detroit began technically at high noon, but it was probably a few minutes later before the English troops marched in. John Askin's diary places the time at near 1 o'clock.

Detroit was a place of great confusion at the time of the surrender. The fort was filled with women and children of the village who had fled there to receive protection from the cannonading and many of them had brought all the portable goods they could carry. The American soldiers, after the surrender and without arms, made their encampment outside of the fort and the members of the militia were permitted to return to their homes. The prisoners were closely watched, but despite this surveillance, many escaped and journeyed down the river to the Ohio country.

The Indians were not permitted to enter the fort in great numbers, but were, so far as possible, kept at a safe distance and were not allowed to annoy citizens or soldiers in the immediate neighborhood. Removed from the village, however, they were uncontrolled. They ransacked the farm houses, stole the cattle, destroyed the crops and, in many instances, fired the farm buildings. They drove away the farmers and their families and even committed murder, although no resistance had been offered them. Some adults and children were carried off and held for ransom. The depredations thus begun, almost on the day of the surrender, continued with increasing violence as long as the British retained possession of the fort. The Indians were asked to assist the British Army whenever a contest with the Americans was anticipated, consequently the authorities hesitated to censure the savages for their

atrocities. However, the Indian was an obnoxious character both to the English and Americans.

## BROCK'S PROCLAMATION

On the day of the surrender, Brock issued the following proclamation to the inhabitants. This proclamation, as well as the articles of capitulation, was printed on the first press in Detroit, a small hand-operated affair which had been brought here by Rev. Gabriel Richard in 1809.

## "PROCLAMATION

"By ISAAC BROCK, Esquire, Major General commanding His Majesty's forces in the Province of Upper Canada, etc.

"WHEREAS, the territory of Michigan was this day by capitulation ceded to the arms of His Britannick Majesty without any other condition than the protection of private property—and wishing to give an early proof of the moderation and justice of the Government, I do hereby announce to all the Inhabitants of the said territory that the laws heretofore in existence shall continue in force until His Majesty's pleasure be known—or so long as the peace and safety of the said territory will admit thereof—and I do hereby also declare to make known to the said Inhabitants that they shall be protected in the full exercise and enjoyment of their religion—Of which all persons both civil and military will take notice and govern themselves accordingly.

"All persons having in their possession or having any knowledge of any public property shall forthwith deliver in the same or give notice thereof to the officer commanding, as Lt. Col. Nichol, who are hereby duly authorized to receive and give proper receipts for the same.

"Officers of Militia will be held responsible that all arms in possession of Militia-men be immediately delivered up—and all individuals whatever who have in their possession arms of any kind will deliver them up without delay.

"Given under my hand at Detroit this sixteenth day of August 1812 and in the fifty-second year of His Majesty's reign.

"Isaac Brock,  
Major General."

## SUMMARY OF TROOPS ENGAGED

There have been many estimates made of the number of soldiers engaged in the campaign around and in Detroit at the time of the surrender. General Brock, in his first dispatch, claimed that 2,500 American troops surrendered to the British. This estimate doubtless included the men under McArthur, Cass and Brush, but even then he overestimated the number of men in Michigan Territory. The official figures, as compiled by the British on the same day, aggregated 2,188 troops, including the Mackinac prisoners and those taken on the Cuyahoga. This estimate follows:

Distribution	Regulars			Ohio Volunteers and Militia			Aggregate
	Embarked	Remaining in Barracks Sick	Total	Embarked	Remaining in Barracks Sick	Total	
Queen Charlotte.....	130						
General Hunter.....	80						
Nancy.....	146						
Helen.....	88						
Chippewa.....	21						
Mary.....				208			
Thames.....				223			
Salina.....				177			
Revenue Cutter.....				57			
Cuyahoga.....				46			
McCall's boat.....				50			
In boats.....				283			
In Detroit Barracks.....		38			276		
In Amherstburg Barracks..		79			204		
Waggoners in Quarter-Mas- ter's Department.....				82			
	465	117	582	1126	480	1606	2188

N. B. The prisoners surrendered at Mackinac and captured in the Cuyahoga are included in the above return.

Detroit August 26, 1812.

Robert Nicholl,

Lt. Col. Qr. Mr. Gen. of Militia.

A calculation, in Hull's handwriting, attached to the above, states:

"Whole number of prisoners, as per British returns above, 2188. Of this number:

"Waggoners.	82	
"Boatmen.	60	
"Artificers	50	
"Sick	430	
"Mackinac prisoners	70	
"Absent on command	120	
"McArthur & Cass Detachments about	400	1212

"Total effective strength, rank and file, at Detroit  
16th Aug., 1812.

976"

In the comments of General Hull on the summary made by the British, he states that only 976 men were efficient soldiers and in arriving at this number he deducted the number under Cass and McArthur. This judgment of General Hull is confirmed more and more by the evidence of passing years. The men under Brush were not computed in either case, but probably numbered 100 effectives.

On the other hand, Brock, in his report of August 16th, stated that he had not more than 700 troops, including militia, and about 400 Indians. Major

Jessup estimated the force to be 750 white men. Brock made another and more detailed report on the following day, in which he stated:

! "The force which I instantly directed to march against the enemy consisted of 30 Royal Artillery, 250 41st Regiment, 50 Royal Newfoundland Regiment, 400 militia and 600 Indians, to which we attached two six-pounders and two three-pounders."

Brock did not pretend to say that this constituted his entire force, and the evidence is overwhelming that his strength was nearly triple that which he stated.

Thirty-five pieces of ordnance were captured, consisting of twenty-two cannon, ranging from nine to twenty-four pounders, six brass cannon from three to six pounders, and seven howitzers. A quantity of small arms and large stores of ammunition also fell into British hands, as did the brig Adams. The name of this vessel was changed to the Detroit and it was one of the British fleet defeated by Commodore Perry in 1813.

The captured officers were hurriedly placed on board the vessels belonging to the British Government and sent down the river and lake to Montreal. General Hull, who was accompanied by his daughter, was placed on board the Queen Charlotte and left Detroit August 17th. Captain Dyson, with his company of regulars, was left at Amherstburg, and the other regulars proceeded to Montreal. The Ohio volunteers were taken to Buffalo and from there were permitted to return to their homes. On the wall of a building at the northwest corner of McGill and Notre Dame streets, in the city of Montreal, is a tablet bearing the following inscription:

"General Hull, United States Army,  
25 officers, 350 men entered  
Prisoners of War  
10th. September, 1812."

A Montreal newspaper stated at the time:

"Yesterday General Hull and the Fourth Regiment of United States Regulars arrived here, prisoners of war, and were confined in the government house. The General rode at their head in a calash and looked dignified, but distressed. A great crowd followed them, and when the troops which guarded them arrived at the government house, the populace gave three cheers, and the drums beat Yankee Doodle."

#### HULL'S GUILT OR INNOCENCE

General Hull was afterward paroled and allowed to return to his home at Newton, Massachusetts. A review of General Hull's trial is given in a subsequent portion of this chapter. The question of Hull's guilt or innocence has been a topic of great interest to every writer of American history. While the historians of Hull's day tended to accuse him of treason and cowardice, the writers of more recent years, surveying the evidence coolly and impartially, have treated the affair in a manner at least sympathetic to General Hull. An excess of caution has many times been mistaken for cowardice. The claims of Hull that he surrendered Detroit because he felt that he could not hold it in the face of the British Army and the knowledge that, if he failed, the population would be placed at the mercy of the savages, as Brock threatened, which meant a massacre, have more and more become considered as valid reasons. This narrative and exposition of the Hull case is not intended as a vindication

of the man, but the facts for him are given equal place with the facts against him. The decision is a matter of personal opinion.

There are many stories of the indignation exhibited by Hull's officers when he surrendered Detroit. Nile's Register stated that McArthur and other of the officers broke their swords and otherwise expressed their anger when they learned they were not to be provided the opportunity to fight. No confirmation of the Herculean task of breaking a sword "into three pieces" has ever crept into the official records of the surrender.

The troops and supplies at the River Raisin were included in the surrender. Captain Elliott was sent there with a flag of truce and a copy of the articles of capitulation. Some textbooks have it that, when Elliott made known the facts at Brush's camp, Captain Rowland exclaimed: "Treason, by God!" and declared for throwing up a defence with the words that "It is about time for somebody to die". However, he decided to return to Ohio without surrendering, as the road was open. Elliott was carried almost thirty miles and then released and permitted to return to Detroit—on foot.

Col. Lewis Cass immediately went to Washington after his parole and in his report to the war department, he concluded with the following words:

"To see the whole of our men flushed with a hope of victory eagerly awaiting the approaching contest—to see them afterwards dispirited, hopeless and desponding, at least five hundred shedding tears because they were not allowed to meet their country's foe and fight their country's battles—excited sensations which no American has ever before had cause to feel, and which, I trust in God, will never again be felt while our men remain to defend the standard of the Union. \* \* \* Confident I am that, had the courage and conduct of the General been equal to the spirit and zeal of the troops, the event would have been as brilliant and successful as it is disastrous and dishonorable."

Lossing, commenting upon the report of Cass, stated:

"This sensational history was scattered broadcast over the country and excited intense indignation against the unfortunate general in the public mind. It was welcomed by Dr. Eustis, the secretary of war, and General Dearborn, the commander-in-chief, as a foil to the just censure which they would have received for remissness in official duty had the whole truth been known; how the secretary omitted to inform Hull of the declaration of war until it was known in Canada, and even in the wilderness near Mackinaw, and how Dearborn had failed to communicate to Hull the fact that he agreed to an armistice which relieved Brock from duty on the Niagara frontier and allowed him to hasten to the western frontier of Canada."

Whatever chagrin or disappointment was felt by those in other parts of the country was not fully shared by the civilians of Detroit. People here were relieved, because they were not subjected to the bloody mercy of the savages. Living conditions proved to be nearly unbearable under the British, but even this was preferable to death by the tomahawk. From the time he left the Ohio country until the surrender, Hull played a lone hand, so to speak. Evidence shows that he was surrounded by discontented officers, who exhibited a reluctance to obey their superior's orders and in fact threw every available impediment in his path. Hull's surrender was not the result of sudden decision, or sudden fear aroused by the proximity of the British and Indians, but was contemplated by him for some time previous to the 16th of August as a possible escape from the horrors of an Indian massacre. Hull may have known that

on the 14th there were approximately 1,000 Indians gathered on Bois Blanc Island and that they were addressed on that day by Tecumseh, in the presence of General Brock. On the same day Lieutenant Forbush, who was a prisoner at Fort Malden, counted 600 Indians passing by Malden toward Sandwich, some on foot and some mounted. Colonel Anderson wrote from the River Raisin on the 4th of August that the Indians were passing the river in great numbers and soon would number in the thousands. Colonel Cass admitted that the exact number of Indians within striking distance of Detroit could not be stated and Colonel Wallace referred to them as "a countless number". The band of 500 savages which captured Mackinac from Lieutenant Hanks departed for Detroit under command of a Major Chambers and forty-eight hours before the surrender were only 125 miles away, at Delaware. All the Canadian tribes, with possibly one exception, were hostile to Hull. Captain Eastman, an American soldier and at this time a prisoner, remained in Detroit twenty-four days after the capitulation. He stated that on the third day following the surrender, 250 Indians came from Saginaw, and on the 10th or 11th of September, 1,100 or 1,200 more came from Mackinac. It was intended by the British to have had these Indians aid in the attack on Detroit, but the siege ended so quickly and unexpectedly that the services of the savages were not required and, consequently, their presence became unwelcome alike to the Americans and to the British. Had Hull, with his depleted force, resisted this horde of Indians he could have held out for many days, but the cost would have been too great.

Hull's army was hopelessly in a corner. A land movement was impossible and the British fleet in the river prevented a movement by water. Communication with the Ohio country could not be maintained owing to the impossibility of keeping open and guarding 200 miles of army road through the wilderness and a hostile country. No aid was being secured, either in men or supplies. The American Army was decreasing in size, through desertion and sickness, while the British was constantly growing. Hull and his officers repeatedly wrote to Governor Meigs and the secretary of war, but their requests were unheeded. As hereinafter shown, Hull was grossly neglected by his commanding general, Dearborn, and the official orders of the administration were seldom carried out during the whole campaign.

This situation of the Detroit Army under Hull is one of the main points advanced by the many historians and army officers who have defended Hull. Some students of the campaign state that he made tactical mistakes: that he should not have crossed into Canada, that he should have assaulted Malden with his artillery, that he should have held the bridge at Aux Canards River, and that he should not have allowed Cass and McArthur to leave the fort with so many men at such an important time, although the necessity of opening communication with the expedition at the Raisin was paramount. It is certain that Hull exhibited bad generalship at times, but when the accusations are couched in such terms as "treason" and "cowardice", the subject becomes one open to discussion. There is nothing in the way of reliable or unbiased evidence which indicates that he deserved the first term or that his procedure merited the latter appellation. The court martial which convicted General Hull was a clever bit of legal trickery, the result of which has subsequently reflected more upon others than upon Hull himself.

Regarding the military career of General Hull prior to the Detroit cam-

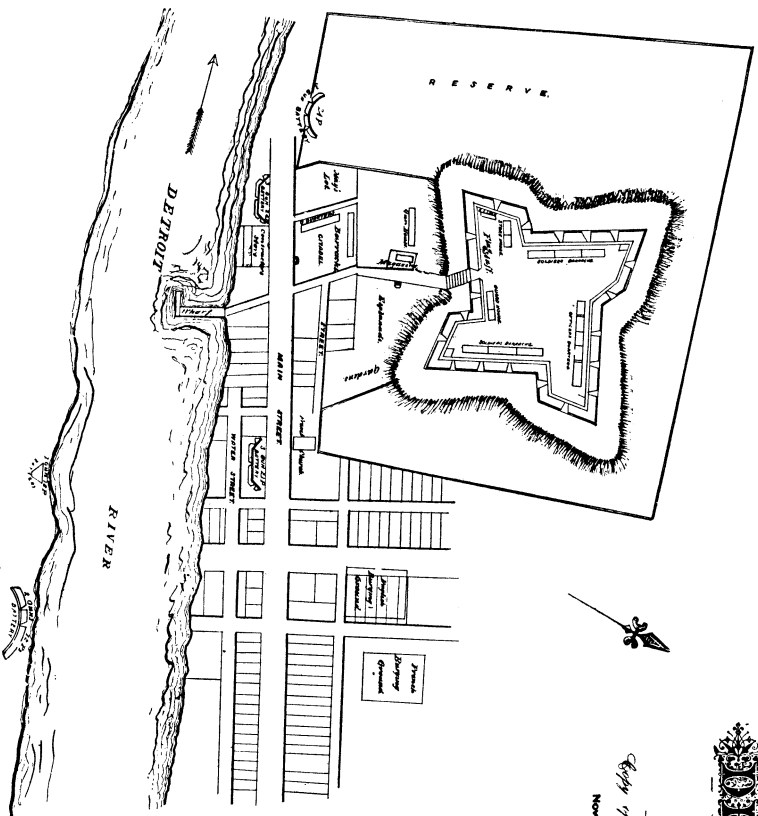
paign much could be written, but without comment the facts are given as follows: Letters of General Washington, Generals Schuyler, Gates, Heath, Brooks, McDougall and Wayne, and resolutions of Congress, all testify graphically of the courage of this veteran of the Revolution and a participant in most of its battles; he was with the detachment which rescued Lafayette when surrounded by the British at Philadelphia, and in spite of his dishonor, Lafayette visited the old soldier at his home in Newton, Massachusetts, in 1825, leaving the reception ceremony at Boston to do so; Hull was wounded at Chatterton Hill; acted as field officer at Trenton; was in the battle of Princeton; was with St. Clair at Ticonderoga and with the Americans on the retreat; was in the Saratoga battles; commanded the advance lines during the winter at Valley Forge; commanded the 8th Massachusetts Regiment in the Battle of Monmouth; lead one of the divisions in the bayonet charge at Stoney Point; led the assault which captured Morrissana; commanded Washington's escort to Frances Tavern and Paulis Hook when Washington bade his officers farewell; and subsequently commanded the left wing of General Lincoln's forces in suppressing Shay's Rebellion. In many of these engagements, Hull's command was decimated, particularly in Schuyler's retreat and at the battles of Saratoga. He was twice promoted for bravery during the war. Hull's march to Detroit in 1812, the cutting of a road through the wilderness, constructing of three block-houses and a fort, and disciplining the raw and unruly militia, was a military achievement and even won the admiration and aroused the fear of the British commanders.

After arriving at Detroit, the militia colonels implored Hull to cross immediately into Canada, but he at first refused because his orders were to remain in Detroit until otherwise directed. Once in Canada, he offered at one time to lead an attack on Malden without artillery, but the militia colonels at this time refused to guarantee the services of their men. These two incidents are given simply to show that, whichever way Hull turned, he encountered opposition from his officers.

Upon the day of the surrender, according to Col. Robert Wallace, an eye witness, Hull was everywhere about the fort, restless, nervous, fatigued from loss of sleep, depressed, and chewing great quantities of tobacco. His fort was crowded with men, women and children, he had seen several of his men killed and wounded by the enemy shells, no word came from Cass and McArthur, and the enemy's ring of steel was gradually drawing tighter. Finally, he surrendered, with the remark: "I have saved Detroit and the territory from the horrors of an Indian massacre". (Testimony of Major Munson.) The massacre at Chicago (Fort Dearborn) on the 15th, the day before Hull surrendered and the subsequent Indian atrocities of the war show what might have been.

Some of the young and inexperienced officers who sat in judgment upon Hull at the trial in 1813 conceived that his agitation upon the 16th of August, his excessive tobacco chewing and his nervous condition, all indicated fear, but this conception was not shared by the old officers who had experienced actual battle. Colonel Miller believed the fact of surrender indicated fear, but that there was nothing else in Hull's appearance or conduct which led him to believe his general afraid. We have the statements of the bravest officers, from the Revolution to the World war, that fear is a common emotion among the most intrepid warriors. Fear is not cowardice. Colonel Miller's idea that the surrender indicated fear and cowardice is not borne out by the history of military warfare. No historian has thought of accusing Washington of cowardice





1812.

*Copy of sketch by Gen. Green.*  
 Now in Detroit Public Library.

WILLIAM EVANS DREW THIS MAP DURING WAR OF 1812



for surrendering Fort Necessity to the French and Indians, when his situation was even superior to Hull's. The military acts of General Hull prior to August 8th, and which were universally opposed by his antagonistic officers, were either ordered or approved by the President or the secretary of war. As stated in a later part of this chapter, the reprehensible conduct of General Dearborn was one of the principal factors in the disaster at this time and success was unknown until he was removed for senility and incompetence.

General Hull, with the Fourth United States Regiment, and a part of the First Regiment, were held prisoners in Canada until the close of the year 1812. While in Canada, Hull sent his report of the surrender to the secretary of war, assumed all the blame and eulogized his officers, also begged for an investigation of his conduct.

#### HULL'S TRIAL

After the surrender, Col. Lewis Cass journeyed to Washington and issued a letter for the press, dated September 10, 1812, in which he advanced facts which were later used as the principal basis for the various charges against Hull.

General Hull having requested an investigation, a court martial was appointed by the following order:

"Adjutant General's Office,  
"Washington City 19th Jan'y. 1813.

"General Orders.

"A general court martial of which Brigadier General Wade Hampton is appointed President and Alexander I. Dallas, Esqr., Judge Advocate, will sit at such place in Philadelphia as may be provided for the purpose, on the 25th day of February next at 12 o'clock for the trial of Brigadier General William Hull. Brigadier Generals Joseph Bloomfield, Henry Burbeck and John R. Boyd, Colonel George Izard, Alexander Macomb, James Burn, Jacob Kingsbury, Jonas Simonds, Thomas Parker, Peter F. Schuyler, William H. Winder and Hugh Brady, Lieutenant Colonels Winfield Scott, John Christie and Richard Dennis are to attend as members and supernumeraries.

"By Order of Secretary of War."

Gen. Wade Hampton was president of the court and A. J. Dallas was judge advocate. The fact is shown by Hull's "Memoirs" and Clark's history of the 1812 campaign that Hull appeared before this court martial at Philadelphia for trial. The war records indicate that there were no charges or specifications, or any minutes of the proceedings of the court. They also show that the court was never dissolved. The members of the court were veterans of many battles and were ably fitted to try Hull on any charge.

During this time the indignation and anger of the people had been directed at General Dearborn, commanding general of the army. Also, at this time, military law gave authority to the commanding general to appoint such courts martial as were necessary, which, as may be seen very plainly, placed the power directly in Dearborn's hands. That a powerful influence arose to abolish this first trial court is indicated by the following order:

"Adjutant General's Office,  
"Washington City 11th Feb'y. 1813.

"General Orders.

"The meeting of the General Court Martial for the trial of Brigadier General

Hull is postponed until further orders, and the President and members of the said court will return to duty.

“By Order of the Secretary of War.”

This order was followed by another, which read:

“Adjutant General’s Office,  
“Washington City, 1 March, 1813.

“General Orders.

“The meeting of the General Court Martial of which Brigadier General Hampton is President, ordered to sit in Philadelphia on the 25th of February last, for the trial of Brigadier General Hull, having been postponed indefinitely, the attendance of the witnesses summoned for this trial will not be required, until further notified.

“By Order of the Secretary of War.”

No officers’ names were attached to these orders and the responsibility for their issuance is unknown, although a reasonably sure guess may be made. A trial court composed of the personnel authorized would have cleared Hull at this time and in so doing Dearborn’s name would have been subject to much official discussion. The reverses of the American troops, such as the failure of General Winchester and the massacre of Major Madison’s troops, caused the people and the press to denounce violently the administration and General Dearborn. It is noteworthy that in this crisis, the only authority to appoint a court martial was possessed by Dearborn and this he did, notwithstanding the fact that the military law did not provide for two courts martial to try the same man for the same offense. He not only appointed a court martial, but he appointed himself as president and the other members of the court as follows: Brig. Gen. Joseph Bloomfield; Col. Peter Little, Thirty-eighth Regiment; Col. William N. Irvine, Forty-second Regiment; Lieut. Col. James House, of the artillery; Lieut. Col. William Scott, Thirty-sixth Regiment; Lieut. Col. William Stewart, Thirty-eighth Regiment; Col. J. B. Fenwick, of the artillery; Col. Robert Bogardus, Forty-first Regiment; Lieut. Col. Richard Dunn, Sixteenth Regiment; Lieut. Col. Samuel S. Connor, Thirteenth Regiment; Lieut. Col. S. B. Davis, Thirty-second Regiment; Lieut. Col. John W. Livingston, Forty-first Regiment; and Lieut. Col. J. G. Forbes, Forty-second Regiment.

With the exception of Dearborn, Bloomfield, Fenwick, House and Connor, none of them held military rank at the time of the surrender and all were appointed from regiments which did not exist in 1812. Some of them were civilians appointed through the influence of Dearborn, and Connor was one of Dearborn’s aides and a member of his family. It is very evident the members of the court were strictly Dearborn men and if it were the case that Dearborn selected this court with a view of protecting himself and screening his own incompetency, and throwing the blame upon Hull, he could not have chosen more wisely.

#### DEARBORN’S CAREER

Before proceeding with the narrative of Hull’s trial, a few facts concerning Dearborn’s career up to this time shall be given. Maj. Gen. Henry Dearborn held the office of commander of all the American forces, and his headquarters were located at Albany, New York. His plan of campaign was to invade Canada, with four armies, by way of Lake Champlain, Sackett’s Harbor, Niagara and Detroit. Distances between these points were great and the trails hard. The

transport of troops, provisions and ammunition was difficult and required much time, courage and cooperation. War was declared with England, but, as noted before, it was a fortnight before Hull was informed of the fact. A few of the orders issued to Dearborn by the secretary of war, with their dates, were:

June 26th. To prepare for actual service and to move in a direction for Niagara, Kingston and Montreal. (Vol. 5, p. 458, War Records.)

July 9th. To organize for the invasion of Canada. (Vol. 6, p. 15, War Records.)

July 15th. To direct his attention to the security of the northwest frontier of the lakes. (Vol. 6, p. 35, War Records.)

July 20th. To place the militia detached for Niagara and other parts on the lake under his control and to establish cooperation and communication with Hull's Army. July 26th. To make arrangements immediately at Niagara for cooperation with Hull. July 29th. To give orders for the commanding officer at Niagara as to the disposition of the Indians. August 1st. To make a diversion in favor of Hull at Niagara and Kingston. (Vol. 6, pp. 199-200, War Records.)

August 15th. To proceed with the utmost vigor in his operations and not to lose a moment in gaining possession of the British posts and proceeding in cooperation with Hull in securing Upper Canada. (Vol. 6, p. 200, War Records.)

Dearborn obeyed none of these orders. These orders and Dearborn's disobedience were not brought to light at Hull's trial. Nor was the notorious armistice between Dearborn and the British general, Prevost. Secretary of War Eustis recorded the fact that this armistice document was on file in the war department. However, it disappeared therefrom and was never recovered, and its contents did not become known until ten years after Hull's surrender.

This armistice was signed by Dearborn on the 8th of August and virtually countermanded the orders of the secretary of war and was not authorized in any way by the American Government. This armistice permitted the British to leave their eastern posts and reinforce Brock at Detroit; it also forbade all American soldiers molesting the enemy or receiving the Detroit Army. The value of this armistice to the British Army was inestimable. The biography of General Prevost (p. 37) states how the advantage was seized "in sending reinforcements of men and supplies to Upper Canada and in sending men, money and stores of every kind to General Brock." The contents of the armistice paper, as signed by Dearborn, were made known through several sources. The letters of Prevost, in his biography published in 1825, reveal portions and it was published in the North American Review during the year 1824. Various letters of Dearborn also prove the contents. However, as soon as the armistice reached the capital, it was immediately repudiated by the President and the secretary of war. These facts were all concealed from the court martial and from the American people and, in fact, were not made public until just before Hull's death in 1825.

A letter of General Dearborn, dated August 7, 1812, proves that he knew that Brock had started for Malden before he signed the armistice. Hull never knew of the armistice prior to his surrender, but it would have made little difference, as the armistice itself excluded his army from the protection of the truce. Dearborn, in all his weakness of character, was plainly tricked by the British and the latter openly boasted of the fact.

## BEGINNING OF HULL'S TRIAL

The special judge advocate sitting at Hull's trial was Martin Van Bure. The trial itself began on January 3, 1814, and was continued until March 23d following. The charges brought against Hull in connection with the surrender of Detroit were: first, treason; second, cowardice; and third, neglect of duty and unofficer-like conduct. There were three specifications attached to the first charge, four to the second, and seven to the third. The official record of the closing scenes of the trial, as given in the original printed document at Washington, is as follows:

"Friday Morning, March 25. (19th)

"All the evidence being read (whether on the part of the prosecution or the defence) applicable to the first charge, and the specifications attached to that charge, and after due deliberation had thereon, the court expressed the following opinion:

"The accused having in his final defence, protested against the jurisdiction of the court to try the charge of treason, and the opinion of the court being, that the objection, which would have been tenable, if the same had been pleaded by the accused on his arraignment; and believing also, that the court cannot acquire jurisdiction of the offence by the waiver or consent of the accused, they decline making any formal decision on that charge. The evidence on the subject having, however, been publicly given, the court deem it proper, in justice to the accused, to say, that they do not believe, from anything that has appeared before them, that Brigadier General William Hull has committed treason against the United States.

"On the second charge, and the specifications attached to that charge (after hearing all the evidence and defence, and after due deliberation thereon) the court find Brigadier General Hull guilty of the first, second and fourth specification under that charge, except that part which charge the said brigadier-general William Hull with 'forbidding the American artillery to fire on the enemy on their march towards the said Fort Detroit.'

"The court find the said brigadier-general William Hull guilty of the second charge.

"On the third charge, the court, after having heard the evidence, (as well as the defence), and after due deliberation, find the said brigadier-general William Hull guilty of neglect of duty, and unofficer-like conduct, as charged in the first specification under this charge, in omitting, with sufficient care and frequency, to inspect, train, exercise, and order, and cause to be trained, inspected, exercised, and ordered, the troops under his command, from the sixth day of July, until the seventeenth day of August, 1812; and acquit him of the residue of the charge contained in that specification.

"The court acquit the said brigadier-general William Hull of the second and third specifications of the same charge.

"The court find the said brigadier-general William Hull guilty of the whole of the fourth specification of that charge except that part which charges him with not seasonably repairing, fitting and transporting, or causing to be fitted, repaired and transported, the guns and gun-carriages which were necessary to the operations of the war in the British province of Upper Canada.

"The court find the said brigadier-general William Hull guilty of so much of the fifth specification of that charge as relates to the neglect of duty and un-

officer-like conduct, in suffering his communication with the river Raisin and the state of Ohio, to be cut off, and sending major Van Horne to attempt to open the same with an inadequate force, he, the said brigadier-general William Hull, having reason to know or believe the same was insufficient; and the court acquit him of the residue of that specification.

“The court find the said brigadier-general William Hull guilty of the sixth and seventh specifications of that charge.

“The court find the said brigadier-general William Hull guilty of the third charge.

“The court then adjourned to meet tomorrow morning at 10 o'clock.

“Saturday Morning, March 20.

“The court met pursuant to adjournment.

“Present—All the members.

“The court in consequence of their determination respecting the second and third charges, and the specifications under these charges, exhibited against the said brigadier-general William Hull, and after due consideration, do sentence him to be shot to death, two-thirds of the court concurring in the sentence.

“They in consideration of Brigadier-general Hull's revolutionary service, and advanced age, earnestly recommend him to the mercy of the president of the United States.

“The court then adjourned to meet on Monday morning next at 10 o'clock.

“Monday Morning, March 23

“The court met pursuant to adjournment.

“Present—All the members.

“The proceedings having been read over, and approved and signed by the president, the court then adjourned sine die.

“H. Dearborn, Major-Genl.

President of the Court.

“M. V. Buren, Special Judge Ad.

“Philip S. Parker,

Army Judge Advocate Assist.

“April 25.

“The sentence of the court is approved, and the execution of it remitted.

“James Madison.”

In these legal terms did Dearborn's "hand picked" court of unseasoned officers pass judgment upon General Hull. The very nature of the evidence admitted, or sifted, and the concealment of the real facts, proves the prejudice and motive of the court. It was simply to "white-wash" Dearborn at the expense of Hull. The hostility of the militia officers appears upon every page of the trial record. They were permitted to introduce as evidence, their opinions, thoughts, hearsay, "impressions," "estimates," "suppositions" and other "feelings" which were in opposition to all rules of court procedure.

The statements of Hull's aide-de-camp, Robert Wallace, are contradictory to practically all of the incriminating evidence offered by Hull's enemies. Wallace was with Hull all the time, received and delivered his orders, and therefore was in possession of more reliable information than anyone. Wallace was prevented from testifying at Hull's trial. Wallace himself was a trustworthy officer and a man of high standing in his own state, Kentucky. He stated

that Hull was excited and agitated and became so after 9 o'clock (on the morning of the 16th) while his son was driving soldiers back to their regiments and trying to fight a duel, and while men were being killed and the women and children were being removed to a bomb-proof vault. He stated that the surrender occurred when Captain Burton mounted a bastion and waved a white tablecloth affixed to a pike, and that the cannonade did not cease until afterward.

Cass' newspaper letter of September 10, 1812, the first so-called official account of the surrender, was admitted as evidence, although the contents comprised a description of the affair by a man who was not even there. Cass and McArthur, as stated before, did not reach the fort until after dark on the day of the surrender, yet the charges contained in the letter, written by the direction of McArthur, were admitted as evidence and were repeated by Cass when he was called as the first witness at the trial. Cass' letter was responsible for the first wave of abuse directed against Hull, then a prisoner.

The constitution of the United States gave Hull the right of counsel. However, his counsel was only allowed to sit in the court room, to write or whisper to his client and no more. Dearborn had two or three attorneys who were allowed to cross-examine witnesses and address the court, and who had access to the public records. The reporter of the trial was himself one of the court members and couched the terms of the proceedings in such a manner as to emphasize everything against Hull and conceal any points in his favor.

Next to the charge of treason, against which Hull successfully contended, the charge of cowardice most deeply affected him, and he resented it with all the powers of a man overburdened with the disgrace of his surrender. In the course of his argument on this point, he said:

"But Gentlemen, upon the charge of cowardice, I am bold to say, I have no dread. I have fought more battles than many of the young men who have impeached me of this crime have numbered years. I appeal to the history that bears record of those who were engaged in the bloody contest for our liberties, there you shall find my name—but not as a coward. I have brought before you the testimony of the few who remain of those who were my companions in arms in times that tried men's souls. Do they say I am a coward? I invoke the spirits of the departed heroes who have died at my side by the sword of the enemy to say if I am a coward. I would call the shades of Gates, Wayne, Schuyler and of Washington to tell you how often they have led me into battle, and to say if they found me a coward. Will you believe that the spirit which has so often prompted me to risk my life for my country, should now have so far forsaken me that I have become a traitor and a coward? Will you believe that the years in which I have grown gray in my country's service should so far have changed my nature that I could have been the base and abject thing my enemies have represented? No. Gentlemen, that blood which animated my youth, age has not chilled. I, at this moment, feel its influence, and it makes me dare to say that no man ever did or can think me a coward."

The approval and remission of the sentence occurred under the hand of the President on April 25, 1814. On the same day the following was issued:

"Adjutant and Inspector General's Office,  
"Washington, 25th April, 1814.

"General Orders:

"The roll of the army is not to be longer dishonored by having upon it the



name of Brig.-Gen. William Hull. The General Court Martial of which Major General Dearborn is President is hereby dissolved.

“By order

J. B. Walbach,  
Adjutant General.”

This last order was without authorization from any source. There exists no order from the President, or the war department, or of any court martial, dismissing Hull from the service, and the adjutant general was totally without authority to promulgate such an order.

#### HULL'S CAREER AFTER THE TRIAL

After the court martial was over and his sentence remitted, General Hull journeyed by horseback to his home at Newton, Massachusetts. Then for a decade he pleaded with the war department for copies of the war records, but all his requests were ignored until 1824. At this time Secretary of War Calhoun supplied Hull with copies of such records as had been restored to the files. Immediately Hull published these facts and there arose a national feeling in sympathy for the misfortunes which had been his. However, his life was not spared to witness much of this vindication, if such it could be called, for he died in 1825.

Congress, after his death, on March 14, 1826, appropriated \$1,628.32 to pay to his heirs his back salary as governor of Michigan Territory from April 10, 1812 to February 1, 1813, and on March 10, 1828 Congress appropriated \$1,380 to pay to his heirs for his claims for money advanced by him in the Detroit campaign. It is a fact worthy of record that Congress had refused to pay these claims to Hull until the war records were released by Calhoun, until the Dearborn armistice disgrace became public knowledge, and until the newspapers and periodicals of the country espoused his cause. Hull himself was without funds. His campaign at Detroit was financed largely out of his own pocket, chiefly because his lack of communication lines prevented him from reaching the funds appropriated for that purpose.

Historians who have studied the subject of Hull and the surrender of Detroit in the light of the true records have conceded that Hull was an honest and brave soldier who was made the scapegoat of an officer who disobeyed orders and exhibited startling incompetency, namely, General Dearborn. That Hull made mistakes has never been denied by his staunchest supporters. The administration, blamed by many writers equally with Dearborn, was not exactly at fault, for had Dearborn obeyed the orders which were issued from the war department the failures of the American Army, in all probability, would not have occurred. Military tacticians have agreed that the proper move for Hull to have made when he was seriously threatened by Brock was to have retreated with his army to the Miami and there await reinforcements and supplies. But, on the other hand, had his subordinate officers been willing to cooperate with him and obey orders, and had Cass and McArthur returned into the fort as Hull directed and as they had ample opportunity to do, Hull could have made a fight of it, as the evidence shows this to have been his foremost intention until the last moment, or the morning of the 16th. Hatch, in his account of the surrender, advances the opinion that Hull had contemplated surrender for several days. There may be some truth in this, but the actual decision was not made until the 16th. Continuing, Hatch wrote:

"Hull seemed convinced that the fort would be untenable against the force the British could bring against it, unless the line of communication with Ohio could be kept open. Dearborn had failed to make any diversion in favor of Hull at Niagara or Kingston, as he had been instructed to do. His provisions, he thought, were running too low to allow him to stand a protracted siege, and an intercepted letter from Colonel Procter to Major Roberts, telling him to send down only five thousand Indians from Mackinac, caused him to fear an attack from the north. He did not know that Procter's letter had been written expressly to fall into his hands. He did not know that the regulars, spoken of as 'Brock's army' at Long Point, were but poorly armed and poorly drilled militia. It is acknowledged that he was too honest—whatever his other shortcomings may have been—to suspect deception, and he sincerely believed that his little army would be annihilated."

As stated in the *North American Review*, Vol. 20, January, 1825, the opinion of the eminent historian, Jared Sparks, was that Hull was required by the government to do the morally and physically impossible, that the court martial was conducted without knowledge of the testimony in his favor and that Hull suffered in consequence of the neglect of higher authorities.

Daniel Putnam, son of General Israel Putnam (whom Dearborn charged as being a coward at Bunker Hill), wrote on September 25, 1824:

"I marked (General Hull) as the scape-goat on whose head the errors of others were laid to divert the public indignation from their own."

Hon. Charles P. Sumner, of Boston, wrote to Hull on March 11, 1825:

"Your memoirs have had the effect of reinstating you in the good opinion of impartial and disinterested men and had that effect on me, although I am one of those who had some degree of prejudice to your disadvantage. One of the chief evils attendant on times of high political excitement is the facility it gives a dominant party to brand their rivals with opprobrium, and make even the records of the history of their country speak the language of malice and falsehood couched in the form of law. I believe that your character will not suffer in the estimation of unprejudiced posterity."

Many other opinions, voiced by the most intelligent writers and statesmen of the country, were published soon after Hull's war records were made public. In 1848, James Freeman Clark, Hull's grandson, wrote:

"I recall the image of a venerable, white-haired old man living in the midst of his children. All outward disgrace seemed to have fallen on his head, yet all were borne with cheerful equanimity. A soldier, he had been branded as a coward; a patriot, he was esteemed a traitor; loving the approbation of his fellowmen, he was the object of universal censure; naturally fond of public life and ambitious of public usefulness, he was under a sentence of irrevocable ostracism. No peevishness, no complaint, no querulous reference to a nation's ingratitude ever fell from his lips. On his deathbed he declared in the most solemn manner his convictions that he had done right in surrendering Detroit, and expressed his happiness that he had thus saved the lives of the peaceable citizens of Michigan from being needlessly sacrificed. He died in November, 1825."

A number of General Hull's kin have been soliders in the service of the United States. Hull's own son Capt. Abraham (or Abram) Hull, was bayoneted to death at the battle of Lundy's Lane, July 25, 1814, while in the extreme advance of the American line. General Hull's uncle, Joseph Hull, was

one of the defenders of Fort Washington and afterward organized an expedition upon an old whale boat and captured a British armed schooner on Long Island Sound. Commodore Isaac Hull was a nephew of General Hull; and Commodore Andrew Hull Foote of the Civil war was a relative. Likewise, Gen. Joseph Wheeler, who won fame in both the Civil and Spanish-American wars, was of the same blood. General Wheeler, prior to his death in 1906, made an exhaustive investigation of General Hull's Detroit campaign, made thorough research in the files of the war department, visited Detroit and surveyed the scene of the campaign and sought every known source of information regarding the affair. His investigations convinced him that, while Hull made serious mistakes, the charges as brought by the court martial and Hull's personal enemies were manifestly unfair, while the court martial itself was an outstanding bit of legal perfidy.

#### INSUBORDINATION OF HULL'S OFFICERS

In his "Campaign of the War of 1812," Hull stated that he "discovered a spirit of mutiny in my own camp—a spirit which at first manifested itself in whispers, increased and became more open. It was evident it was now fostered and encouraged by the principal officers of militia and it was fast rising into an avowed conspiracy."

Even at the time of his death in 1825, Hull did not know the large extent of this conspiracy or the strong factor it was in his downfall. For the purpose of gaining a clearer understanding of future events, it is well to learn of the attitude and activities of Hull's officers. Insubordination is a mild term for the actions of the militia colonels: treasonable conspiracy is a more comprehensive term. This so-called conspiracy was apparently a well organized movement, the purpose of which was to depose Hull and put another in his place.

The Ohio militia had three colonels—Lewis Cass, Duncan McArthur and James Findlay. The regulars were commanded by Colonel Miller. The militiamen themselves were mutinous, as shown by their many acts of disobedience to Hull's orders. Colonel Miller and his regulars were compelled, at various times, to enforce the commands of the general. As military experts have since agreed, Hull's proper move was to have retreated to the Miami and await reinforcements when he perceived that the odds were too great against him. This very thing he wished to do, but Cass admonished him that if he did the Ohio militia would desert to a man, and testified later at Hull's trial that they would have done so. The militia was constantly on the edge of a revolt, as shown by their refusal to march at Urbana, the refusal of a hundred of them to cross into Canada, and the desertion of two companies of the Michigan militia. Before the army crossed the river from Canada, there was an agreement circulated and signed by eighty of the militia, as follows:

"We, signers hereto, agree to seize General Hull and depose him from command and defend the fort at all hazards. Signed, Lewis Cass, Charles Larned and 78 others."

After recrossing the river, the engagement of Colonel Miller with the enemy while he was attempting to force a way to the Raisin temporarily halted the activities of the malcontents, but on the 12th of August, according to the historians Tuttle and Hatch, they determined to address a written request to the militia colonels, asking for the arrest or removal of Hull and to place the command in the hands of eldest of the militia colonels—McArthur. This project

was abandoned, for there arose among the officers a dispute as to who should take command.

Sometime prior to the 14th, another agreement was determined upon, assigning the command to Cass. The contents of this agreement, quoted below, appear in Vol. 14, p. 36, of the proceedings of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society.

"We, whose names are here written, agree to surround Hull and putting the command in Lewis Cass, prevent the surrender of Detroit to the British.

"Signed, Lewis Cass, Charles Larned and others."

Charles Larned, one of the signers, kept this agreement secret until a short time before his death in 1833, when he delivered it to his son, Sylvester Larned, who also kept it secret until 1889, when he disclosed its contents to the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society as follows:

" 'Sylvester,' he said, taking out the paper yellow with age, 'I am about to divulge to you a secret that you must never divulge until I am dead.' And never until the last survivor died who had a part in the transaction, did I ever state that I held in my hands the secret history of Detroit's most iniquitous surrender. Lewis Cass and others laid a plan, not a conspiracy, and signed a Round Robin with these fatal words in the center, to the effect—'We, whose names are here written, agree to surround Hull and putting the command in Lewis Cass prevent the surrender of Detroit to the British.' "

After the death of Sylvester Larned, the historian, Mr. Clarence M. Burton, had brief access to his papers and found among them a memorandum in his handwriting, as follows:

"This protest, or Round Robin, signed by the officers and men of Hull's army, is herewith presented to the Michigan Historical Society."

That General Hull was fully aware of the insubordinate actions of his officers is certain, but he did not know of the scope of the conspiracy, as it has been termed. He denounced Cass and McArthur for retreating with their 400 fighting men when they heard the cannons instead of returning to the fort as ordered, or at least, attacking the British rear. Hull also threatened to court martial Captain Snelling for failing to hold his artillery position at Springwells to prevent a British landing and for leaving his station without orders. That Hull was not subjected to fear is shown by the tenor of his remark to Colonel Watson when Brock demanded the surrender of the fort: this was that "if they want it they must fight for it."

On the 12th of August a suggestion was made that Governor Meigs, of Ohio, who was supposed to be en route to Detroit with reinforcements, should be tendered the command of the army. Cass was selected to write the letter to Meigs. Findlay, McArthur and Brush also signed the letter. However, this message bore no result one way or the other.

#### DETROIT UNDER THE BRITISH RULE

General Brock sailed from Detroit on the schooner Chippewa August 17th to attend to other duties along the Niagara frontier. He placed the Territory of Michigan under the civil and military charge of Col. Henry Procter. Such of the troops as were not necessary to take the prisoners down to Amherstburg and Montreal were left with Procter to maintain the British possession of Detroit. The greater portion of the military supplies were transported across the river to Malden.

One of the first acts of the invaders was to devise some plan for the establishment of civil government. Procter had sufficient troops in the fort to compel obedience to his authority, but there were many matters which did not come properly under military control. The British expected that the civilians would return to their various civilian duties; trade would be resumed; farms cultivated and other duties of the village, post and country would proceed just as if peace, and not war, existed. Although the citizens were to do all of this, they were not to incur the displeasure of the royal commandant by disobeying his orders. The Michigan Militia was disbanded and the members permitted to return to their homes, after promising not to take up arms against the British soldiers. They were not requested to take the oath of allegiance to the crown. On the 21st day of August, Procter issued the following proclamation:

“REGULATION OF THE CIVIL GOVERNMENT OF THE TERRITORY OF MICHIGAN

“Whereas the Territory of Michigan was on the sixteenth day of August, one thousand eight hundred twelve, Ceded by Capitulation to the arms of His Britannic Majesty, & the American flag was removed and the British flag substituted on the same day at noon: And whereas on the same day a Proclamation was issued by Isaac Brock, Esqr., Major General Commanding His Majesty’s forces in the Province of UPPER CANADA, etc., etc.; and the said Proclamation, among other things, announces to all the Inhabitants of the said Territory that wishing to give an early proof of the moderation and justice of the British Government, the American laws heretofore in existence shall continue in force, until His Majesty’s pleasure be known, or so long as the peace & safety of the said Territory will admit thereof. And whereas the said laws cannot be carried into execution according to the effect & intention so announced to the inhabitants without providing for the existence & continuance of the proper civil Officers; for the execution of the same, & without the necessary courts & other judicial authorities for the administration of justice among the said inhabitants.

“Now therefore, be it known that I, Henry Procter, Colonel in the Military forces of His Britannic Majesty, now Commanding in the Territory of Michigan, do make & establish, for the time being, the following Regulations for the civil administration of the said Territory.

I

“The civil Officers, remaining in the country, shall continue to exercise the respective functions appertaining to their offices, without any new commissions for the same, & those offices which are suspended by the departure from the country of those holding them, shall be supplied as herein after provided.

II

“The civil executive powers shall be exercised by a civil Governor. The Civil Governor shall appoint to all civil officers which are or shall be vacant, & shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed.

III

“Courts of Justice shall be held as usual.

IV

“Legislative provisions need not be adopted from the laws of any of the American States. A majority shall not be necessary when any of the offices are vacant. The Secretary shall make two copies of all executive proceedings & legislative Regulations, one of which shall be transmitted for the use of the British Government & the other shall be retained.

## V

“The expences of the civil administration shall be defrayed quarterly by the proper Officer in the military department paying the lawfull amount thereof to the civil treasurer. The duties, customs & revenues accruing according to the laws of the United States shall be paid quarterly, by the collectors to the proper Officer in the Military department. The internal duties & revenues accruing to the Territory of Michigan, shall be paid to the proper treasurers thereof.

## VI

“The undersigned will act as civil Governor of the Territory of Michigan for the time being. Augustus B. Woodward, Chief Justice of the said Territory, is appointed Secretary. The offices of register & receiver of the Land-Office, & Postmaster, are superceded, reserving a full right to adjust all anterior concerns. All offices in the Indian department are superceded.

“Given under my hand at Detroit the twenty first day of August, one thousand eight hundred twelve & in the fifty second year of His MAJESTY’S reign.

“(Signed) Henry Procter,  
Colonel.”

The original of this proclamation is in the handwriting of Judge Woodward with the exception of the words “Augustus B. Woodward, Chief Justice of the said Territory” which are written in by Procter in the blank spaces left by Woodward. The signature is also Procter’s own.

However, Judge Woodward promptly declined to accept the office of secretary. Procter’s understanding was that the courts should be maintained the same as before the war and that the same judges should preside and the same officers attend. Judge Griffin, of the supreme court, was not in Detroit at the beginning of the war and did not visit the territory until 1814. Judge Witherell was in the Michigan Militia, and was taken prisoner at the time of the surrender. He left the territory at that time and did not return until after the Battle of the Thames. Judge Woodward, alone of all the judges, remained in Detroit until some time in 1813. The affairs of the citizens were largely placed in his hands and to a great extent he represented the United States during his stay in Detroit. He refused to become the secretary under Procter or to accept any office or perform any duty which might in any manner be construed to connect him with the British Government as an employe. Procter, thinking to force Woodward to act under his government, issued a proclamation in September, for the holding of a term of the supreme court. The records show that no court was held at that time and a few weeks later he issued another proclamation, as follows:

“By Henry Procter, Esquire, Civil Governor of the territory of Michigan for the time being.

## “A PROCLAMATION.

“Whereas the same causes & motives on which was founded the Proclamation of the undersigned, bearing date of the fifth day of September, one thousand eight hundred twelve, continue to operate;

“Therefore Be it Known by all to whom these presents may come, or whom they may concern, that I, the undersigned, Henry Procter, Civil Governor of the territory of Michigan, for the time being, pursuant to the power in me vested

in and by an act entitled 'an act concerning the Supreme Court of the territory of Michigan,' do revoke the appointment made by Proclamation aforesaid for holding the Supreme Court of the said territory at the house of George Meldrum, in the district of Detroit, on the third Monday in December next, & do appoint the council house in the city of Detroit on Monday the twenty-first day of February one thousand eight hundred and thirteen, at eleven of the clock in the forenoon, for the holding of the said Supreme Court; and all process shall be returned, and all persons shall be held to appear at such time and place equally the same as if the said court was held at the time & place where the same was to have been held.

"This Proclamation shall be translated into the French language & three English & French copies shall be posted up for public information, one in the office of the clerk of the Supreme Court, one at the Gate post opposite the house in which I reside, & one at the door of the Roman Catholic Church. Witness my hand at Detroit in the territory of Michigan, 16 November 1812.

"Henry Procter,

Civil Governor of the territory  
of Michigan for the time being."

Procter was a man whose character would have disgraced any country which he might have represented. Cruelty, tyranny, lack of mercy and deeds of barbarity were the principal features of his career in Detroit. He oppressed the civilian population and permitted the savages to tomahawk and burn their prisoners and destroy and pillage the dwellings of the inhabitants.

#### THE ARMY REORGANIZED

Although the surrender of Detroit fell like a pall upon the country, the disaster was in many respects "a blessing in disguise." It aroused the people of the Ohio Valley to the seriousness of the danger which menaced them and many who had been lukewarm regarding the war were stirred to action. A call for volunteers brought a prompt response from the people of Ohio, Virginia, Kentucky, Pennsylvania and Indiana Territory, and even Missouri Territory, far away from the scene of strife, contributed a number of her sons. On August 25, 1812, only nine days after the surrender, Gen. William Henry Harrison was commissioned "major general of the militia of Kentucky" by the governor of that state. On the 2d of September he was appointed brigadier-general of volunteers by President Madison.

The work of raising troops, which had commenced in July, now went forward by leaps and bounds. Gen. James Winchester was designated as Hull's successor to command the Army of the Northwest. When Harrison learned of this, he wrote to the war department that there should be only one officer in command; that he had a better knowledge of the country and the Indians than Winchester; and that it was the desire of the troops for him to command. Having dispatched this letter by express messenger, he pushed on to Piqua, Ohio, intending to resign the command to Winchester. He then had about 2,000 men and more than that number were on the way to Piqua, under command of General Tupper, of Urbana, and Gen. Elijah Wadsworth, a Revolutionary veteran, commander of the Fourth Division of the Ohio Militia.

Upon arriving at Piqua, Harrison found there the courier, by whom he had sent his letter to the war department, with a commission authorizing him to take command of the army. He immediately began collecting a force at St.

Mary's, for the purpose of recapturing Detroit. While thus occupied, he learned that Major Muir, with a large force of British and Indians, had left Malden August 18, 1812 for the purpose of attacking Fort Wayne. Harrison sent Colonel Allen's regiment and two companies of Colonel Lewis's to hold Muir in check. On September 22d General Winchester left Fort Wayne with about 2,000 men for the Maumee Rapids, intending to halt at Fort Defiance until reinforcements came from Harrison. Before reaching Fort Defiance, he met Muir's advance guard of 200 British regulars and nearly 1,000 Indians. This advance guard either killed or captured Winchester's scouts, one of whom, Sergeant McCoy, was taken to Muir, who questioned him concerning the strength of the American forces and the designs of their commander. McCoy blithely told him that Winchester had 7,000 or 8,000 men and that an equal number were coming down Auglaize River. At the same time Captain Ballard's and Garrard's dragoons met and defeated a detachment of Muir's Indians. Stragglers from this detachment came into Muir's camp with the report that they had met an overwhelming force of the Americans, who were "like the leaves of the forest" in numbers, so Muir retreated hastily to Malden.

By the middle of October, Harrison had over 3,000 men at St. Mary's and was soon afterward joined by a mounted regiment from Kentucky, commanded by Col. Richard M. Johnson. This regiment was brigaded with Colonel Findlay's. The season was now so far advanced, and the roads were in such condition, that Harrison decided to postpone aggressive operations until the following spring. With the right wing of the army he began his march to Upper Sandusky, leaving General Winchester with the left wing at Fort Defiance. Late in December, Winchester moved down the Maumee to the rapids, about twenty miles above the mouth, where he established a fortified camp. This was done despite the fact that Tecumseh, with some 600 of his warriors, was lurking in the vicinity and that General Harrison had sent orders for him to return to Fort Defiance.

#### MASSACRE AT THE RAISIN

On January 14, 1813, Winchester learned that the British commander at Malden was preparing to send an expedition against French Town (now Monroe, Michigan), to intercept any movement of the Americans toward Detroit. Learning also that there were some supplies at the Raisin, Winchester sent Col. William Lewis, with 550 men, to get the supplies and occupy French Town. A few hours later he started Colonel Allen, with 110 men, to reinforce Lewis. Allen overtook Lewis near the mouth of the Maumee, where they learned that Colonel Elliott, with 400 Indians and a detachment of British troops from Malden, was on the way to attack Winchester's camp. Sending back a courier to notify Winchester, Lewis and Allen moved on toward French Town. When within three miles of the village, a scout brought word that the enemy was on guard. Forming his men in line of battle, Lewis advanced, crossed the river on the ice, and dislodged the enemy by a general charge. The fight lasted from 3 o'clock until dark, when the Americans took up their quarters in the village.

A messenger was sent to Winchester's camp and the next day he arrived with Colonel Wells and 300 men, all that could be spared from the rapids. On the 21st, Winchester sent Peter Navarre and his four brothers on a scouting expedition. They returned with the information that a large body of British and Indians was marching toward French Town, but Winchester doubted the report. Of the twenty-three houses in the village, all were on the north side of the river



except one. Winchester established his headquarters at the isolated house on the south side, a half mile or more from the main body of his army.

Early on the morning of the 22d, the alarm was sounded and the firing commenced. The Americans were greatly outnumbered and were subjected to a heavy artillery fire from the British ranks. A charge of red-coats and savages followed and the Americans were soon in utter confusion. A small party under Lieutenant Garrett retreated and were massacred, their leader alone escaping. Another party of thirty men were pursued for about three miles and most of them killed. The Americans were fighting bravely in the deep snow and heavy cold and despite the odds were giving a good account of themselves.

At last Procter concentrated his force against the American right, which was the most vulnerable, and it is said that Winchester gave the order for a general retreat. The British idea seemed to be a struggle of extermination, for as soon as the retreat began the Indians fell upon the rear and within a few moments one hundred or more of the gallant Kentuckians were tomahawked and scalped. The left, under Majors Graves and Madison, was protected to some extent by a strong palisade fence and fought valiantly until about 10 o'clock, when a lull gave the men an opportunity to eat breakfast.

While they were eating, Major Overton, of Winchester's staff, accompanied by Colonel Procter, arrived with a flag of truce and an order from Winchester advising him to surrender unconditionally. This Major Madison refused to do. It is said that Procter dishonorably took advantage of the situation to misrepresent his strength by saying he had many more Indians than were really on the ground, when the fact was the Indians had already been driven back. Madison remained obstinate, Procter lost his temper, and the two commanders exchanged hot words. Procter finally agreed to treat Madison and his men as prisoners of war and to protect the wounded. This agreement was not written, but Procter pledged his honor (a barren pledge) that it would be carried out. Before the terms were fairly completed, the Indians began to plunder the camp. Madison ordered his men to open fire, then use the bayonet. This checked the plundering and Procter promised that sleighs would be provided the next morning to convey the wounded to Malden.

However, the next morning he announced that the British would be transported first, and a guard left with the American wounded. The prisoners were marched off and with the wounded were left two doctors, Todd and Bowers, and Major Reynolds with a few interpreters. After the British regulars had departed, a horde of savages entered the town and held a council, in which they determined to murder all the wounded who could not walk in revenge for the death of the Indians during the battle. Two houses which contained most of the casualties, those of Gabriel Godfroy and Jean Baptiste Jeraume, were fired and the most of the unfortunate soldiers therein were burned to death. Many of those who were able to escape from the house met death by the tomahawk and bullet. Their bodies were scalped and fearfully mangled and, according to later evidence presented to Congress by Judge Woodward, the bodies were eaten by swine and dogs. The wounded and prisoners who were able to walk were taken towards Malden or Detroit, but if one loitered or fell from exhaustion, he was immediately slaughtered in cold blood. Others, with bleeding and bare feet, were compelled to dance on the frozen earth for the pleasure of their captors. Those who were brought to Detroit were ransomed in the streets

by the civilians, sums from \$10 to \$80 being offered for the poor unfortunates. The Indians auctioned off these prisoners from day to day and sold scalps, some of the latter having been torn from bodies which they exhumed. These were bloody days in the village of Detroit: no one knew to what fiendish act the hand of Procter and his Indians would be turned next.

Lossing states that the American loss at the Raisin was 934 men, of whom 197 were reported killed or missing, and only 33 men escaped. The heaviest loss fell upon the Kentucky troops. Winchester, Lewis, Madison and the other officers captured were exchanged at Montreal in the spring of 1814. In August, 1818, the remains of the American officers and soldiers buried at the Raisin were disinterred and brought to Detroit, where they were buried in the Protestant Cemetery with the honors of war. In 1834 they were again removed to the City Cemetery on Clinton Street, and in 1849 Col. E. Brooks took them to Frankfort, Kentucky, where they rest in the State Cemetery.

#### CONDITIONS IN DETROIT IN 1813.

For weeks after the massacre at the Raisin, the citizens of Detroit lived through a veritable "reign of terror." The savage was permitted by the vicious Procter to satisfy his murderous greed at the expense of the people. Lives and property were at their mercy. The British Government did nothing to stop the Indians or to ransom a single prisoner. Not until as late as July did Procter offer a reward for the safe delivery of prisoners—and then it was only \$5 a head, when the American citizens had been paying as high as \$80. He even resented the effort to ransom the prisoners by the Americans, and flatly forbade the practice, and to cap his iniquity, ordered some thirty of the leading American citizens of Detroit to depart, in the dead of winter, without any of their possessions. A copy of one of these notices, from the files of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society, follows:

"Detroit, 1st Feb., 1813.

"Gentlemen,—

"I am ordered by Colonel Procter to say that he expects you will be prepared to leave the country on Friday next in company with a number of American citizens from this place.

"Gentlemen, your most ob't servant,

"William Jones.

"To Messrs. H. J. B. Brevoort and William Maccomb."

This move on the part of Procter brought forth a formal protest from the citizens requested to leave. They cited the terms of the surrender and claimed that it was their duty to resist such orders. They requested Judge Woodward to present their statement to the British commander. The following citizens signed the protest: Lewis Bond, David McLean, William Wilson, John Dicke, Archibald Lyon, Israel Taylor, Anderson Martin, William M. Scott, David Henderson, William Russell, Joseph Spencer, James Patterson, George R. Chittenden, W. Robertson, John Walker, Conrad Seek, Elijah Brush, Conrad Ten Eyck, Peter Desnoyers, Robert Smart, James Burnett, Richard H. Jones, William Brown, J. McDonnell, John Congsett, Duncan Reid, A. Langan, George Battzes and James Chittenden.

The protest was unsuccessful and the citizens designated had to leave Detroit.

Indians by the hundreds were gathered around Detroit. They lived upon the bounty of the British, but when the supplies of the English gave out they suffered, and disease gathered great numbers of them in the happy hunting grounds. Pillage was the principal occupation of these savages and no American's possessions were safe. The Canadians protected their homes and stock by marking each house or animal with a symbol in red paint, which, to the Indians, signified friendly ownership.

The following story told by Gen. John E. Hunt, of Toledo, to Mrs. Ellet, author of "Pioneer Women of the West," is re-quoted from Farmer's History of Detroit:

"On a beautiful Sunday morning in Detroit, I heard the scalp-whoop of a war party coming up the river. When they came near, I discovered that they were carrying a woman's scalp upon a pole, and that they had with them, as prisoners, a family of nine children, from three years old up to two girls full grown. These little captives had nothing on their heads, and their clothes were torn into shreds by the brushwood and the bushes in the way by which they had come. I went to meet them, brought them into my house, gave them and their Indian captors a meal, with a few loaves of bread for further use, and told the children not to be frightened or uneasy, for that my brother would buy them from the Indians when he should return from Canada, whither he had gone to spend the Sabbath with his father-in-law. The next day the prisoners came again, accompanied by about five hundred Indians. My brother, H. J. Hunt, paid five hundred dollars for their ransom, and sent them home. \* \* \* A young girl who had been thus rescued and taken into a family, seeing a party of Indians pass by one day, uttered a piercing shriek, and fell senseless to the floor. On recovering consciousness, she declared that she had seen her mother's scalp in possession of one of the savages, recognizing it by the long light braid of hair. Her story was confirmed by a person who had seen the mother and daughter brought with other prisoners from near Sandusky, Ohio. The mother being in feeble health, and unable to travel as fast as required, was tomahawked, her daughter being hurried on in ignorance of the cruel murder."

#### PROCTER'S UNSUCCESSFUL OFFENSIVE.

Procter had in mind the invasion of the Maumee Valley and in February, 1813, began to lay his plans for this purpose. In April Tecumseh and some 1,500 Indians collected at Malden. This force sailed on the 23d for Fort Meigs and on May 1st attacked that stronghold. For five days the attack continued without success, whereupon Procter returned to Malden and mustered out the Canadian militia. Another attack was directed against Fort Meigs in July, but was unsuccessful, as was the subsequent attack upon Fort Stephenson, which was defended by Major Croghan with 143 men, who repulsed with heavy loss Procter's 1,100 British. On August 3d, the British commander retreated.

#### AMERICAN COUNTER OFFENSIVE AND PERRY'S VICTORY

During this interval the Americans were busily engaged in preparing to strike at the crown forces. Large groups of militia were gathered in Ohio and Kentucky and, under the leadership of Harrison, were faced in the direction of Detroit. Harrison's position at Upper Sandusky was attacked on May 1, 1813, by a large force of British and Indians. Fighting progressed until the 5th, when Harrison learned that Colonel Clay, with 1,200 men from Kentucky,

was marching to his relief. He succeeded in getting a message through to Clay directing him to attack the enemy's batteries. Clay led 800 men against the British artillery, captured and spiked the guns, and pursued the retreating enemy for some distance, when he was drawn into an ambush in which 650 of his men were killed, wounded or captured.

After this unfortunate affair, General Harrison decided to postpone further operations in the field until the completion of the ships Commodore Oliver Hazard Perry was building on Lake Erie. To be ready for any emergency, he called on Gov. Isaac Shelby, of Kentucky, for 1,500 men, and asked the governor to command them in person. The Kentuckians, eager to avenge the massacre of so many of their comrades at the Raisin, responded with such alacrity that on the last day of July, Shelby joined Harrison with 3,500 men, instead of the 1,500 he had requested.

Early in September, Perry's fleet was at Put-in-Bay, ready for action. At Put-in-Bay there is a bold headland which commands a view of North Bass and Middle Bass islands and the passage to Detroit. Here Perry stationed a watch to notify him if the British fleet appeared. This headland is still known as Perry's Lookout.

The British fleet, commanded by Capt. Robert H. Barclay, who had fought with Nelson at Trafalgar, lay in the Detroit River in front of Malden. Henry Brevoort, of Detroit, gave Perry the names of the British ships and on September 9, 1813, Perry called his officers together and planned his attack. His flagship, the Lawrence, was assigned to attack the Detroit, the Niagara to attack the Queen Charlotte and so on. He then directed them to be ready to sail early the following morning, as it was his intention to engage the British vessels in the Detroit River if Barclay failed to come out into open water.

Early on the morning of the 10th the lookout on the headland sighted the enemy. Immediately all was activity on the American vessels. For the first time a huge flag, bearing the motto "DON'T GIVE UP THE SHIP," in letters large enough to be seen by the entire fleet, was run up to the masthead of the Lawrence. As the morning breeze caught its folds and the sailors saw the inspiring motto, a mighty cheer arose from the decks of the ships and the fleet sailed out to meet the enemy. Perry had nine vessels, with fifty-four guns and two swivels. Barclay's fleet consisted of only six vessels, but they carried sixty-three guns, one pivot gun, two swivels and two howitzers. So Perry had the advantage of ships, but Barclay held the upper hand in armament.

Within a short time the two fleets were engaged and it is said that the thunder of the guns could be heard at Cleveland, seventy miles distant. Almost every American is familiar with the story of how, when the Lawrence was disabled, Perry crossed over in a small boat to the Niagara, under the fire of the British guns, and won a decisive victory. After a few hours of maneuvering and fighting, Perry sent his famous message to General Harrison: "We have met the enemy and they are ours; two ships, two brigs, one schooner and a sloop." This was the first time in history that an entire British fleet was captured in a naval engagement.

After the engagement, Perry returned to Put-in-Bay for repairs. Some of the dead were buried on the shore of the little bay. Today the bones of a few British and American officers who were killed in the engagement rest under the rotunda of the new Perry monument on Put-in-Bay Island.

## BRITISH EVACUATION AND BATTLE OF THE THAMES

The capture of the British fleet was one of the most important events of the war. It removed Procter's greatest weapon. For several days before the engagement both sides had been preparing their forces for action. Procter and Tecumseh, with about 5,000 troops and Indians, confident that Barclay would sustain the traditions of the English navy, were waiting at Malden to overrun the frontier. General Harrison, at Sandusky Bay, was waiting to recapture Detroit and invade Canada. He heard the news of Perry's victory on September 12 and on the 16th his army was on the move. Perry employed his ships to carry Harrison's army to Malden, where they arrived on September 27th. Procter evacuated Malden on the 26th. Harrison's debarkation was about three miles below Malden, at Hartley's Point, and after an hour's rest marched to the British post, arriving late in the afternoon. Harrison stated in his report to the war department that:

"I have the honor to inform you that I landed the army under my command about three miles below this place at 3 o'clock this evening without opposition and took possession of the town an hour after. General Procter had retreated to Sandwich with his regular troops and Indians, having previously burned the fort, navy yard, barracks and public store houses. The two latter were very extensive, covering several acres of ground. I will pursue the enemy tomorrow, although there is no probability of my overtaking him as he has upwards of one thousand horses and we have not one in the army. I shall think myself fortunate to be able to collect a sufficiency to mount the general officers. It is supposed here that General Procter intends to establish himself upon the river Tranch (Thames) forty miles from Malden."

On the 29th of September, Harrison's army marched up to Sandwich, arriving early in the afternoon. An hour or so after this Colonel McArthur crossed over with his brigade of 700 men and took possession of Detroit. The inhabitants of Detroit, who for thirteen months had been under the British heel, were waiting, eager to welcome the picturesque Kentuckians and in their intense joy made the most of the occasion. The old flag—which had been secreted in Judge May's garret—was found by his daughter and hoisted over the Mansion House.

On September 30th, Col. R. M. Johnson, with his regiment of Kentucky cavalry, reached Detroit, having been ordered from Fort Meigs on the 25th by Harrison. Johnson had tarried at French Town en route, to bury the bodies of the brave men massacred there the previous January. Johnson, with his 1,100 men, crossed to Sandwich on October 1st and on the 2d, Harrison and Shelby, with 3,500 troops, left in pursuit of Procter. Some British soldiers, claiming to be deserters, came to the American camp and informed Harrison that Procter was encamped at Dolsen's Farm, about fifteen miles from the mouth of the Thames River, and that his force consisted of 700 soldiers and 1,200 Indians under Tecumseh. Procter's forces, as reported by Harrison, consisted of 475 regulars of the 41st and Newfoundland Regiments, 60 of the 10th, 45 dragoons, and from 600 to 1,000 Indians. Some of Procter's Indian allies had deserted him and had sent to Harrison for peace. Tecumseh, the greatest of the war chiefs, still remained faithful to the British and fled with Procter. Harrison's force consisted of 140 regular troops, Johnson's mounted regiment, and such of Governor Shelby's volunteers as were fit for a rapid

march, the whole, as stated before, consisting of about 3,500 men. McArthur was left to protect Detroit with 700 men. General Cass and the corps under Lieutenant-Colonel Ball were left at Sandwich with directions to follow Harrison as soon as fully equipped.

Harrison relayed his information concerning Procter to Commodore Perry, who ordered three of his ships—the Porcupine, Scorpion and Tigress—to sail up the Thames and assist Harrison's army. (Farmer's History of Detroit states that Perry accompanied Harrison up the Thames with two ships—the Ariel and Caledonia—but landed fifteen miles up the river and joined the army.) The distance from Detroit to Dolsen's farm, by water, was fifty-six miles. Before Perry's ships could get there, Procter was again on the retreat. It is related that Tecumseh denounced him for a coward and that he promised the chief he would make a stand at Chatham. On his flight from Dolsen's farm to Chatham, he destroyed much property to prevent it from falling into the hands of the Americans. On the evening of the 4th, Harrison pitched his camp near Procter's and stationed a double guard to avert a surprise. At dawn on the 5th the American Army crossed the Thames at Arnold's Mill and about 9 o'clock came upon the embers of the enemy's camp fires of the preceding night. Procter had again fled.

Three miles from the Moravian Town, Procter formed his line of battle across the road, his right resting on the Thames, Tecumseh and his Indians on the left. This was on the afternoon of October 5th. Harrison's army advanced in perfect order until the bugle sounded the charge, when Johnson's mounted troops hurled themselves like an avalanche against the enemy's line. General Shelby sent a regiment under Lieut.-Col. John Donaldson to Johnson's support, and the war-cry of the Kentuckians, "Remember the Raisin," was soon heard above the firing. The impetuous onslaught struck terror to the hearts of the Indians and they fled in every direction, pursued by the Kentuckians. After a brief fight, the British regulars surrendered. Procter escaped in a carriage and twenty-four hours later was sixty-five miles away from the field. The American loss was 15 killed and 30 wounded. The loss of the Indians was not definitely learned, but many were killed and wounded by the soldiers in the pursuit. Tecumseh was killed in this action by a pistol shot fired by Colonel Johnson, after the latter was wounded.

The military documents and reports of the British, captured on this occasion, were printed in Volume 32 of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collection. The official report of General Procter in Volume 15, page 427, of the same series, is as follows:

"October 23rd 1813.

"Ancaster.

"Sir:—

"Having decided on the necessity of retiring on the Thames, it became immediately an object of the utmost importance to convince the Indian Body of its expediency, also, and likewise to dispell all apprehension of their being deserted by us. Both of which to a considerable degree were affected by commencing with the chief, Tecumthei, and then by means of him. The Indian cause and ours experienced a serious Loss in the Death of Roundhead. On the 24th ulto I concentrated my Force at Sandwich, having previously sent off to the Thames my remaining Ordnance and Stores of every Description for which Transport could be found, and destroying the small Portion that remained, as well as the

Public Buildings, etc., at Amherstburg. On the 26th the Enemy appeared in the offing, sounding in every direction, and on the 27th landed nine miles below Amherstburg in considerable Force. On the same evening the Public Buildings at Detroit were destroyed. I commenced my retreat, and by easy Marches arrived on the 29th at the River Thames. I had immediately after the Loss of our Fleet, observed an Impatience to retire, by which however I was not influenced ere it became at least prudent. A considerable number of Indians remained; but not from the want of attachment to us, nor do I apprehend any deminution of it whilst our conduct is such as to retain the confidence of those who have accompanied us, I was disheartened, tho' I could not but observe that the idea of making a stand on the Thames below the Wilderness, A wood between the Moravian Town and Delaware the Road thro' which is thirty-four miles and very bad, or maintaining any Position on it was generally treated as visionary; and that every direction given for that Purpose was received with apathy, and I soon perceived that it would not be in my Power to occupy the Narrows on the River Sinclair (St. Clair) as I had intended, and prevent the Enemy's vessels passing into Lake Huron. I had assured the Indians that we would not desert them, and it was my full Determination to have made a stand at the Forks (Chatham) by which our vessels and stores would be protected, but after my arrival at Dover, three miles lower down the river I was induced to take Post there first, where Ovens had been constructed, and where there was some Shelter for the Troops; and had accordingly directed that it should be put into the best possible state of Defense, that time and circumstance would admit of. Indeed it had been my intention to have opposed the Enemy nearer the Mouth of the River; had not the troops contrary to my intention, been moved during my absence of a few hours for the purpose of acquiring some knowledge of the country in my rear. On the 3d Inst during another unfortunate attempt for the said Purpose with the officer of Engineers whom Indisposition had prevented waiting on me, from the 24th ulto; to the evening of the 2d Inst. The Troops, on Advance of the Enemy, retired until stoped at the Forks; and altho' the measure was at the time strongly opposed by the Indian Body, It had the effect of determining them the next morning to immediately retreat to the Moravian Town and which on my Arrival was carrying into effect; a hasty measure that made it requisite to immediately sink and destroy the Vessels and Naval stores brought from Amherstburg as well as all others that could not, from the want of Time, or means be removed, and which was accordingly done. Immediately on my Determination to fall back Directions were given and measures immediately taken for the Construction of Ovens, and a sufficiency of Peroques or large Canoes on the Communication had my intentions been carried into effect promptly we should have been well accommodated with Provisions, and not encumbered with them on the move, as I had explicitly directed, that every article of Food should be in our rear, and that Portions of it, as well as Individuals of the Commissariat be at stated distances for the Accommodation of the sick, and of the women & children, who were to be sent off as conveyances could be found. In short every measure was adopted that my experience or Enquiries could prompt for the disencumbering of my Force and facilitating its supplys. In the attempt to save Provisions and Ammunition we became encumbered with Boats not suited to the state of the Navigation. The Indians and Troops retreated on different sides of the River and the Boats to which sufficient attention had not been given became par-

ticularly exposed to the Fire of the Enemy who were advancing on the side the Indians were retiring, and most unfortunately fell into the possession of the Enemy, and with them several of the men, Provisions, all the Ammunition that had not been issued to the Troops and Indians. This disastrous circumstance afforded the Enemy the means of crossing and advancing on both sides of the River; Finding the enemy was advancing too near I resolved to meet him, being strong in Cavalry, in a wood below the Moravian Town, which last was not cleared of Indian women & children, or of those of the Troops; nor of the sick. The Troops were formed with their left to the River; with a reserve and a six pounder, on the Road near the River. The Indians on the Right. The want of Ammunition was unknown to the men, and but to few of the officers. My only anxiety was on that head, which I made an immediate attempt to secure a supply of, as the Flour and Corn, and awaited the Result of the Attack with full confidence. The Gun which certainly should have produced the best effect if properly managed, was in possession of the Enemy immediately as the attack commenced, without having fired a shot. This circumstance operated so very unfortunately that the Line commencing near the Left gave away, and notwithstanding the Exertions of the officers in general could not be reformed or the men rallied. Having in vain endeavored to call the men to a sense of Duty and having no chance by remaining, but of being captured, I reluctantly quitted the ground, and narrowly escaped being taken by the Enemy's Cavalry. I cannot but observe, that the troops do not seem to have had that Confidence in themselves, that they had shewn on every former occasion, a conduct that I witnessed with Pride and Satisfaction, and which had they felt, in the late unfortunate Instance, would I am confident, have produced quite another result and have placed me in a very different state from what I feel myself in at present. Having already waited too long for the return of Lieut. LeBriton whom I sent with the Flag of truce to ascertain the Fate of Individuals, etc. I shall no longer delay but take the Earliest opportunity of giving any information I may obtain respecting the late unfortunate affair of the 5th Inst. with deep concern I mention the Death of the Chief Tecumthei, who was shot on the 5th Instant. I must mention that the Indians repulsed the Left of the Enemy. The conduct of the Enemy's Cavalry was marked by a peculiar cruelty to the Families of the Indians who had not time to escape or conceal themselves.

"I have the honor to be Sir,

your obedt servant,

Henry Procter,

Major General.

"Major General  
de Rottenburg,  
Kingston."

After the Battle of the Thames, Harrison returned to Detroit. The victims of the Raisin were avenged; all the territory surrendered in 1812, except Michilimackinac, was recovered. Most of the British prisoners were sent to Chilli-cothe.

In the middle of October, Harrison left Detroit for Niagara. General Cass was placed in charge at Detroit with the Seventeenth, Twenty-sixth, Twenty-seventh and Twenty-eighth Regiments of United States Infantry, and Captain Sholes' company of artillery, and later a Pennsylvania militia regiment. Cass exercised both civil and military control, his title having been



brigadier-general of the United States Army commanding the western district of Upper Canada. Before winter, however, Cass left Detroit with a number of other officers and the command of the post fell to Col. Anthony Butler, with Col. George Croghan as second officer. The fort had been renamed Fort Shelby in honor of the intrepid Kentucky governor who had so valiantly assisted Harrison.

## CONCLUDING EVENTS OF THE WAR

Conditions in Detroit at this time were described by one of Harrison's soldiers as follows:

"To prepare for winter we had a heavy job before us. The British had burned the fort, leaving nothing but the heavy earthworks. They left nothing combustible, not a board or stick of timber, and we were compelled to go to the woods, from one to three miles distant, or to the islands, still further, to get logs and poles with which to build huts to winter in. Until these could be got ready we occupied tents and vacant houses in the city."

Dr. Alfred Brunson, a surgeon in Harrison's army, in a work entitled "The Western Pioneer," gives the following rather amusing account of an event which happened in the spring of 1814:

"As the spring of 1814 opened, the British were gathered in force at the head of the Thames, threatening to descend upon Detroit. A flag-officer was sent to our headquarters on some business, real or pretended, and while there a regiment of Pennsylvania militia, whose term of six months service had expired, demanded their discharge. No arguments or patriotic persuasions could induce them to remain till another regiment that was to relieve them should arrive. Their time was out and they must go, and go they would, and go they did. Means were taken to have them leave the place by the back way and not to pass by the window where the flag-officer was quartered—being headquarters; but no, they were free men now and they would go where they pleased, and the whole regiment went by in sight of the officer, in an unarmed and helter-skelter manner. This must be counteracted, or the officer might make such a report to his chief as would induce an immediate attack upon us.

"To do this, the Seventeenth Regiment of Infantry, whose quarters were outside and east of the fort, just about sundown shouldered their guns and knapsacks and moved stealthily round back of the fort and down towards Springwells, and then marched up the road by the headquarters, straggling along as if greatly fatigued from a long and hard march. It was beginning to be dark, so that they could not be seen distinctly from the window of the officer, to enable him to form an opinion of their number; but the line stretched along for half a mile or more. As the head of the column came up by the gate at headquarters, Colonel Croghan, by order of Colonel Butler, who was in command went out to and conversed with the officer in command of the newcomers, to receive his report. After talking some time, while the column was straggling by, the new officer leaned against the fence, as if greatly fatigued from the long march.

"In the meantime the door of the flag-officer's room was purposely left ajar, so that he could hear what was said in the hall between the two colonels. When Colonel Croghan came in, he reported to Colonel Butler that the troops just passing were under command of Major ———; that they were the advance of General ———'s brigade of regulars, who would reach there the next

day; that this advance had made a forced march of thirty-six miles that day, on account of the militia's leaving, of which they had learned by the express sent them, thinking possibly they might be needed, etc.

"All this reached the flag-officer's ear at nightfall. The next morning he was hoodwinked, put across the river and led some distance, too far off to see anything of the force or fortifications of the place, when he was let loose with a flea in his ear. It had its desired and designed effect, for the enemy kept at a respectful distance and made no attack."

During the early part of the year 1814 there were a number of Indian forays which caused the Americans some fear. In February a force under Captain Holmes, under orders of Colonel Butler, started an expedition to attack Fort Talbot, but after a skirmish with the enemy at Longwoods, returned to Detroit. Colonel Butler returned to Kentucky shortly after this and the command of Detroit fell to Lieutenant-Colonel Croghan. The Americans evacuated Malden on March 21st.

Detroit endured a winter of hardship and peril in 1813-14. The army itself was attacked by an epidemic, the nature of which was at first doubtful, but was finally determined to be a mild form of cholera. Hundreds of the soldiers died during the winter months and many were buried in common graves. The wood supply was difficult to obtain, owing to the presence of hostile Indians, consequently portions of the stockade were used and, as late as 1830, Congress paid claims for fences burned during this period. The Indians became bold and were constantly committing depredations against the whites. In order to stop these incursions, Governor Cass organized a volunteer company to patrol the river and roads. The personnel of this company was as follows: Judge Charles Moran, Judge Shubael Conant, Capt. Francis Cicotte, James Cicotte, George Cicotte, Col. Henry J. Hunt, General Charles Larned, William Meldrum, John Meldrum, James Meldrum, James Riley, Peter Riley, John Riley, Lambert Beaubien, John M. Beaubien, Joseph Andre dit Clark, Louis Moran, Louis Dequindre, Lambert La Foy, Joseph Riopelle, Joseph Visger, Jack Smith, Ben Lucas, and John Ruland. This company, which was mounted, easily dispersed the savages in the neighborhood of the fort.

Capt. Peter Audrain's company of spies, which served for a few weeks after the 1st of July, 1814, performed meritorious service. There were only sufficient funds available to pay these men for two weeks' work, but their captain held the organization intact for a time after this in the face of the peril of attack. Detroit citizens were very apprehensive of an attack at this time, as shown by letters of Solomon Sibley and others, and they were dubious of their ability to hold out against an organized assault by the British and Indians.

In July, 1814, a land force commanded by Croghan and a naval force under Capt. Arthur Sinclair, attempted the capture of Michilimackinac, but found the British too strong at that point. This force suffered an ambush by Indians and lost in killed Major Holmes, Captain Van Horne and Lieutenant Jackson. The expedition returned to Detroit August 23d. Michilimackinac did not come into American hands until after the Treaty of Ghent, December 24, 1814, which ended the war.

On October 9th, General McArthur arrived with a reinforcement of 700 mounted riflemen. McArthur soon after proceeded to the relief of General Brown at Fort Erie, had several successful engagements with the enemy, but returned without completing his original purpose, as Erie was abandoned.

As late as July, 1815, a number of American ships passing Malden on the river were searched by the British, who were ostensibly looking for deserters. Governor Cass resented this act with strong argument, but nothing came of it. The Indians persisted in coming over to the American side, to Grosse Ile, and committing depredations. In one instance, when D. R. Macomb found a band encamped on his land at Grosse Ile, having killed and devoured some of his cattle, the resulting quarrel ended by the death of one of the savages—shot by one of Macomb's men. The Canadians offered a reward for the arrest of the murderer, but as the act was committed on American soil, Cass ordered all citizens to resist the apprehension of the man while under the American flag.

Famine, also, threatened the inhabitants of this region during the last days of the war and afterward. A letter from Judge Woodward to Secretary of State Monroe, dated March 5, 1815, stated:

“The desolation of this territory is beyond all conception. No kind of flour or meal to be procured, and nothing for the subsistence of the cattle. No animals for slaughter, and more than half of the population destitute of any for domestic or agricultural purposes.

“The fencing of their farms entirely destroyed by the incursions of the enemy, and for fuel for the military. Their houses left without glass, and in many instances even the flooring burnt. Their clothing plundered from them by the Indians. It is a literal fact, and it will scarcely be deemed permissible to shock the feelings of human nature so much as to state it, that the inhabitants of the river Raisin have been obliged to resort to chopped hay boiled for subsistence. Many, possessing neither firmness of mind or body sufficient to sustain the calamities with which they have been assailed, have sunk into the asylum where the wicked cease to trouble and the weary are at rest.”

Response was made to this plea and on May 25th Governor Cass was authorized by the Secretary of War to spend \$1,500 for the people at the Raisin. This sum was expended for flour and great care was exercised that only the actual needy were assisted.

## CHAPTER XL

### THE BLACK HAWK WAR

SKETCH OF CHIEF BLACK HAWK—TREATY OF 1804—IN THE WAR OF 1812—  
BEGINNING OF HOSTILITIES—CALL FOR VOLUNTEERS—CHOLERA EPIDEMIC  
AT DETROIT—END OF THE WAR—CAPTURE OF BLACK HAWK—HIS DEATH  
—COST OF THE WAR.

Chief Black Hawk (Indian name Ma-ka-ta-wi-mesha-ka-ka) was born at the Sac Village on the Rock River in 1767. His father, Py-e-sa, was a direct descendant of Nan-a-ma-kee (Thunder), to whom the medicine bag of the Sac nation was intrusted by the Great Spirit. Black Hawk was trained in the arts of war by his father and established his prowess in battle before he was nineteen years of age. About that time his father was mortally wounded in a battle with the Cherokee Indians and upon his death the medicine bag passed to the custody of Black Hawk. This medicine bag represented the soul of the Sac nation and had never been disgraced. To prepare himself for preserving it unsullied, Black Hawk took no part in war for five years after the death of his father, praying to the Great Spirit for strength and wisdom to discharge his onerous duty. During that period he would frequently go to the promontory near his home on the Rock River, where he would spend hours in smoking and meditation. This headland is still known as "Black Hawk's Watch Tower."

After his five years of preparation, Black Hawk took his place as one of the leading chiefs of the Sac and Fox confederacy. At the beginning of the Nineteenth Century the white man was looking with longing eyes at the broad prairies of Illinois, and immediately after the Louisiana Purchase was made in 1803 a clamor arose for the removal of certain tribes, among whom were the Sac and Fox, to the new domain west of the Mississippi River. Accordingly, on November 3, 1804, Gen. William H. Harrison, then governor of the Indiana Territory, negotiated a treaty with the Sac and Fox chiefs at St. Louis, by which the confederated tribes ceded their lands east of the Mississippi to the United States, retaining the privilege of dwelling on said lands until they were actually sold to white settlers, after which they were to remove to the west side of the river.

This treaty was subsequently the cause of a great deal of trouble with the Sac and Fox confederacy. It was then the custom of these tribes to instruct their chiefs or delegates to a treaty council as to what course to pursue, or, in the absence of such instructions, afterward confirm their action by a vote. It was claimed by some of the Indians that the delegates to the council at St. Louis had no definite instructions to cede any portion of the lands east of the Mississippi, and a considerable faction of the allied tribes, led by Black Hawk, refused to confirm their action.

## IN THE WAR OF 1812

When the relations between the United States and Great Britain became strained in 1812, the British Government took advantage of Black Hawk's dissatisfaction over the treaty of 1804 to secure his co-operation. Colonel Dixon, who commanded the English post at Green Bay, sent two large pirogues loaded with presents to the Sac Village on the Rock River, and then went in person to superintend the distribution of the goods among the Indians. No better man could have been selected by the British authorities. Dixon was naturally crafty and thoroughly understood the Indian character. Upon meeting Black Hawk he took him by the hand and said: "You will now hold us fast by the hand. Your English father has found that the Americans want to take your lands from you and has sent me and my braves to drive them back to their own country."

Such a speech won Black Hawk, who joined the British and was with the Shawnee chief, Tecumseh, when the latter fell in the battle of the Thames. After this Black Hawk's band was called the "British Band of Rock River." In the summer of 1815 William Clark and Ninian Edwards were appointed commissioners to make treaties of peace and friendship with the tribes living along the Mississippi River, but it was not until the following spring that the chiefs and head men of the British Band could be persuaded to visit St. Louis for the purpose of holding a council. There on May 13, 1816, twenty-two leaders of the band entered into a treaty confirming that of November 3, 1804. One of those who signed, or "touched the goose quill," as the Indians expressed it, was Black Hawk himself, though he afterwards repudiated his action on that occasion.

## BEGINNING OF HOSTILITIES

During the decade following the treaty of May 13, 1816, the State of Illinois was rapidly settled and the Sac and Fox lands were demanded for actual settlers, according to the provisions of the treaty. In 1828 President Adams issued his proclamation declaring the lands opened to settlers and ordering the Indians to remove to the west side of the river. As a matter of fact, a large number of the allied tribes had removed to the west side of the river two years before the proclamation was issued. Black Hawk refused to vacate until the Government actually sold the section of land upon which his village was situated. He and his band finally crossed the river in 1830, but the removal was made "under protest," the old chief being far from reconciled to the situation.

In the spring of 1831, with a number of his braves and their families, Black Hawk recrossed the river and took possession of their old cabins and cornfields. The white settlers appealed to Governor Reynolds, of Illinois, who sent General Gaines to Rock Island with a military force large enough to compel the return of the Indians to the west side of the river.

The winter of 1831-32 was unusually severe and the Indians underwent many hardships in their new homes. Their houses were poorly built, provisions were scarce among them, and they suffered both from cold and hunger. Some writers assert that in this emergency Black Hawk fell under the influence of Wa-bo-kie-shiek, a "bad medicine man," who advised him to recross the

river, ostensibly to visit the Winnebago Indians, and secure the co-operation of that tribe and the Pottawatomi in a general uprising against the whites. Whether this is true or not, on April 6, 1832, the band again crossed to the east side of the river in plain view of garrison at Fort Armstrong, Black Hawk giving out the information that he was going to visit the Winnebago Village and join with that tribe in raising a crop of corn. His act was considered as a hostile invasion, however, by the military authorities, who feared that he would attempt to regain possession of his village on the Rock River. There is no evidence that he intended to make any such attempt and some of the settlers, knowing that the Indians never took the war path accompanied by their squaws, old men and children, expressed their opinion that Black Hawk was on a peaceful mission. Capt. W. B. Green, who served in the mounted rangers, afterward maintained that Black Hawk told the truth, when he said he was on a friendly visit to the Indians farther up the Rock River, and that the war was instigated by a trader to whom the band was in debt, in the hope that he could force the negotiation of another treaty so that he could get his pay.

Although the settlers felt no special alarm over Black Hawk's movements, Governor Reynolds called out the Illinois militia to aid the garrison at Fort Armstrong in driving out the invader and sent 2,000 men under General Whiteside to that post. Major Stillman was sent out with 275 mounted men to turn Black Hawk back. On May 12, 1832, this force came upon the chief and about forty of his warriors some distance from where the main body of the Indians was encamped. Black Hawk sent forward five messengers bearing a flag of truce, to ask for a parley, but Stillman's men opened fire and two of the messengers were killed. The few warriors then took up the fight Indian fashion, concealing themselves behind trees and rocks and picking off the white troops. As Stillman's men were mounted they fought at a disadvantage and in a little while were utterly routed, abandoning their provisions and other supplies in their hasty flight. The killing of the two warriors bearing the flag of truce was the beginning of active hostilities.

#### CALL FOR VOLUNTEERS

Immediately after Major Stillman's defeat volunteers were called for and Michigan was asked to furnish 300 men. Governor Mason directed the adjutant-general to issue a call and on May 22, 1832, that official ordered Gen. John R. Williams to recruit a force not exceeding that asked for by the Government. The same day General Williams called for 300 volunteers. The Detroit City Guards, commanded by Capt. Edward Brooks, and the Light Dragoons, under Captain Jackson, responded. The two companies were organized under command of Gen. John R. Williams, with Edward Brooks as colonel; Jonathan Davis, lieutenant-colonel; Benajah Holbrook, major; Louis Davenport, quartermaster; and John L. Whiting, surgeon. On May 24, 1832, this little force left Detroit for the seat of war, but upon reaching Saline the Detroit City Guards were ordered to return home. They arrived at Detroit on May 30th.

The dragoons went on to Chicago, where they learned that the danger was not as serious as had been represented, the greatest danger to the people of Chicago having been inspired by stories told by travelers who knew little or nothing of the real situation. After a short stay in Chicago they returned to Michigan.

## THE CHOLERA EPIDEMIC

The Black Hawk war was long remembered in Detroit on account of the cholera epidemic, which came as a result of military operations. The city lay directly in the path of steamers conveying troops and supplies from the eastern ports around the lakes to Chicago and many of these boats stopped at Detroit. Early in June, 1832, the Austerlitz, carrying two companies of regulars from Fort Niagara, under command of Major Whistler, stopped at Detroit for a few hours, and on the last day of that month Gen. Winfield Scott, with a detachment of troops, arrived on his way to Chicago.

On July 4, 1832, the steamer Henry Clay arrived with 370 men commanded by Colonel Twiggs and tied up at the landing. The next day one of the soldiers died of cholera and the vessel was ordered to depart. She proceeded up the river to Hog Island (Belle Isle) and later to Fort Gratiot. By that time so many of the soldiers had been stricken that the boat was compelled to tie up. The soldiers who had not yet contracted the disease tried to make their way back to Detroit, but a number of them died on the way and their bodies were devoured by wild beasts. About one hundred and fifty of them arrived in the city on July 8th. A little later they embarked on the steamer William Penn, but the spread of the disease compelled them to land and they went into camp at Springwells, where they remained until the epidemic was over.

Two citizens died of cholera on July 6th and the people became panic stricken, many of them closing their places of business and leaving the city. Surrounding towns established a strict quarantine against Detroit. Armed guards patrolled the roads about Pontiac, with orders to turn back any coming from the direction of the stricken city; at Rochester the bridges were torn up, persons from Detroit were unceremoniously turned out of the hotel and their baggage thrown after them; at Ypsilanti a health officer ordered the mail coach to stop until he could examine the passengers, but the driver refused and the quarantine guards fired upon the coach and killed one of the horses. Similar scenes were enacted in other near-by towns. By the middle of August the scourge was practically over. Ninety-six deaths were reported, one of which was that of Father Gabriel Richard, pastor of St. Anne's Church, who contracted the disease while caring for the patients in the improvised hospitals in the old capitol building.

## END OF THE WAR

By the middle of June, 1832, there were encamped at Dixon's Ferry, on the Rock River, three brigades, commanded by Gens. Alexander Posey, Milton R. Alexander and James D. Henry; the regular troops from Fort Armstrong, commanded by General Atkinson; the Illinois militia, under General Whiteside; and Maj. Henry Dodge's Galena Battalion. And all this military array was deemed necessary to overcome a little, half-starved band of Sac and Fox Indians, who had committed no more serious offense than crossing the Mississippi River to visit their old friends, the Winnebago, in order to raise corn for food, for it is really questionable whether or not Black Hawk's intentions were hostile. Some raids were made upon the unprotected settlements, but most of the atrocities were committed by Winnebago and Pottawatomi, who took advantage of the situation to kill and plunder, though they declined to join Black Hawk and "fight like men."

Awed by the strong force against him Black Hawk started for the Wisconsin River, intending to descend that stream and recross the Mississippi. General Henry and Major Dodge were sent in pursuit and on July 21, 1832, overtook the Indians at the Wisconsin, about fifty miles above its mouth. Here Black Hawk was forced to make a stand until the women, children and old men could retreat across the river. With his few warriors he held the soldiers at bay until the squaws constructed light rafts for the goods and little children. These rafts were then pushed across the stream, the Indians swimming and leading the ponies. When the noncombatants were out of danger on the other side, Black Hawk sent over half his fighting force. From the opposite shore these braves opened a fire to cover the retreat of the chief and the remainder of his little army while they swam across to safety. This feat was accomplished by fewer than one hundred warriors in the face of two brigades, the Indians losing only six men. Jefferson Davis, afterwards secretary of war in President Pierce's cabinet, then an officer in Major Dodge's battalion, in speaking of this movement later, said:

"This was the most brilliant exhibition of military tactics that I ever witnessed; a feat of most consummate management and bravery in the face of an enemy greatly superior in numbers. I never read of anything that could be compared with it. Had it been performed by white men it would have been immortalized as one of the most wonderful achievements in military history."

The last battle of the war was fought on August 2, 1832, at the mouth of the Bad Axe River. In this engagement all the white forces were concentrated against Black Hawk. A steamboat loaded with troops was sent up from Fort Crawford to prevent the Indians from crossing the Mississippi. The men on this boat opened fire on the red men in front, while from all sides the band was assailed by the land forces. Notwithstanding the inequality in the strength of the two armies, Black Hawk held out against the great odds for about two hours, vainly hoping for some fortunate turn in the battle that would permit at least a part of his people to make their escape. Some even attempted to swim the Mississippi, but the steamer ran in among them, capturing a few and drowning others.

#### CAPTURE OF BLACK HAWK

After the battle of Bad Axe, Black Hawk and his two sons escaped to the Winnebago Village at Prairie la Crosse. Through the treachery of two of his Winnebago friends the old chief and his sons were delivered as prisoners of war to General Street, the Indian agent at Prairie du Chien. They were taken to Fortress Monroe, Virginia, where they were held in confinement until June 4, 1833, when President Jackson ordered their release and placed them in charge of Major Garland, to be taken on a tour of the country, in order that they might see the greatness of the United States and the futility of further warfare against the white men. When taken before the President, Black Hawk said:

"I am a man; you are only another. We did not expect to conquer the whites. They had too many men. I took up the hatchet to avenge injuries my people could no longer endure. Had I borne them longer without striking my people would have said Black Hawk is a squaw; he is too old to be chief;



he is no Sac. These reflections caused me to raise the war whoop. The result is known to you. I say no more."

President Jackson presented Black Hawk with a sword, "a gift from one warrior to another," and Major Garland started with his charges upon his tour. The party arrived in Detroit about noon on July 4, 1833, and stopped at the Mansion House, near the intersection of Cass Street and Jefferson Avenue. While in Detroit Black Hawk sat for his portrait to J. O. Lewis, the well known artist.

Upon the conclusion of the tour, Black Hawk retired to his reservation in Iowa, where he died on October 3, 1838, at the age of seventy-one years. About a year later it was learned that his bones had been taken from the grave, but they were subsequently recovered through the efforts of Governor Lucas, of Iowa, and sent to St. Louis, where they were cleaned and wired together. The skeleton was then returned to the governor's office and Black Hawk's sons were content to let it remain there. At the expiration of Governor Lucas' term it was given to the Burlington Geological and Historical Society and was among the collections that were destroyed by fire in 1855.

The monetary cost of the Black Hawk war was about two million dollars, most of which was borne by the Federal Government and the State of Illinois. The aggregate loss of life of both whites and Indians was not far from twelve hundred.

## CHAPTER XLI

### TOLEDO AND PATRIOT WARS

CAUSES OF THE TOLEDO WAR—BOUNDARY DISPUTE—THE HARRIS LINE—GOVERNOR MASON ACTS—MILITIA CALLED OUT—A MIDNIGHT COURT SESSION—GOVERNOR MASON REMOVED FROM OFFICE—A WAR SONG—THE PATRIOT WAR—CONDITIONS IN CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES—THE CAROLINE INCIDENT—SENTIMENT IN DETROIT—HUNTERS' LODGES—CAPTURE OF THE ANN—UNITED STATES TROOPS ARRIVE—DETROIT THREATENED—CLOSING SCENES OF THE WAR.

The so-called "Toledo War" grew out of a dispute over the boundary line between Michigan and Ohio. When the latter state was admitted into the Union on February 19, 1803, the northern boundary was not clearly defined, owing chiefly to the fact that at that time Congress was not sufficiently acquainted with the region about the Great Lakes to describe an accurate line.

On January 11, 1805, President Jefferson approved the act of Congress creating the Territory of Michigan, the southern boundary of which was described as "a line drawn east from the southern end of Lake Michigan to Lake Erie." As a better knowledge of the Great Lake country was acquired through the formation of new settlements, it was discovered that the line of 1805 would give Michigan a strip of land across the northern part of Ohio. This strip was about five miles wide at Lake Michigan and eight miles wide at Lake Erie, which would include the City of Toledo.

#### THE HARRIS LINE

Thus matters stood until 1817, when, in accordance with an act of Congress, William Harris surveyed the line in such a way as to place the disputed strip wholly within the Ohio limits, though Michigan continued to exercise jurisdiction over the territory. The Harris survey therefore gave Ohio a barren victory and Michigan remained in control until 1835. Early in that year Governor Lucas, of Ohio, issued a proclamation setting forth the rights of his state to the strip and appointing three commissioners to re-establish and mark the Harris line.

In this action the governor was supported by the Legislature of Ohio, which passed an act creating the County of Lucas, with Toledo as the county seat, and authorizing a session of the Court of Common Pleas to be held in the new county on September 7, 1835. But Michigan was not to be caught napping. About the time Governor Lucas issued his proclamation, the Michigan Legislature passed an act making it a criminal offense, under penalty of \$1,000 fine and imprisonment for five years, for any person or persons except the officials of the Territory of Michigan or of the United States "to exercise or attempt to exercise any official authority in the disputed territory."

## GOVERNOR MASON ACTS

To enforce this law Governor Mason on February 19, 1835, issued a written order to Brig.-Gen. J. W. Brown, commanding the Third Brigade of the Michigan militia, to prevent any of the Ohio officials from exercising jurisdiction over the disputed strip. In carrying out this order, General Brown was directed to use only the civil authorities, unless a situation arose that might make it necessary to call out the militia to protect Michigan's rights. The general was also requested to ascertain and report the names of any of Michigan's civil officials or military officers suspected of favoring Ohio's claims, and to recommend others to take their places.

Governor Mason's order to General Brown awakened public sentiment in Michigan and a mass meeting was called in Detroit to consider the advisability of memorializing the Federal administration on the subject. The meeting was well attended and after hearing addresses by some of Detroit's most prominent citizens a committee was appointed to prepare a memorial, with instructions to report at an adjourned meeting on March 6, 1835. The committee's report contained a strong protest against the claims of Ohio and after adoption by the meeting the memorial was forwarded to Washington. President Jackson, seeing that Ohio was mainly interested in securing a port on the Maumee Bay, at the head of Lake Erie, sent two commissioners to effect a compromise, if possible, so that Ohio could be given a lake port and at the same time protecting Michigan's interests. These peace officers accomplished nothing and the fight went merrily on.

The Ohio authorities attempted to exercise jurisdiction in Toledo by ordering an election for town officers to be held on Monday, April 6, 1835. Two days later the sheriff of Monroe County, Michigan, acting under orders from General Brown, went to Toledo at the head of a posse and arrested two men named Goodsell and McKay who had been especially active on election day, but they were admitted to bail and returned to their homes. A few days later the same sheriff, with a posse of 200 men, again entered Toledo for the purpose of making further arrests, but the men he wanted learned of his coming and could not be found.

## MILITIA CALLED OUT

General Brown, finding that the civil authorities were unable to cope with the situation, ordered a detachment of militia to the border. On April 26, 1835, about twelve miles southwest of Adrian, this detachment encountered the Ohio commissioners, who were engaged in marking the Harris line. Shots were exchanged and the commissioners, with part of their body-guard, were captured. When news of this event reached Governor Lucas, he ordered out about two hundred of the Ohio militia and within a day or two he was at the head of this force at Port Miami, apparently determined to resist to the utmost any further arrests of Ohio citizens.

Matters now quieted down a little and on May 2, 1835, the Ohio troops were disbanded. For more than two months after this no demonstrations were made by either side. Late on the afternoon of Saturday, July 18, 1835, the sheriff of Monroe County suddenly appeared in Toledo, with an armed posse of 250 men, and arrested seven or eight citizens of that place. Some of the posse went to the office of the "Toledo Gazette," which had been particularly ener-

getic in asserting Ohio's claims, and inflicted considerable damage upon the property. These arrests and the raid on the Gazette office reopened the whole controversy. Governor Mason was determined that Michigan should control the disputed strip and ordered the militia of the territory to mobilize at a place called Mulholland's in Monroe County. Governor Lucas, equally determined that Ohio should exercise authority, called out the militia of that state, and for a time civil war seemed imminent.

#### A MIDNIGHT COURT SESSION

On Sunday, September 6, 1835, Governor Mason and General Brown, at the head of about one thousand Michigan troops, marched into Toledo, the principal object of the invasion being to prevent the holding of the session of the Court of Common Pleas the next day, as provided for in the act of the Ohio Legislature creating Lucas County. Governor Lucas, seeing the Michigan military force too strong to be opposed successfully, resorted to strategy. Shortly after midnight, when the 7th of September was less than one hour old, the governor, judge and court officers met secretly and opened court, which was almost immediately adjourned. No causes were heard, no decisions rendered, but the Ohio law was at least technically complied with and the state thereby gained a victory. The brief records of the session were written on loose sheets of paper and carried away by the clerk.

#### GOVERNOR MASON REMOVED

On Tuesday, September 8, 1835, while Governor Mason was addressing his troops, a messenger arrived with an official communication from President Jackson announcing the removal of the governor and the appointment of John S. Horner, of Pennsylvania, as his successor. Thus Ohio claimed another victory. On the 10th the Michigan troops were withdrawn from Toledo and returned to Detroit on the steamer "General Brady."

The new acting governor Horner did not arrive in Detroit until September 20, 1835. One of his first official acts was to issue an address to the people of Michigan, outlining his policy as to the needs of the territory. His views did not meet with the approval of the people, who were warmly attached to Governor Mason and were inclined to resent his removal. Soon after issuing his address, Governor Horner ordered the release of the prisoners arrested in Toledo, giving his reasons therefor in an official document dated October 5, 1835. The release of the prisoners crystallized the opposition to the new governor and at a meeting held in Detroit the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

"Resolved, That if our present secretary and acting governor of the territory should find it beyond his control, either from the nature of his instructions, his feelings of tenderness towards those who have for a long time set at defiance the laws of the territory as well as those of the United States, or any feeling of delicacy toward the executive of a neighboring state, who has in vain endeavored to take forcible possession of a part of our territory, it is to be hoped he will relinquish the duties of his office and return to the land of his nativity."

Mr. Horner served as acting governor from September 20th to November 2, 1835, and continued as secretary about ten days longer. During his short tenure of office he managed to handle the disputed boundary question in such a way as to give Ohio great advantages. Michigan was then a candidate for

admission into the Union. A constitutional convention had been held and state officers elected, but Congress refused to admit the state unless and until she would agree to relinquish all claims to the disputed territory. These terms were finally accepted and the "Toledo War" was ended. In 1837 the Michigan Legislature appropriated \$13,658.76 to pay the expenses incurred in the efforts to hold possession of the strip, which was ultimately awarded to Ohio.

#### A WAR SONG

Although a majority of the Michigan people looked upon the boundary dispute and the "Toledo War" as serious matters, there were many who regarded the whole affair as a huge joke. Some wag composed the following "War Song," which was sung about Detroit, and which illustrates the sentiment of the jokers:

"Old Lucas gave his order all for to hold a court,  
And Stevens Thomson Mason, he thought he'd have some sport.  
He called upon the Wolverines and asked them for to go  
To meet this rebel Lucas, his court to overthrow.

"Our independent companies were ordered for the march,  
Our officers were ready, all stiffened up with starch;  
On nimble-footed coursers our officers did ride,  
With each a pair of pistols and sword hung by his side."

#### THE PATRIOT WAR

A few months after Michigan was admitted into the Union, some of the citizens of Canada, comparing the condition of that country with the prosperity of the United States, came to the conclusion that the different forms of government were responsible for the different conditions and organized a revolt, demanding the independence of the Dominion. The "Patriots," as the revolutionists called themselves, took possession of and fortified Navy Island in the Niagara River, where they established a base of operations and began to collect troops, munitions and military supplies.

#### THE CAROLINE INCIDENT

The traditions of the Revolution and the recollections of the War of 1812 led many citizens of the United States to espouse the cause of the Patriots. The steamer "Caroline" was fitted out at Buffalo as a sort of privateer and made regular trips between that city, Black Rock and Navy Island, carrying sympathetic visitors to the camp of the revolutionists, and, what was of much greater importance, large quantities of supplies contributed by friends in New York, Ohio and Michigan. The activities of this vessel finally aroused the Canadian officials to action. On December 29, 1837, she was captured, after a sharp fight in which twelve men were killed, and set on fire. The destruction of the "Caroline" called forth vigorous protests from the American sympathizers, who threatened all sorts of retaliation, regardless of the neutrality laws. The war department then sent Gen. Winfield Scott to the border to preserve order and to see that the laws relating to neutrality were not openly violated.

## SENTIMENT IN DETROIT

Energetic action on the part of the Canadian Government caused the defeat of the Patriots at several points and about the beginning of the year 1838 over three hundred Patriot refugees came to Detroit, where they were accorded a warm welcome.

Among the sympathizers in the United States were many who disliked the idea of placing themselves in opposition to the Federal authorities by an open violation of the neutrality laws, yet were anxious to assist the revolutionists. These organized secret societies, known as "Hunters' Lodges," and rendered aid to the Patriots by underground methods. Others were more bold and on January 1, 1838, a meeting was held, at which \$135 and ten rifles were subscribed for the benefit of the cause. The "Morning Post," published by Kingsbury & Burnham, openly espoused the cause of the Patriots and urged the people of Detroit to contribute liberally to its support.

When news of the meeting and the attitude of the "Post" reached the Canadian officials, they demanded the surrender of the refugees. Some of the more hot-headed Canadians threatened to attack Detroit and burn the town if they were not given up. Wiser counsel prevailed, however, and the attack was not made, though the threat had the effect of awakening the fighting spirit of the Detroiters, who decided to assume the offensive. About 3 o'clock on the morning of January 5, 1838, some twenty-five or thirty men went quietly to the county jail, where 450 stands of arms and a quantity of ammunition was stored, aroused Jailor Thompson, overpowered him without hurting him, and disappeared in the darkness with the guns and ammunition. The next day the Patriots went to the landing, took forcible possession of the schooner "Ann," manned the vessel with 132 men armed with the guns taken from the jail and set sail for Fighting Island. An English vessel chased the schooner down the river and at Ecorse she was hailed by the United States marshal, who had there assembled a posse of citizens. The "Ann" ignored both the pursuing vessel and the marshal's hail and continued on down the river. On her voyage she was joined by several small boats bearing recruits and finally the whole force, including more than three hundred Canadian refugees, was landed at Gibraltar. Later in the evening sixty men from Cleveland, led by a Scotchman named Sutherland, arrived on the steamer "Erie." After the arrival of this reinforcement it was decided to cross over and capture Fort Malden (now Amherstburg).

Sutherland first attempted to take possession of Bois Blanc Island, but found it already occupied by a force of British regulars and Canadian militia. He then retired to Fighting Island. The troops on Bois Blanc Island, fearing he would attempt the capture of Fort Malden, returned to that place.

Meantime the authorities at Detroit were not idle. As soon as it was learned that the "Ann" had been captured by the Patriots, a meeting was called at the city hall for the purpose of devising means to prevent the violation of the neutrality laws. As a result of this meeting, about 2 A. M., January 8, 1838, Governor Mason, with 220 volunteers, set out with the steamers "Erie" and "General Brady" to arrest Dr. E. A. Theller, commanding the "Ann," and his crew, and to regain the arms taken from the jail. Doctor Theller was apprised of the governor's movements and ran the schooner to one of the islands

beyond the jurisdiction of the United States. The governor then acknowledged the defeat of his purpose and returned empty-handed to Detroit.

#### CAPTURE OF THE "ANN"

Sutherland now asked Theller to join in an assault on the Canadian mainland. Theller attempted to do so, but in maneuvering the "Ann" she was brought within range of the British guns on the shore and was fired upon, her rigging being so badly damaged that she drifted on shore and was captured. Doctor Theller was carried a prisoner to Quebec and Sutherland retired to Gibraltar to await the arrival of reinforcements from Detroit. To aid him in carrying out his plans, the Patriots of Detroit decided to make a bold move. On January 9, 1838, they seized the steamer "Erie" to carry volunteers and supplies to Gibraltar, but the next day the vessel was returned.

About this time Governor Mason and Mayor Howard joined in calling a public meeting at the city hall in Detroit for January 13, 1838, to consider what course was best to pursue under the circumstances. At the meeting addresses were delivered by George C. Bates, Theodore Romeyn, Kintzing Pritchette, Daniel Goodwin and others, and a resolution to sustain the Federal Government in preserving a strict neutrality was adopted.

#### UNITED STATES TROOPS ARRIVE

By this time the situation had become so intense that the United States Government decided to take a hand. On January 27, 1838, Colonel Worth and three companies of regulars arrived in Detroit, having come from Buffalo on the steamer "Robert Fulton." Governor Mason showed a willingness to cooperate with the Federal administration and on February 12th ordered six companies of militia to Gibraltar to aid in enforcing the neutrality laws. Owing to the severe cold weather there was considerable grumbling among the militia at being sent on an expedition at such a time. Two men who tried to desert broke through the ice while crossing the river and were drowned. Upon the arrival of the militia at Gibraltar, Governor Mason prevailed on the Patriots to disband and the troops returned to Detroit.

The disbanding of the Patriots at Gibraltar proved to be only a lull in the storm. Notwithstanding the loss of their leader (Sutherland), who had been taken prisoner by Colonel Prince, of the Canadian forces, they rallied and were soon as active as ever. The very day that Governor Mason and his six companies marched to Gibraltar, twelve boxes of rifles were taken from the arsenal to Detroit. That night the Patriots gathered secretly and stole the arms, but two days later they were found in a garret over a bowling alley and returned to the arsenal. On February 13th, a company of Patriots boarded the steamer "General Brady," lying in the river near the city, and appropriated about one hundred barrels of flour.

The day following the theft of the flour, a company of regulars, commanded by Captain Johnson, arrived from Buffalo. The arrival of these and other United States troops, with the measures taken by the commanding officers to secure a strict enforcement of the neutrality laws, drove many of the Patriots from the city. They went up the river and established a rendezvous near St. Clair. Rumors reached Detroit that they were contemplating an attack on Port Sarnia, on the Canadian side, and on February 22, 1838, the Brady

Guards went to St. Clair to prevent the movement. The Patriots then transferred their active operations to points below the city. On the night of February 23d about two hundred of them met at a tavern kept by a man named Thomas, five miles below Gibraltar. From there they moved up the river to Ecorse, where they were met by others provided with sleighs for transporting arms, ammunition and supplies across the ice to Fighting Island. Every movement was closely watched by the Canadians and a strong military force was soon mobilized opposite the island.

On Sunday, February 25, 1838, the Canadian artillery opened fire upon Fighting Island. Thirteen Patriots were killed and forty wounded during the cannonade and the remainder of the force, finding the island untenable, retired to the American side of the river. Here they were met by a company of regulars and the Brady Guards, who had been sent down the river to intercept them. The Patriots were disarmed and two of their leaders were placed under arrest, charged with violating the neutrality laws. They were afterward liberated.

#### DETROIT THREATENED

In the Canadian Parliament open charges were made that the people of Detroit sympathized with and gave aid to the Patriots. This was true of only a small minority, but the belligerent spirit in Canada was such that preparations to attack the city were commenced. In view of these warlike indications, a public meeting was held at the city hall on March 7, 1838, to decide what steps should be taken for the city's defense, and also to protest against the treatment of Americans who had been taken prisoners by the Canadians. David E. Harbaugh, Edward Brooks, Peter Desnoyers, Charles C. Trowbridge and Alexander D. Fraser were appointed a committee to investigate the matter and report to another meeting to be held on the 12th.

At the adjourned meeting the committee made a report favoring neutrality and protesting against the statement made in the Canadian Parliament that the citizens of Detroit were encouraging the Patriots. At the same meeting John Farmer made a report of an investigation he had undertaken at the request of Governor Mason, concerning the capture of T. J. Sutherland, the Patriot leader. It had been asserted that the Canadian forces had invaded American territory and carried off Mr. Sutherland, but the investigation established the fact that he was captured within the Canadian boundary. The action of these meetings resulted in a better feeling between the Canadian officials and the people of Detroit.

#### CLOSING SCENES OF THE WAR

During the summer of 1838 a Patriot camp was maintained on the creek called Bloody Run. It was occupied most of the time by two hundred or more men, awaiting reinforcements and an opportune moment to attack the Canadian side of the river, but no hostile movements were made. As a measure of protection, and for the purpose of enforcing the neutrality laws, the United States sent 10,000 muskets to the arsenal at Dearborn. The knowledge that these arms were stored within easy reach had the effect of dampening the ardor of the Patriots, though they still kept up the fight.

On November 19, 1838, the steamer "Illinois" went down the river to Gibraltar and the next day captured a schooner carrying several hundred stands of arms to the Patriots. On the 21st the Patriots successfully executed a counter



movement by stealing the arms of the Brady Guards, but they were recovered two or three days later.

Gen. Hugh Brady, who was active in his efforts to enforce the neutrality laws, learning that the Patriots were gathering at Cleveland and Sandusky, chartered the steamer "Illinois" and stationed troops at various points along the Detroit to prevent an invasion of Michigan and hold the Patriots in check. Late in November about five hundred refugees assembled at Brest and from there marched up to the Forsyth farm, now well within the corporate limits of Detroit. On Sunday, December 3, 1838, they were dispersed by order of General Brady and twelve boxes of rifles were captured. Three days after this affair the Brady Guards were mustered into the United States service for three months, unless sooner discharged.

Patriot sympathizers severely criticised General Brady and the military for their activity, and for a time it looked as though all attempts to organize an attack upon Canada had been abandoned, the Patriots apparently being divided in their opinions as to a plan of campaign. But a little while after midnight on December 4, 1838, about two hundred men, led by Colonels Harvel and Cunningham, marched quietly into Detroit, seized the steamer "Champlain," which was lying at the wharf, and crossed the river, landing about three miles above Windsor. They then marched to the Canadian barracks, which they burned, together with the steamer "Thames." Reinforcements came up from Malden, the Canadians rallied and drove the Patriots off with a loss of twenty-one killed and sixty-five captured. Four of the prisoners were afterward shot by order of Colonel Prince. The survivors made their escape in canoes to Belle Isle, then known as Hog Island. As they were crossing the river in their canoes they were fired upon by the United States troops commanded by Colonel Payne. The weather was severe and several of the Patriots were frozen to death.

During the engagement great excitement prevailed in Detroit and a special night patrol of about fifty men was organized. The next day 150 citizens were sworn in as peace officers.

The burning of the barracks and defeat of the Patriots marked the end of active hostilities, though a force of British regulars and Canadian volunteers, numbering about one thousand men, was on duty at Sandwich until the beginning of the year 1839. On December 9, 1838, General Scott again visited Detroit and on the 12th he delivered an address at the National Hotel on the Patriot question and urged the people to observe the laws.

Dr. E. A. Theller, who was captured early in the year and taken to Quebec, managed to escape from his prison and on December 4, 1838, returned to Detroit. The next day he was arrested on the charge of having violated the neutrality laws. He was released on bail until in June, 1839, when he was tried and acquitted. This was the last echo of the Patriot war so far as Detroit was concerned.

## CHAPTER XLII

### THE WAR WITH MEXICO

EVENTS PRECEDING THE WAR—THE AUSTIN LAND GRANT—MEXICO BECOMES A  
REPUBLIC—TEXAS REVOLTS—ANNEXATION TO THE UNITED STATES—WAR  
DECLARED—MICHIGAN'S RESPONSE TO THE CALL FOR VOLUNTEERS—TREATY  
OF GUADALUPE HIDALGO—THE HOME COMING—INCIDENTS OF THE WAR.

The greater part of what is now the State of Texas was originally included in the Province of Louisiana. In 1819 Spain ceded Florida to the United States and received in return all that part of the Louisiana Purchase included within the limits of Texas, which then extended northward to the forty-second parallel. Prior to this time no attempt had been made to found settlements in Texas, the territory being left unpeopled to act as a barrier between the United States and the Spanish settlements in Mexico. When Mexico achieved her independence in 1821, the new government adopted the policy of developing the district so long neglected. To inaugurate this policy a large tract of land was granted to Moses Austin, of Connecticut, on condition that he would establish a colony of 300 American families thereon. This grant was later confirmed to his son, Stephen Austin, who was given the privilege of increasing the number of families to 500. Under this arrangement the nucleus of American settlement was planted in Texas during the next two years.

On October 4, 1824, the people of Mexico adopted a constitution, under which the Mexican Republic was formed, composed of separate states. Texas and Coahuila were united as one of those states and adopted a constitution after the manner of the states of the American Union. During the next ten years the number of American settlers in Texas greatly increased. In 1835 a military revolution broke out in the City of Mexico, which was powerful enough to subvert the federal and state constitutions of the republic and establish Gen. Miguel Barragan as military dictator. Upon his order the Mexican Congress issued a decree converting the states into mere departments of a central government. Such a policy did not meet with the approval of the American settlers and the Austin colony soon became a "thorn in the side" of the military dictator. Under the leadership of Gen. Samuel Houston, of Tennessee, these Americans instituted an armed revolt in 1835 and on March 2, 1836, issued a declaration of independence, to the effect that "all political connection with Mexico is forever ended and the people of Texas do now constitute a free, sovereign and independent republic."

General Santa Anna, who had succeeded Barragan as dictator, was then marching with an armed force against the Texans and four days after the adoption of the declaration of independence occurred the historic massacre of the Alamo. This dastardly deed was avenged on April 21, 1836, in the battle of San Jacinto, where the Mexicans were ingloriously defeated by the Texans under General Houston and General Santa Anna was captured. The following

month, while still a prisoner in the hands of the Texans, he entered into a treaty acknowledging the independence of the Texas Republic, with the Rio Grande as the western boundary. The Constitution of Texas was ratified by the people in September, 1836, and General Houston was elected president.

#### ANNEXATION TO THE UNITED STATES

Previous to the recognition of the Republic of Texas by the Mexican authorities, the United States had made repeated offers to purchase the territory, but they had all been rejected. After the establishment of the republic it was not long until President Houston and other Americans sought the annexation of Texas, as more than one hundred thousand emigrants from the States had already settled in Texas. In the political campaign of 1844 the democratic party nominated James K. Polk for President and declared in favor of annexation, while the whigs, led by Henry Clay as their candidate, opposed it.

Polk was elected, and the people having thus expressed themselves in favor of annexation, Congress on March 1, 1845, passed the annexation bill, which was signed by President Tyler, three days before Polk was inaugurated. The bill provided that certain conditions should be complied with by the Texans before annexation. These conditions were accepted by vote of the people of Texas, which then became a part of the United States. It was admitted into the Union as a state on December 29, 1845.

#### WAR DECLARED

The annexation and admission of Texas were displeasing to the Mexican Government, which for ten years had entertained hopes of regaining possession of the territory. At the time the state was admitted the military forces of the United States in the Southwest were commanded by Gen. Zachary Taylor, who was ordered to take possession of the country and hold it against Mexican aggression until the boundary dispute could be adjusted. Early in 1846 General Arista began the mobilizing of a large force of Mexicans directly south of the Rio Grande, to which stream Taylor was ordered to advance. After establishing a depot of supplies at Point Isabel, on the Gulf coast, he moved over to the Rio Grande and built Fort Brown (now Brownsville) opposite the Mexican Town of Matamoros, where General Arista had his headquarters. The Mexican forces were soon afterward defeated in the battles of Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma and the news of these engagements aroused the war spirit throughout the United States. The whigs forgot the old political differences of opinion regarding annexation and men of all parties offered their services to put a stop to Mexican aggression. On May 11, 1846, two days after the battle of Resaca de la Palma, Congress declared that "War already exists by act of the Mexican Government," placed the sum of \$10,000,000 at the disposal of the administration, and authorized the President to accept the services of 50,000 volunteers. President Polk approved the act on May 13, 1846, and called upon the various states and territories for eighty-six and one-half regiments—the half regiment to be furnished by the District of Columbia.

#### MICHIGAN'S RESPONSE

Of the troops called for by President Polk, ten regiments were to be recruited for the regular army and Michigan was not slow in furnishing her share. Detroit was then the capital of the state and was naturally the center of military activity.

The state supplied one of ten regiments for the regular army and a mounted company for the Third United States Dragoons. Although this company was organized in Detroit, it was composed of picked men from both Michigan and Wisconsin, none under six feet in height being accepted. Notwithstanding this restriction, the company was quickly formed and was mustered into the United States service with Andrew T. McReynolds as captain; John Brown, first lieutenant; J. C. Devereau Williams, second lieutenant. This was the only mounted company to be raised in Michigan and Wisconsin. It left Detroit by way of the lakes on April 24, 1847, and arrived at Vera Cruz, Mexico, on the 20th of May. The appearance and discipline of the stalwart men made such an impression on Gen. Winfield Scott that he declared the company to be the finest body of soldiers he had ever seen and attached it to his personal escort. The company served under General Scott until the close of the war.

About the time the dragoons left for the front an infantry company numbering 118 men was raised in Southeastern Michigan, about three-fourths of the members coming from Detroit. Of this company, known as Company G, Fifteenth United States Infantry, F. D. Winans was captain; William D. Wilkins, first lieutenant; M. P. Doyle, second lieutenant. Almost as soon as the organization of the company was completed it was ordered to Mackinaw to relieve some regular troops at that place, and in June following it was ordered to the front. On the way to Mexico, the company arrived at Detroit on June 26, 1847, and was there given an ovation. It left by boat the same evening.

Company G, Fifteenth United States Infantry, was relieved at Mackinaw by a company of infantry organized at Detroit. It was mustered in on June 18, 1847, with M. L. Gage as captain; A. K. Howard, first lieutenant; W. F. Chittenden and C. F. Davis, second lieutenants. This company garrisoned the posts at Mackinaw and Sault Ste. Marie until mustered out in the spring of 1848. It was called the "Brady Guards," though it was in no way connected with the old militia company of that name.

Under a second call for volunteers in 1847, Michigan was asked to furnish a full regiment of infantry. The state promptly answered the call and the First Volunteer Regiment was organized with T. B. W. Stockton as colonel; Alpheus S. Williams, lieutenant-colonel; John V. Ruehle, major, and James E. Pittman, adjutant. The captains of the several companies composing the regiment were: F. W. Curtenius, Company A; Grove A. Buel, Company B; A. H. Hanscom, Company C; Nicholas Gruesel, Jr., Company D; Isaac S. Rowland, Company E; John Wittenmeyer, Company F; Daniel Hicks, Company G; Walter W. Dean, Company H; John Van Arman, Company I; James M. Williams, Company K.

Companies B, C and D left Detroit on December 24, 1847, and were followed the next day by Companies A, E and F. These six companies were commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Williams. The remainder of the regiment, under command of Col. John Stockton, left Detroit on the steamer "Albany" on February 9, 1848. This was just a week after the conclusion of the treaty ending the war, but news of that event had not yet been received in Michigan.

#### TREATY OF GUADALUPE HIDALGO

When James K. Polk was inaugurated on March 4, 1845, it was his ambition to acquire California, though the means by which his dream was to be realized were uncertain. The territory might be acquired by conquest; it might be secured by filling it with emigrants from the United States, who would ultimately

bring it into the Union as Texas had been annexed; or it might be possible to win the good will of the citizens, who were already chafing under Mexican rule. Early in 1846 Lieut. John C. Fremont's expedition entered the Sacramento Valley and introduced a fourth plan for the acquisition of the territory. Fremont established an independent government, known as the "Bear Flag Republic," under the control of the American settlers in the valley. When war was declared on May 13, 1846, the Bear Flag was replaced by the Stars and Stripes.

Col. Stephen W. Kearney captured the Town of Santa Fe and New Mexico was acquired almost without loss of life. By the close of the year 1846 practically all the territory desired by the administration was held by the United States military forces, though Mexico still remained unconquered.

In the spring of 1847 President Polk sent Nicholas P. Trist, a Virginian and chief clerk in the department of state, to Gen. Winfield Scott's headquarters for the purpose of entering into negotiations with the Mexican Government for the restoration of peace. Trist was instructed, among other things, to demand the cession of California and New Mexico and the recognition of the Rio Grande as the international boundary. On February 2, 1848, Trist succeeded in negotiating the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (a small place on the outskirts of the City of Mexico), which embodied these features. By this treaty Mexico ceded to the United States all her territory north of the Rio Grande, comprising the present states of Arizona, California, Nevada, New Mexico and Utah, the western part of Colorado and the southwest corner of Wyoming. For this vast expanse of country Mexico received the sum of \$15,000,000 and the United States further agreed to assume the payment of claims held by citizens of this country against the Mexican Government, provided the total amount of such claims did not exceed \$3,250,000.

#### THE HOME COMING

For some time after the conclusion of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, United States troops remained in Mexico to preserve order. On July 8, 1848, a part of Colonel Stockton's regiment arrived on the steamer "John Owen." The second detachment arrived on the 10th and the remainder on Sunday, July 16th. This last detachment was accompanied by Captain Winans' company and came from Chicago by way of the lakes. Their boat was met on Lake St. Clair by the ferry steamer "Alliance" bearing the Scott Guards, a number of citizens and a band, and the returning victors were escorted in triumph to the city to the strains of martial music.

The cost to the state of raising the First Regiment was \$10,165.85. On January 15, 1848, the Legislature appropriated \$5,000 for the purpose of raising the Second Regiment, which was organized and mustered into the United States service, but the war ended before it was ordered to Mexico. The total cost to the state in raising, equipping and subsisting troops was \$17,193.70.

At the breaking out of the war Detroit was without telegraph service, there were no fast mail trains, and news from the seat of war, always anxiously awaited, came by boat. Capt. Joseph Taylor, an officer in the regular army and a brother of Gen. Zachary Taylor, was then stationed in Detroit. Naturally he was interested in the movements of his brother and whenever the arrival of a vessel was expected he spent much of his time on the wharf, in order to be among the first to hear the news. On one of these occasions he was accom-

panied by Judge Ross Wilkins, but the boat was delayed, the judge grew tired of waiting and went home. Not so with Captain Taylor, who remained on watch until the arrival of the vessel. He was rewarded for his patience, for the boat brought the news of General Taylor's victory at Palo Alto. Notwithstanding the lateness of the hour, he hurried to Judge Wilkins' house, rang the door-bell, and not meeting with a ready response, began pounding upon the door. When the judge opened the door the excited captain began shouting at the top of his voice: "Hurrah! my brother has licked the Mexicans at Palo Alto! Hurrah! Hurrah!"

That Detroit was "not too conservative" on the subject of the war may be seen in the fact that places of business were named after battles in which the United States arms were victorious. Col. Nathaniel Prouty, who kept a hotel on Sixth Street, between Walnut Street and Grand River Avenue, changed the name of his hostelry to the "Buena Vista House," by which it was known for many years. On Monroe Avenue was a popular bowling alley, which took the name of the "Palo Alto or 8th of May Saloon."

## CHAPTER XLIII

### WAR OF THE REBELLION

THE SLAVERY QUESTION—POLITICAL CAMPAIGN OF 1860—SECESSION—STAR OF THE WEST INCIDENT—FALL OF FORT SUMTER—LINCOLN'S PROCLAMATION CALLING FOR TROOPS—HOW MICHIGAN ANSWERED THE CALL—HISTORICAL SKETCHES OF THE MILITARY ORGANIZATIONS IN WHICH DETROIT AND WAYNE COUNTY WERE REPRESENTED—CAPTURE OF LAKE STEAMERS—THE WORK AT HOME—SOLDIERS' AND SAILORS' MONUMENT—GENERAL GRANT A RESIDENT OF DETROIT.

It has been said that "War awakens in the people a patriotic sentiment that cannot be aroused by any other means." However that may be, much of the history of human progress centers about the deeds of great military commanders and their armies. Aggressive wars have been waged by strong nations for the conquest of weaker ones, or to uphold the regal power and "divine right" of kings; and defensive wars have been fought to advance the rights and liberties of the people, or to maintain established governments. Of all the great nations of the civilized world, the United States is the only one which has never declared war except to defend her institutions, or to secure greater liberties for down-trodden humanity.

#### THE SLAVERY QUESTION

One of the great wars of history was the Civil war of 1861-65, between the Northern and Southern States, commonly known as the War of the Rebellion. In this great conflict the South fought to dissolve and the North to preserve the Union of States. Almost from the very beginning of the American Republic, the slavery question became a "bone of contention" between the free states on one side and the slave states on the other. Slavery was introduced into America in 1619, when a Dutch trader sold a few negroes to the planters of the Jamestown colony in Virginia. The planters found slave labor profitable and the custom of owning negro slaves gradually spread to the other colonies. But by 1819 seven of the original thirteen states had made provisions for the emancipation of the slaves within their borders.

The first clause of Section 9, Article I, of the Federal constitution provides that "The migration or importation of such persons as any of the states now existing shall think proper to admit shall not be prohibited by Congress prior to the year 1808, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person."

The adoption of this clause was regarded as a victory for the slaveholding element, as under it Congress had no power to interfere with the foreign slave trade until 1808. But in that year an act was passed prohibiting further traffic in or importation of negro slaves. In 1819 slavery existed in only six of the original thirteen states, the other seven having abolished it as already stated. In the meantime Kentucky, Tennessee, Louisiana, Mississippi and Alabama had been admitted with constitutions permitting slavery, and Vermont, Ohio,

Indiana and Illinois as free states, so that the Union was evenly divided into eleven free and eleven slave states.

Maine was admitted as a free state in 1820 and the advocates of slavery sought to have Missouri admitted as a slave state, in order to maintain the equilibrium in the United States Senate. After a long and somewhat acrimonious debate, the state was admitted under the act known as the "Missouri Compromise," which provided for the admission of Missouri without any restrictions as to slavery, but expressly stipulated that in all the remaining portion of the Louisiana Purchase north of the line of 36° 30' slavery should be forever prohibited. During the next twenty-five years the slavery question remained comparatively quiet, owing to the admission of free and slave states in equal number. Arkansas came into the Union as a slave state in 1836 and Michigan as a free state in 1837. The admission of Florida as a slave state in 1845 was offset by the admission of Iowa as a free state in 1846.

At the conclusion of the Mexican war in 1847, the United States came into possession of a large expanse of territory in the Southwest, to which the advocates of slavery laid claim, and again the question came up as a subject for legislation. The result was the enactment of the compromise of 1850, commonly called the "Omnibus Bill." The opponents of slavery took the view that the act was a violation of the provisions of the Missouri Compromise, because it sought to carry slavery north of the designated line of 36° 30'. Four years later Congress passed the "Kansas-Nebraska Bill," which added fresh fuel to the already raging flames. The passage of this measure was one of the causes that led to the organization of the republican party, which opposed the extension of slavery to any new territory of the United States whatever.

#### POLITICAL CAMPAIGN OF 1860

In the political campaign of 1860 the issues were clearly defined and some of the slave states declared their intention to withdraw from the Union in the event of Abraham Lincoln's election to the Presidency. The people of the North regarded these declarations as so many idle threats, made merely for political effect. Through a division in the democratic party, Mr. Lincoln was elected and on December 20, 1860, South Carolina carried her threat into effect, when a state convention passed an ordinance of secession, declaring the state's connection with the Union severed and that "all allegiance to the Government of the United States is at an end."

Mississippi followed with a similar ordinance on January 9, 1861; Florida seceded on January 10th; Alabama, January 11th; Georgia, January 19th; Louisiana, January 26th; Texas, February 1st. All these states except Texas sent delegates to a convention at Montgomery, Alabama, February 4, 1861, when a tentative constitution was adopted for the "Confederate States of America;" Jefferson Davis, of Mississippi, was elected provisional president and Alexander H. Stephens, of Georgia, provisional vice president. They were inaugurated on February 22, 1861, the anniversary of the birth of George Washington. Consequently, when Mr. Lincoln came into office on March 4, 1861, he found seven states in open rebellion and with an organized government in opposition to his administration. Yet, in the face of all this, the President, his advisers and the people of the North generally, clung to the hope that a reconciliation could be effected and that the citizens of the seceded states could be induced to return to their allegiance. Vain hope!





ADMINISTERING THE OATH OF ALLEGIANCE IN FRONT OF THE OLD POSTOFFICE,  
APRIL 20, 1861



## STAR OF THE WEST INCIDENT

Early in the year 1861, before the Montgomery convention had been called, relations between the North and South were still further strained when Maj. Robert Anderson, then in command of all the defenses of the harbor of Charleston, South Carolina, secretly removed his garrison and supplies from Fort Moultrie to Fort Sumter. Anderson saw the rising cloud and made the change because Fort Sumter could be more easily defended in case of an assault. The people of the South claimed that this change was a direct violation of an agreement with President Buchanan, and their displeasure was greatly increased when it was discovered that Major Anderson had spiked all the guns in Fort Moultrie just before it was evacuated.

The northern newspapers were practically unanimous in justifying Anderson's course in making the change, and in demanding that additional supplies and reinforcements be sent to him at Fort Sumter, which would enable him to hold his position. The persistent hammering of the northern press finally caused the war department to despatch the steamer "Star of the West," with 250 men, a stock of ammunition, provisions, etc., to Fort Sumter. On January 9, 1861, while passing Morris Island, the vessel was fired upon by a masked battery and forced to turn back. It has been charged that John B. Floyd, Buchanan's secretary of war, notified the Confederate authorities at Charleston before the arrival of the steamer, giving sufficient time to have the masked battery placed in position. In the official records, the "Star of the West" incident is regarded as the beginning of the Civil war, though the popular awakening of the North did not come until about three months later.

## FALL OF FORT SUMTER

Shortly after President Lincoln was inaugurated, General Beauregard, commanding the Confederate forces at Charleston, made a demand upon Major Anderson for the evacuation of Fort Sumter. Anderson refused, but on April 11, 1861, when the demand was renewed, seeing his supply of provisions running low and having only faint hopes of obtaining a new supply, he informed General Beauregard that he would vacate on the 15th, "unless ordered to remain and the needed supplies are received."

This reply was not satisfactory to the Confederate commander, who feared that the new administration might find some way of sending reinforcements and supplies to the fort, which would enable Anderson to hold it indefinitely. In that case Fort Sumter would be a constant menace to one of the southern strongholds. After a conference with his officers, Beauregard decided upon an assault. Accordingly, at twenty minutes after three o'clock on the morning of April 12, 1861, he sent word to Anderson that fire would be opened upon the fort within an hour. At 4:30 A. M. Capt. George Janes, commanding at Fort Johnson, fired the signal gun, the shell bursting almost directly over the fort. A few seconds later a solid shot from the battery on Cummings' Point went crashing against the massive walls of the fort. The war was begun.

Major Anderson's gallant little band responded promptly to the fire and the bombardments continued throughout the day. Late in the afternoon fire broke out in one of the casemates of the fort and the Confederates increased their fire, hoping to force Anderson's surrender. That was on Friday. Anderson held out against desperate odds until Sunday, the 14th, when he was per-

mitted to evacuate the fort with all the honors of war, even to saluting his flag with fifty guns before hauling it down.

When the news of Sumter's fall spread through the loyal states of the North, all hope of bringing about a peaceable settlement of the differences between the North and South was dissipated. Party lines were obliterated. Political controversies of the past were forgotten in the insult to the flag. There was but one sentiment—"The Union must and shall be preserved." On Monday, April 15, 1861, the day following Anderson's evacuation of the fort, President Lincoln issued the following

## PROCLAMATION

"Whereas, the laws of the United States have been for some time past and now are opposed and the execution thereof obstructed in the states of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Florida, Mississippi, Louisiana and Texas by combinations too powerful to be suppressed by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings, or by the powers vested in the marshals by law:

"Now, therefore, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, in virtue of the power in me vested by the Constitution and the Laws, have thought fit to call forth and hereby do call forth the militia of the several states of the Union to the aggregate number of 75,000, in order to suppress said combinations and cause the laws to be fully executed.

"The details for this object will be immediately communicated to the state authorities through the war department.

"I appeal to all loyal citizens to favor, facilitate and aid this effort to maintain the honor, the integrity and the existence of our National Union and the perpetuity of popular government, and to redress wrongs already too long endured.

"I deem it proper to say that the first service assigned to the forces hereby called forth will probably be to repossess the forts, places and property which have been seized from the Union; and in every event the utmost care will be observed, consistent with the objects aforesaid, to avoid any devastation, any destruction of, or interference with property, or any disturbance of peaceful citizens in any part of the country.

"And I hereby command the persons composing the combinations aforesaid to disperse and return peaceably to their respective abodes within twenty days from this date.

"Deeming that the present condition of public affairs presents an extraordinary occasion, I do hereby, in virtue of the power in me vested by the Constitution, convene both houses of Congress. Senators and Representatives are therefore summoned to assemble at their respective chambers at twelve o'clock, noon, on Thursday, the fourth day of July next, then and there to consider and determine such measures as, in their wisdom, the public safety and interest may seem to demand.

"In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

"Done at the City of Washington, this 15th day of April, A. D. 1861, and of the Independence of the United States the eighty-fifth.

"ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

"By the President,

"W. H. SEWARD, Secretary of State."

## HOW MICHIGAN ANSWERED THE CALL

Although the outbreak of the war found the national administration poorly prepared for conflict there was no hesitation in the response of the loyal states. Michigan was fortunate in having a governor who was both able and willing to accept the responsibilities thrust upon him. South Carolina had already seceded when Austin Blair was inaugurated in January, 1861. In his inaugural address he said: "Secession is revolution, and revolution in the overt act is treason, and must be treated as such. The Federal Government has the power to defend itself and I do not doubt that power will be exercised to the uttermost. It is a question of war the seceding states have to face. They who think that this powerful government can be disrupted peacefully, have read history to no purpose."

On April 2, 1861, Governor Blair, to be ready for any emergency, issued a proclamation calling the Legislature to meet in extra session on May 4, 1861. Before the time came for the Legislature to convene under this call, Fort Sumter had fallen and the whole country was ablaze with patriotism. Immediately after the President's call for 75,000 volunteers, the secretary of war sent to the governors of the loyal states a statement of the quota of troops each would be expected to furnish. Michigan was called upon for ten companies of infantry (one regiment). On April 16, 1861, Governor Blair issued his proclamation calling for volunteers and directing the adjutant-general to accept the first ten companies offered.

The same day the governor visited Detroit and met a number of the city's representative citizens at the Michigan Exchange Hotel, on Jefferson Avenue. He explained that the state had been called upon for one infantry regiment "fully armed, clothed and equipped;" that the sum of \$100,000 was necessary to comply with this demand; and that the state was without funds immediately available for the purpose. A resolution was adopted pledging the business interests of Detroit to loan the state \$50,000 and calling upon the citizens of the state to raise a similar amount. A subscription paper was circulated and resulted in \$23,000 being raised at the meeting.

One of the most prominent Detroit men killed in the War of the Rebellion was Gen. Thomas Williams, who was shot at the battle of Baton Rouge on August 5, 1862. His body was first interred at New Orleans, but was later brought back to Detroit and buried with impressive ceremonies. General Williams was a son of John R. Williams, first mayor of Detroit.

## FIRST INFANTRY

From all over the state the citizens answered the call for volunteers and twice the number of companies called for announced themselves ready to report for duty. Before a week had passed, the adjutant-general, on April 24, 1861, issued his order for the organization of the First Michigan Volunteer Infantry, which was mustered into the United States service on the first of May for a period of three months. In the field and staff of the regiment Orlando B. Willcox, of Detroit, was commissioned colonel, and Alonzo F. Bidwell, also of Detroit, major.

Two companies—A and F—came from Wayne County. Of Company A Charles M. Lum was captain; John D. Fairbanks, first lieutenant; William A. Throop, second lieutenant. The commissioned officers of Company F were

Horace S. Roberts, captain; Bernhard Mauch, first lieutenant; Joseph P. Sanger, second lieutenant.

While the regiment was still at Fort Wayne, the special session of the Legislature met and continued for four days—one of the shortest sessions in the history of Michigan. The principal acts of the session were those authorizing a war loan of \$1,000,000 and giving the governor power to recruit ten regiments, to be ready for service whenever called upon by the Federal authorities.

On May 11, 1861, the regiment marched to the Campus Martius, where it was presented with a fine flag, the gift of the patriotic women of Detroit. Two days later it left for Washington, D. C., 780 strong, and was the first regiment from a western state to arrive in the national capital. On May 24th it led the advance in the capture of Alexandria, Virginia, and as part of General Heintzelman's division it took part in the disastrous battle of Bull Run. In this engagement Colonel Willcox commanded a brigade and Major Bidwell commanded the regiment. Willcox and part of his command were captured. He was exchanged on August 17, 1861, ten days after the regiment was mustered out.

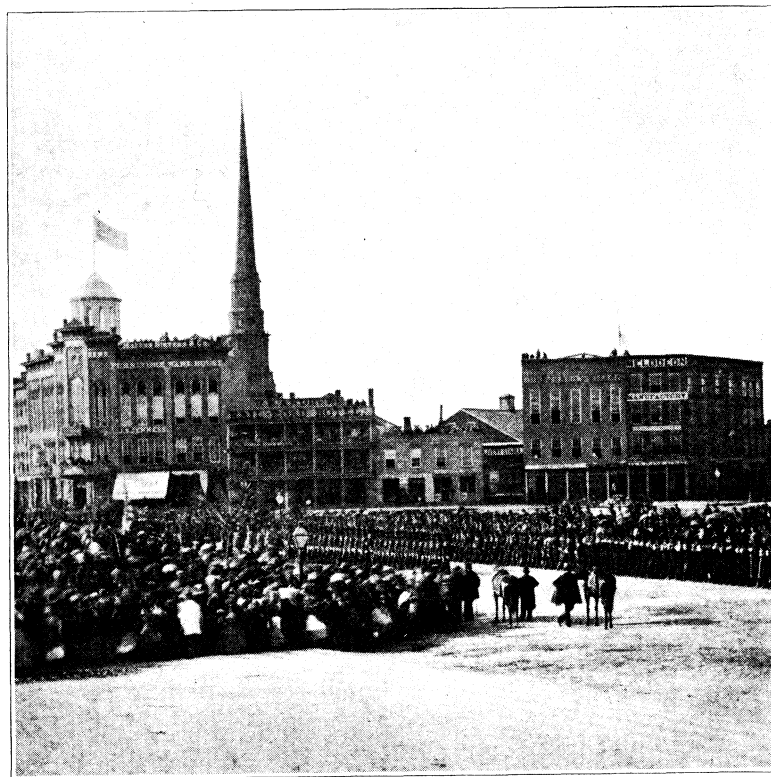
#### THE REORGANIZED FIRST

The work of reorganizing the First Infantry for the three years' service was commenced on June 28, 1861. It was mustered in by companies at Ann Arbor. Horace S. Roberts, captain of Company F in the three months' service, was commissioned lieutenant-colonel of the reorganized regiment. Company H and part of Companies B, F and I came from Detroit. Samuel E. Pittman was first lieutenant of Company B; William A. Throop was captain and Wilkins Bloodgood first lieutenant of Company F; Company H was officered by Charles E. Wendell, captain; George C. Hopper, first lieutenant; Alfred W. Beardslee, second lieutenant; and George W. Grummond was captain of Company I.

On September 16, 1861, with 960 officers and men, the regiment left for Virginia and served with the Army of the Potomac until the end of the war. It was with Gen. George B. McClellan in the Peninsular campaign of 1862; was actively engaged in the second battle of Bull Run, where Lieutenant-Colonel Roberts, then in command, was killed and Captain Throop was promoted to his place. In the fall of 1862 it was engaged at South Mountain and Antietam and later in the year at the battle of Fredericksburg. After the battle of Chancellorsville in May, 1863, it was in several minor actions in Virginia and was then ordered to Gettysburg. Under command of Colonel Abbott it arrived at Gettysburg on July 2, 1863, and was soon in the thick of the fight. Colonel Abbott was severely wounded early in the action and Lieutenant-Colonel Throop assumed command. The following year it was in the historic Wilderness campaign, which was followed by the siege of Petersburg, and it was present at the surrender of Gen. Robert E. Lee at Appomattox on April 9, 1865, which practically ended the war.

#### SECOND INFANTRY

The response of so many companies under the call for the First Regiment and the liberal legislation of the special session led Governor Blair to authorize the organization of the extra companies into the Second Infantry. It was originally intended for the three months' service, but before it was mustered in the governor received a communication from the secretary of war directing



PRESENTATION OF COLORS TO FIRST MICHIGAN INFANTRY ON  
THEIR DEPARTURE, MAY 13, 1861

Ceremony on Campus Martius, Andrew's Rail-Road Hotel on site of  
later Detroit Opera House in middle background, also spire of First  
Protestant Church.





him to raise three regiments for three years' service "unless sooner discharged." The Second was therefore mustered into the United States service on May 25, 1861, at Fort Wayne for three years, with Israel B. Richardson, of Pontiac, colonel; Henry L. Chipman, of Detroit, lieutenant-colonel; William J. Lyster, of Detroit, major. Company A was raised in Detroit. Of this company Louis Dillman was captain; John V. Ruehle, first lieutenant; Gustave Kast, second lieutenant. William L. Whipple was captain and Emil Moores first lieutenant of Company H, and John M. Norvell was second lieutenant of Company I. These officers, as well as a number of the privates in the companies, came from Wayne County. Company E, which was organized at Niles, was presented with a fine flag by the women of that city and this flag afterward became the regimental colors.

On June 6, 1861, the regiment left for Virginia, 1,020 strong. It was first engaged at Blackburn's Ford and at the battle of Bull Run the brigade composed of the First and Second Michigan and First Massachusetts covered the retreat of the Union army. In the spring of 1862, under General McClellan, it participated in the battles of Williamsburg, Fair Oaks and the other actions of the Seven Days' retreat, ending with the battle of Malvern Hill. It was then ordered to Kentucky and later to Tennessee, assisting in the defeat of General Longstreet at Knoxville. Early in the year many of the men reenlisted and came home on thirty-days furlough. The veterans rendezvoused at Mount Clemens and on April 4, 1864, again left for the front. As part of General Willcox's division the veteran Second took part in the campaign against Richmond and was in the trenches before Petersburg until Lee's surrender. It was mustered out at Jeffersonville, Indiana, July 9, 1865.

#### FIFTH INFANTRY

The Third and Fourth regiments were raised in the western and northern parts of the state. These regiments completed the number authorized by the war department, but Governor Blair assumed the responsibility of establishing a camp of instruction at Fort Wayne and the organization of other regiments. Gen. A. S. Williams was in charge of the camp, assisted by Col. James E. Pittman, Maj. William D. Wilkins and Capt. Henry M. Whittlesey. The camp was opened on June 19, 1861 and continued until August 1st, when those who had received instruction went out to organize their regiments.

The Fifth Infantry was organized under the call of July, 1861. It was mustered in on August 28, 1861. Among the field and staff officers the following were from Detroit: Henry D. Terry, colonel; John D. Fairbanks, major; Moses Gunn, surgeon; William N. Ladue, adjutant. Companies A and F were raised in Wayne County. The commissioned officers of Company A were: Edwin T. Sherlock, captain; John Pulford, first lieutenant; John W. O'Callahan, second lieutenant. Heber LeFavour was captain of Company F; William N. Ladue (promoted to adjutant), first lieutenant; William T. Johnson, second lieutenant. In addition to these officers, Charles H. Hutchins was second lieutenant of Company C, and Joseph A. Eagle, captain of Company D.

With 900 officers and men, the regiment left Fort Wayne on September 11, 1861, and joined the Army of the Potomac. Under General McClellan it participated in the Peninsular campaign of 1862 and at Williamsburg distinguished itself by a bayonet charge upon the enemy's rifle-pits. This has been pronounced by military men as one of the most brilliant bayonet charges of

the Civil war. After a forced march, the Fifth arrived upon the field at Gettysburg about four o'clock on the afternoon of July 2, 1863, and within an hour had lost 105 men in killed and wounded. It took part in the campaign against Richmond in 1864 and after Lee's surrender was ordered to Kentucky. It was mustered out at Jeffersonville, Indiana, July 5, 1865, and arrived at Detroit on the 8th.

## EIGHTH INFANTRY

A few Detroit men were in the Eighth Infantry, which was mustered in at Grand Rapids on September 23, 1861. William Mahone was the regimental chaplain and Gilbert E. Pratt was captain of Company B. The Eighth left its rendezvous for the front on September 27, 1861, with 915 officers and men, under command of Col. W. M. Fenton. It became known as the "Wandering Regiment." During the first year of service it was in South Carolina, Georgia, Virginia and Maryland, and in 1863 it served in Tennessee and Mississippi. It was mustered out at Washington, D. C., July 30, 1865.

## NINTH INFANTRY

On October 15, 1861, the Ninth Infantry was mustered into the United States service at Fort Wayne, with the names of 913 officers and men on the muster rolls. Of this regiment William W. Duffield was colonel; Charles H. Irwin, quartermaster; Henry M. Duffield, adjutant, all from Detroit. The greater part of Company E came from Wayne County. Cyprian H. Millard, of Linden, was captain; Moses A. Share, first lieutenant; Stephen S. Barrows, second lieutenant. Blake W. Hornbeck was first lieutenant of Company I.

The regiment left Fort Wayne on October 25, 1861, and moved to Jeffersonville, Indiana, where it remained in camp for a short time and was then ordered to Kentucky. During the winter it was engaged in guarding railroads, and in May, 1862, started after Morgan's guerrillas, with whom it was several times engaged. In November, 1862, it joined the forces of General Rosecrans in Tennessee and took part in the battle of Stone's River. It was actively engaged in the battle of Chickamauga, September 19-20, 1863, and in the spring of 1864 marched with Gen. W. T. Sherman for Atlanta. Much of the time this regiment was attached to the bodyguard of Gen. George H. Thomas. It was mustered out at Nashville, Tennessee, September 15, 1865.

## TENTH INFANTRY

Charles M. Lum, who first entered the army as captain of Company A, First Infantry, was commissioned colonel of the Tenth, which was mustered in at Flint on February 6, 1862. Edwin A. Skinner, of Detroit, was regimental quartermaster, and Platt I. Titus was first lieutenant of Company I, in which were several Wayne County men.

Soon after being mustered in, the regiment left for Kentucky. In the fall of 1862 it was ordered to Tennessee to join the army under General Rosecrans. It continued on duty in Tennessee until the spring of 1864, when it joined General Sherman for the campaign against Atlanta. After the fall of Atlanta it was on the famous "march to the sea," and accompanied Sherman's army up through the Carolinas in pursuit of Gen. J. E. Johnston. It was mustered out on July 19, 1865.

## FOURTEENTH INFANTRY

After the organization of the Tenth Infantry, Detroit was not represented in any of the regiments until the organization of the Fourteenth, Edwin Batwell was regimental surgeon; Frederick W. Sparling, assistant surgeon; David B. Harbaugh, adjutant; and Thomas C. Fitzgibbon was captain of Company B, which was partly raised in Wayne County. The regiment was mustered in at Grand Rapids on February 13, 1862, and the next day moved to Ypsilanti. On the 17th it left for the front and joined the army under Gen. U. S. Grant shortly after the battle of Pittsburg Landing.

While at Ypsilanti the regiment was presented with a flag, on which was a figure of Justice, an American eagle and the motto: "We come not to war on opinions, but to suppress Treason." This flag was carried by the regiment until in 1864, when it was returned to the women who presented it by a committee of officers selected for the purpose. During the years 1862 and 1863, the Fourteenth was in numerous engagements in Tennessee and Mississippi. In the spring of 1864 it joined General Sherman's army and participated in several of the battles of the Atlanta campaign, the "march to the sea," and was present at the surrender of Gen. J. E. Johnston. It was then ordered to Louisville, Kentucky, where it was mustered out on June 18, 1865, and the men were disbanded at Detroit three days later.

## FIFTEENTH INFANTRY

The Fifteenth Infantry was mustered in at Monroe on March 20, 1862, with 869 officers and men, and left for the front on the 27th. John McDermott, of Detroit, was lieutenant-colonel, and Thomas M. Brady, who enlisted as captain of Company F, was made chaplain of the regiment. At the breaking out of the war McDermott raised a company of Irishmen in Detroit, of which he was made captain. Failing to receive a place in any of the early Michigan regiments, Captain McDermott offered the services of his men to Illinois. The offer was accepted and the company joined Colonel Mulligan's regiment in June, 1861.

Company C of the Fifteenth was raised in Detroit and was mustered in with R. F. Farrell, captain; John Considine, first lieutenant; John Stewart, second lieutenant. Henry A. Peel, of Detroit, was captain of Company D, and James J. Cicotte was captain of Company G.

The regiment joined General Grant's army in Tennessee and received its baptism of fire at the battle of Pittsburg Landing. Under command of Lieutenant-Colonel McDermott, it took part in the movement against Corinth, Mississippi, and during the year 1863 it was in a number of engagements in that state and Tennessee. In the spring of 1864 it was assigned to General Sherman's command and in the campaign against Atlanta won the sobriquet of the "Fighting Fifteenth." After the "march to the sea" and the surrender of General Johnston it was ordered to Washington, where it took part in the Grand Review. It arrived at Detroit on September 1, 1865, where the men were paid off and discharged.

## SIXTEENTH INFANTRY

Col. Thomas B. W. Stockton, who had commanded a regiment in the war with Mexico, was commissioned in the early summer of 1861 to raise a regi-

ment of infantry. Practically all the men forming this regiment came from Wayne County. It was mustered into the United States service by companies at Camp Backus, Detroit, and on September 16, 1861, left for the front with 761 officers and men. It was at first known as "Stockton's Independent Regiment," but in order to give it a legal status, was later designated as the Sixteenth Infantry.

Colonel Stockton lived at Flint, and John V. Ruehle, who first entered the army as first lieutenant of Company A, Second Infantry, was commissioned lieutenant-colonel. Companies A, E and H were raised in Wayne County. The commissioned officers of these companies were as follows: Company A, Thomas S. Barry, captain; George H. Swan, first lieutenant; George Prentiss, second lieutenant. Company E, Robert T. Elliott, captain; Patrick McLaughlin, first lieutenant; Charles H. Salter, second lieutenant. Company H, Stephen Martin, captain; Thomas F. Hughes, first lieutenant; John Long, second lieutenant. James Defoe and William B. Roe, of Plymouth, were captain and first lieutenant, respectively, of Company F, and George Myers, of Detroit, was captain of Company G.

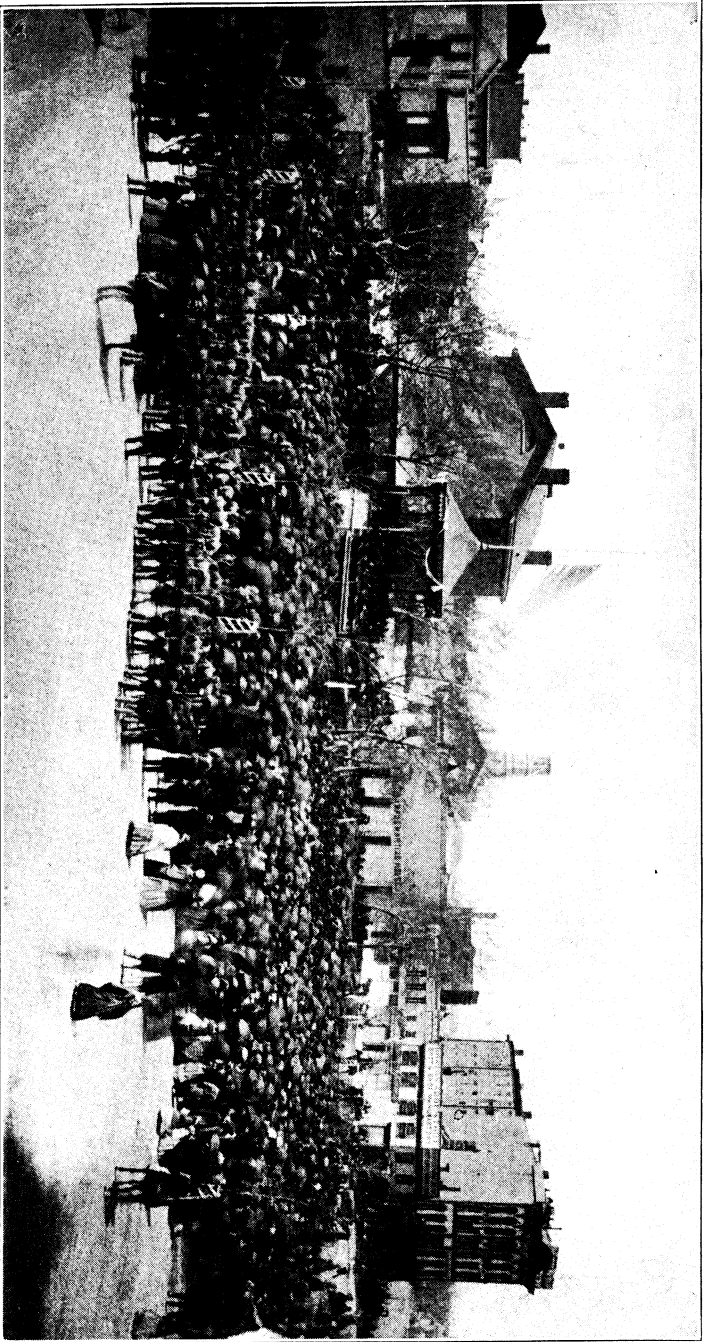
In February, 1862, a company known as "Dygert's Sharpshooters," Kin S. Dygert, captain, was added to the regiment. During that year the Sixteenth saw active service in Virginia. Colonel Stockton was captured and held a prisoner for four months. After the battle of Chancellorsville in May, 1863, it was assigned to Vincent's brigade, which, on July 2, 1863, held Little Round Top, at Gettysburg, against Longstreet's entire command until reinforcements could be received. In 1864 it moved with the Army of the Potomac against Richmond and was in most of the hard fought battles of that campaign. It was mustered out at Jeffersonville, Indiana, July 8, 1865.

#### SEVENTEENTH INFANTRY

The Seventeenth Infantry rendezvoused at Detroit, where it was mustered in as the organization was made, by companies. The muster roll of Company B bears the name of J. Cunningham as first lieutenant, Frederic W. Swift was captain and John Taylor, first lieutenant of Company F, and there were a number of Wayne County men in those two companies. The regiment left Detroit on August 27, 1862, for Washington, D. C. It was engaged in the battles of South Mountain and Antietam in the fall of that year. During the year 1863 it was on duty in Kentucky, Tennessee and Mississippi, when it was ordered to join the Army of the Potomac for the advance on Richmond. From the battle of the Wilderness to Lee's surrender at Appomattox on April 9, 1865, it was almost constantly on the firing line. After Lee's surrender the regiment was ordered to Washington, where it participated in the Grand Review. It was mustered out at Detroit on June 3, 1865.

#### TWENTY-FOURTH INFANTRY

The regiments from the Eighteenth to the Twenty-third, inclusive, were raised in other parts of the state, but the Twenty-fourth was raised in Wayne County. It was mustered in on August 15, 1862, with the following field and staff officers: Henry A. Morrow, colonel; Mark Flanigan, lieutenant-colonel; Henry W. Nall, major; Charles C. Smith, of Redford, and Alexander Collar, of Wayne, assistant surgeons; James J. Barnes, adjutant; Digby V. Bell, quartermaster; William C. Way, of Plymouth, chaplain.



MEETING ON ACCOUNT OF DEATH OF PRESIDENT LINCOLN ON SITE OF CITY HALL, APRIL 16, 1865



The commissioned officers of the several companies were: Company A, Edwin B. Wight, captain; Richard S. Dillon, first lieutenant; Henry R. Whiting, second lieutenant. Company B, Isaac W. Ingersoll, captain; William H. Rexford, first lieutenant; F. Augustus Buhl, second lieutenant. Company C, Calvin B. Crosby, captain; Charles A. Hoyt, first lieutenant; Winfield S. Safford, second lieutenant, all of Plymouth. Company D, William J. Speed, captain; John M. Farland, first lieutenant; Charles C. Yemens, second lieutenant. Company E, James Cullen, captain; John J. Lennon, first lieutenant; Malachi J. O'Donnell, second lieutenant. Company F, Albert M. Edwards, captain; Asa W. Sprague, first lieutenant; Jacob M. Howard, Jr., second lieutenant. Company G, William A. Owen, captain; William Hutchinson, first lieutenant; George W. Burchell, second lieutenant. Company H, Warren G. Vinton, captain; John C. Merritt, first lieutenant; Newell Grace, of Redford, second lieutenant. Company I, George C. Gordon, captain, Henry P. Kinney, first lieutenant; John M. Gordon, second lieutenant, all of Redford. Company K, William W. Wight, of Livonia, captain; Walter H. Wallace, of Brownstown, first lieutenant; David Birrell, of Detroit, second lieutenant.

On August 29, 1862, the regiment, 1,027 strong, left for Washington, D. C., and upon its arrival there was assigned to the Army of the Potomac. As part of the fourth brigade, Franklin's division, it took part in the battle of Fredericksburg on December 11, 1862, which was its first time in action. It was then assigned to the "Iron Brigade," commanded by Brig.-Gen. Solomon Meredith, which was one of the first commands to become engaged at the battle of Gettysburg. In this engagement the Twenty-fourth had four color-bearers killed and three wounded, but the flag was never down more than a few seconds at a time. General Meredith was severely wounded in the battle and on July 17, 1863, wrote to Colonel Morrow from the hospital in Washington, "No troops ever fought with more bravery than did those of the Twenty-fourth Michigan."

The regiment continued with the Army of the Potomac until after the surrender of General Lee, when it was ordered to Springfield, Illinois, where it acted as escort at the funeral of President Lincoln. While in Springfield it was the recipient of a fine silk flag bearing the names of the nineteen battles in which it had taken part, a gift from the citizens of Detroit. The regiment was mustered out at Detroit on June 30, 1865.

#### TWENTY-SEVENTH INFANTRY

A number of men from Wayne County enlisted in the Twenty-seventh Infantry, which was mustered in at Ypsilanti on April 10, 1863, with only eight companies. The commissioned officers from Wayne County were: David F. Fox, adjutant; Sylvan S. Hunting, chaplain; Paul Gies, first lieutenant of Company E; Warren A. Norton, second lieutenant of Company F; Edward Couse, second lieutenant of Company G; and Lyster M. O'Brien, second lieutenant of Company H.

On April 12, 1863, the regiment left Ypsilanti for Kentucky, where it remained until June, when it was ordered to reinforce General Grant's army at Vicksburg. After the siege of Vicksburg it returned to Kentucky and early in the spring of 1864 it was ordered to join the Army of the Potomac, where it served until the close of the war. Although the Twenty-seventh started

out with only eight companies, its muster rolls bore the names of 2,069 members before it was mustered out at Detroit on July 29, 1865.

#### THIRTIETH INFANTRY

Toward the close of the year 1864 there were so many southern sympathizers in Canada, who had gone there to avoid service in the Union army or to escape drafts in the South, that fears were entertained of raids upon the border states. Gen. Joseph Hooker authorized Governor Blair to raise a regiment of infantry for the protection of the border. Hooker's letter was dated November 4, 1864, and on January 5, 1865, the Thirtieth Infantry, 1,001 strong, was mustered in for twelve months, with Grover S. Wormer, who had previously served as colonel of the Eighth Cavalry, as colonel.

Companies A and C were raised in Wayne County. Of the former William S. Atwood was captain; Henry G. Wormer, first lieutenant; and of the latter John M. Farland was captain and William J. Clarke second lieutenant. Companies A and B were stationed at Fort Gratiot; Companies C, F, G and I, at Detroit; Company D, at St. Clair; Company E, at Wyandotte; Company H, at Fenton; and Company K, at Jackson. After the surrender of General Lee all fears of an invasion died out and the regiment was disbanded.

#### FIRST CAVALRY

The First Michigan Cavalry was mustered in on September 13, 1861, with the following field and staff officers: Thornton F. Brodhead, colonel; Joseph T. Copeland, of Pontiac, lieutenant-colonel; William S. Atwood, Angelo Paldi and Charles H. Town, majors; William M. Brevoort, adjutant; James I. David, of Trenton, quartermaster; Jonathan Hudson, chaplain. These officers were all from Detroit except where otherwise noted.

Following is a list of the company officers from Wayne County: Company A, James G. Stebbins, captain; Charles J. Snyder, second lieutenant. Company B, Charles H. Town, captain (promoted to major); Andrew W. Duggan, first lieutenant. Company C, James G. Fisher, captain. Company E, William S. Atwood, captain (promoted to major); William H. Perkins, first lieutenant. Company G, Angelo Paldi, captain (promoted to major). Company H, Thomas M. Howrigan, captain; Michael F. Gallagher, first lieutenant; William M. Brevoort, second lieutenant (promoted to adjutant). Company K, William D. Mann, captain; James I. David, first lieutenant (promoted to quartermaster); Peter Stagg, second lieutenant. Company L, Hasbruck Reeve, captain.

On September 28, 1861, the regiment was presented with a fine flag by the citizens of Detroit, and the next day it left to join the Army of the Potomac. Its first service was in the Shenandoah Valley, after which it was engaged in the battles of Cedar Creek, Cedar Mountain and the Second Bull Run. Starting out with 1,144 officers and men, it received recruits several times during its service, and remained with the Army of the Potomac throughout the war.

#### SECOND CAVALRY

On October 2, 1861, the Second Cavalry was mustered in with 1,163 names upon its muster rolls. William C. Davis was lieutenant-colonel; Robert H. G. Minty, major; Russell A. Alger, captain of Company C; Chester E. Newman captain of Company H. In those two companies were a number of men from Wayne County.



Under command of Lieutenant-Colonel Davis, the regiment left for the front. Its first service was in Missouri, Mississippi and Kentucky, when it was attached to the Army of the Cumberland. After the battle of Chickamauga, in which it was actively engaged, it joined the forces under General Sherman for the Atlanta campaign. In the autumn of 1864 it accompanied Gen. George H. Thomas back to Nashville and assisted in the annihilation of the Confederate army under General Hood in December. It remained on duty in Tennessee until August 26, 1865, when it was mustered out at Nashville.

#### THIRD CAVALRY

Part of the Third Cavalry was raised in Wayne County. It was mustered in on November 1, 1861, with 1,163 officers and men. Robert H. G. Minty, who went out as major of the Second Cavalry, was commissioned lieutenant-colonel, and Edward Gray was one of the majors. Lyman G. Willcox was captain of Company B; Frederick C. Adamson, second lieutenant of Company F; Conrad Highwood, captain of Company H; and Heber Crane, second lieutenant of Company I.

The regiment left Detroit on November 28, 1861, with Lieutenant-Colonel Minty in command. Its first engagement with the enemy was at New Madrid Missouri, March 13, 1862. For some time it was on duty in Tennessee and Mississippi and was then ordered to Texas. The Third was one of the last of the volunteer regiments to be mustered out of the United States service. That event occurred at San Antonio, Texas, on February 15, 1866, and just a month later the men reached Jackson, Michigan, where they were paid off and discharged.

#### FOURTH CAVALRY

The Fourth Cavalry was one of the strongest of the Michigan cavalry organizations. It was mustered in on August 29, 1862, with 1,223 officers and men. Robert H. G. Minty was commissioned colonel; Horace Gray, of Grosse Ile, major; and Walter C. Arthur, quartermaster.

On September 26, 1862, the regiment left its rendezvous for Louisville, Kentucky, with Colonel Minty in command. Soon after its arrival at Louisville it was ordered to join General Rosecrans's army in Tennessee. Colonel Minty was made chief of cavalry under General Rosecrans and directed the movements of the mounted troops in the battle of Stone's River. Under command of Lieut.-Col. Benjamin D. Pritchard, the Fourth played an important part in the capture of Jefferson Davis, the President of the Confederate States, at the close of the war.

#### FIFTH CAVALRY

A large part of the Fifth Cavalry came from Wayne County. It was mustered in at Detroit on August 30, 1862, with 1,305 officers and men. Joseph T. Copeland, of Pontiac, who had served as lieutenant-colonel of the First Cavalry, was commissioned colonel; William D. Mann, who had gone out as captain of Company K, First Cavalry, was made lieutenant-colonel; Freeman Norvell and Luther S. Trowbridge, majors; Arthur Edwards, of Trenton, quartermaster; Oliver Taylor, chaplain.

David Oliphant was first lieutenant of Company B; Company C was raised

in Detroit and was mustered in with George W. Hunt as captain; Horace W. Dodge, first lieutenant; Jacob Bristol and Edward W. Granger, second lieutenants; Eli K. Simonds, of Northville, was captain, and Thomas J. Dean, of Northville, was second lieutenant of Company D; William H. Rolls, of Trenton, and George R. Barse, of Detroit, were the second lieutenants of Company E; William Keith was second lieutenant of Company F; Stephen P. Purdy, captain; Henry Starkey, first lieutenant; Edgar W. Flint and Henry K. Foote, second lieutenants of Company H; Charles H. Safford and Henry H. Finley, second lieutenants of Company I; Hobart Miller, second lieutenant of Company K; Robert C. Wallace, second lieutenant of Company L; and George Fairbrother, second lieutenant of Company M.

The regiment remained in camp at Detroit until December 4, 1862, when it left for Virginia. To follow the fortunes of this regiment would be to give the history of the Army of the Potomac from the time it joined that army until the close of the war. It was in many of the closely contested actions of the campaign against Richmond and Petersburg, and was frequently mentioned in the official reports of commanding officers for "gallant conduct upon the field."

#### EIGHTH CAVALRY

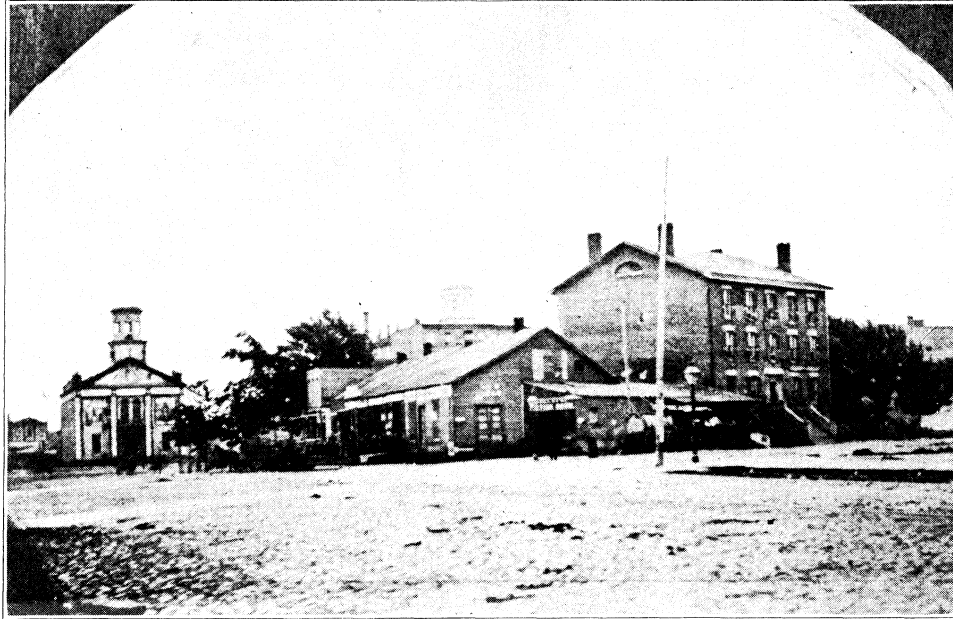
The next cavalry regiment in which Detroit and Wayne County were represented was the Eighth, which was mustered in at Mount Clemens on May 2, 1863, with 1,117 officers and men. Grover S. Wormer was commissioned colonel, and Watson B. Smith was regimental commissary. Five of the second lieutenants in the regiment came from Wayne County, viz.: Benjamin Treat, of Waterford, Company C; Robert F. Allen, of Plymouth, Company E; John H. Riggs, of Detroit, Company H; William C. D. Lowrie, of Detroit, Company I; and George Williams, Company K.

On June 1, 1863, it left for Covington, Kentucky. Just before its departure for the front, the women of Mount Clemens presented it with a fine silk flag. Its first service was in pursuit of the guerrilla general, John Morgan, then on his raid through Indiana and Ohio. Under Col. John Stockton, who succeeded Colonel Wormer, the regiment then was ordered to Tennessee, where it became a part of the Army of the Cumberland. It served with that army until ordered home and was mustered out at Jackson, Michigan, July 20, 1865.

#### NINTH CAVALRY

The Ninth Cavalry was raised in Southeastern Michigan, and was the last of the regiments in which Wayne County was represented by any considerable number of men. James I. David, of Trenton, who had served as quartermaster of the First Cavalry, was commissioned colonel; Michael F. Gallagher, former first lieutenant of Company H, First Cavalry, major; Alfred K. Nash, of Trenton, surgeon; Hobart Miller, former second lieutenant of Company K, Fifth Cavalry, adjutant; Addison David, of Trenton, commissary.

Among the commissioned officers of the several companies, the following were from Wayne County: Company B, James J. Lister, of Trenton, second lieutenant. Company C, Albert Hines, of Plymouth, first lieutenant; Charles H. Saunders, of Ecorse, second lieutenant. Company D, William Neff, of Monguagon, second lieutenant. Company F, Levi J. Mitchell, of Detroit,



OLD CITY HALL AND SITE OF PRESENT CITY HALL, THEN OCCUPIED BY FEMALE SEMINARY (THE THREE STORY BUILDING AT THE RIGHT), ON APRIL 25, 1865, DURING OBSEQUIES OF PRESIDENT LINCOLN



TRIUMPHAL ARCH ACROSS WOODWARD AVENUE AT INTERSECTION OF JEFFERSON ON AUGUST 27, 1862, TO CELEBRATE RETURN OF GEN. O. B. WILLCOX



second lieutenant. Company G, Mark W. Jaquith, of Monguagon, captain; Cady Neff, of Trenton, second lieutenant. Company H, Thomas Gallagher, first lieutenant; Henry Coquillard, second lieutenant. Company M, Paul Cornevin, captain.

The regiment, 1,073 strong, was mustered in on May 19, 1863. It left the state by detachments and during the remainder of the year was engaged in guarding railroads in Kentucky or in pursuing General Morgan. In the spring of 1863 it joined the cavalry under Gen. Judson Kilpatrick and took part in the Atlanta campaign, after which it was with General Sherman on the "march to the sea." It was mustered out on July 30, 1865, at Jackson, Michigan.

## BATTERY C

Detroit was as well represented in the artillery service of the nation as it was in the infantry and cavalry. A number of men from Wayne County enlisted in Battery A, which was commanded by Capt. C. O. Loomis, and which was mustered in on June 1, 1861, with 123 officers and men. Battery C was raised chiefly in Detroit and was mustered in on November 28, 1861, with the following officers: Alexander W. Dees, captain; Richard W. Hawes, first lieutenant; Robert O. Sinclair and William H. Sinclair, second lieutenants.

The battery, with a full complement of officers and men, left the day after it was mustered in and served in the Army of the West until the spring of 1864. It was then attached to General Sherman's army and served under that gallant commander during the Atlanta campaign, the "march to the sea," and the campaign through the Carolinas in pursuit of Gen. Joseph E. Johnston. It was mustered out on June 22, 1865, at Detroit.

## BATTERY I

This battery was organized at Detroit and was composed largely of men from Wayne County. It was mustered in on August 30, 1862, in connection with the Fifth Cavalry, with the following officers: Jabez J. Daniels, captain; Addison A. Kidder and Luther R. Smith, first lieutenants; Lewis R. Gage and Thomas J. Limbocker, second lieutenants. It left on December 4, 1862, with 168 officers and men, and upon its arrival in Washington, D. C., was ordered to Virginia. After the battle of Gettysburg, it was sent to Tennessee and was with General Sherman in the campaign against Atlanta in 1864. The battery was mustered out at Jackson, Michigan, July 14, 1865.

## BATTERY K

Of all the artillery organizations that went out from Michigan, none made a better record than Battery K, which was mustered in at Detroit in February, 1863, with the following commissioned officers: John C. Schuetz, captain; Adolph Schill, first lieutenant; Christopher Hupert, second lieutenant.

With 104 men on the rolls, it left for Washington on March 1, 1863, and in May was ordered to Virginia. The following October it was sent to Nashville and attached to the Army of the Cumberland. For some time it garrisoned Fort Bushnell, at Chattanooga, and in 1864 served by detachments on the gunboats on the Tennessee and Mississippi rivers. It was mustered out at Detroit on July 12, 1865. The following lines, the authorship of which is unknown, tell the story of Battery K's bravery and reliability:

“There’s a cap in the closet, old, tattered and blue,  
Of very slight value it may be to you;  
But a crown, jewel-studded, couldn’t buy it today,  
With its letter of honor, brave ‘Co. K.’

“The head that it sheltered needs shelter no more;  
Dead heroes make holy the trifles they wore;  
So, like chaplet of honor, of laurel and bay,  
Seems the cap of the soldier marked ‘Co. K.’

“Bright eyes have looked calmly its visor beneath  
O’er the work of the Reaper—Grim Harvester Death!  
Let the muster roll, meager, so mournfully say  
How foremost in danger went Co. K.

“Whose footsteps unbroken came up to the town,  
Where rampart and bastion looked threateningly down;  
Who, closing up breaches, still kept on their way  
Till guns, downward pointed, faced Co. K.

“Who faltered or shivered? Who shunned battle stroke?  
Whose fire was uncertain? Whose battle-line broke?  
Go ask it of History, years from today,  
And the records shall tell you—not Co. K.

“Though my darling is sleeping today with his dead,  
And daisies and clover bloom over his head,  
I smile through my tears, as I lay it away,  
The battle-worn cap, lettered ‘Co. K.’ ”

#### BATTERY L

Charles J. Thompson was captain of Battery L; Cyrus D. Roys and Thomas Gallagher, first lieutenants; Frederick J. Fairbrass, second lieutenant. Thomas Gallagher was first lieutenant in Company H, Ninth Cavalry, and when the battery was organized in connection with that regiment he was transferred to the artillery service.

The battery was mustered in at Detroit on April 11, 1863, and left on the 20th of the following month for Kentucky. It took part in the pursuit of Gen. John Morgan, the guerrilla chieftain, in the summer of 1863 and was then transferred to Tennessee, where it served until the close of the war. It was mustered out at Jackson, Michigan, on August 19, 1865.

#### BATTERY M

This battery was organized in connection with the Eighth Cavalry and was mustered in with the following commissioned officers from Wayne County: Edward G. Hilliar, captain; Augustus M. Emery, first lieutenant; George H. Moulton and George A. Sheely, second lieutenants. On July 9, 1863, it was ordered to Indianapolis, Indiana, and from there was sent to Cincinnati to take part in the pursuit of General Morgan. After the capture of the guerrilla leader at New Lisbon, Ohio, the battery was ordered to Tennessee. It served

in that state and Kentucky until July, 1865, when it was ordered home. It was mustered out and disbanded at Jackson, Michigan, August 1, 1865.

#### THIRTEENTH BATTERY

An artillery organization known as the Thirteenth Battery was organized late in the year 1863 and rendezvoused at Grand Rapids. It was mustered in on January 20, 1864, with the following commissioned officers from Wayne County: Callahan H. O'Brien, captain; Cuthbert W. Laing and Charles Dupont, first lieutenants. Soon after being mustered in, the battery left Grand Rapids, with 273 officers and men, and for a time was stationed in the defenses of Washington. Its service was then chiefly in Virginia and Maryland until the close of the war. It was mustered out at Jackson, Michigan, July 1, 1865.

#### OTHER ORGANIZATIONS

A company of one hundred picked marksmen from all parts of the state was mustered in at Detroit on August 21, 1861. Under command of Capt. Benjamin Duesler, it was attached to Colonel Berdan's First United States Sharpshooters. Two companies from Michigan were afterward added to this regiment. A number of men in Company K were credited to Wayne County. Of this company Spencer J. Mather was captain and Caleb B. Davis was second lieutenant.

In April, 1862, a company called the Stanton Guard was organized at Detroit by Grover S. Wormer, to act as a guard over General Burrows, Judge Hill and General Harding, who had been arrested by the Federal authorities on the charge of treason and confined at Mackinaw. The company was mustered in on May 10, 1862, and left immediately for Mackinaw. About the middle of September, 1862, the prisoners were released and the Stanton Guard was discharged on the 25th.

On January 5, 1863, the Provost Guard company was mustered in at Detroit, with Erastus D. Robinson, captain; John Vanstan, first lieutenant; Hubbard Smith, second lieutenant. About a year before this company was organized, the United States Government leased ten acres of the Joseph Campau farm, on Clinton Avenue, and erected thereon the Detroit Barracks, with quarters for 10,000 men. The Provost Guard was stationed at these barracks. The members of the company acted as military police and assisted in enforcing the draft law, under which 532 men were drafted in 1863 from the First Congressional District, which included Detroit. The Provost Guard was mustered out on May 9, 1865.

In July, 1863, Col. Henry Barnes, an officer of the regular army, was stationed at Detroit and was commissioned to raise a regiment of negro troops. The regiment was completed early in the following year and on February 17, 1864, was mustered in, 895 strong, as the One Hundred and Second United States Infantry. It left Detroit on the 28th of March and joined the Ninth Army Corps, in the Army of the Potomac, where it served until the close of the war.

Major Rankin, of Windsor, Canada, raised a company of lancers, composed of men selected for their superb physical qualifications, and tendered their services to the United States. The people of Detroit were highly pleased at this manifestation of friendship on the part of their neighbors across the river, but the

war department declined the offer, deeming it inadvisable to accept any troops from a foreign power.

According to the United States census for 1860, the population of Michigan was 751,110. Detroit's population at that time was 45,619, and the population of Wayne County was 75,547. During the war the total number of men furnished by the state was 90,747 and Wayne County furnished 9,313, about two-thirds of the number coming from the City of Detroit. On July 4, 1866, the 123 battle-flags that had been carried by Michigan's regiments, stained by arduous service and marked by bullet holes, were presented to the State, to be preserved as relics of the great conflict. Many of the old veterans came to Detroit to witness the ceremony, and more than one eye was moist as they looked upon the colors they had followed to victory in some of the greatest battles of the war. Mayor Merrill I. Mills welcomed the soldiers in a brief but appropriate address. Gen. Orlando B. Willcox presented the flags, which were accepted by Gov. Henry H. Crapo, on behalf of the state. The veterans were afterward entertained at a banquet provided by the citizens of the city.

#### CAPTURE OF LAKE STEAMERS

During the first two years of the war a number of Confederate refugees and Southern sympathizers found an asylum in Canada, where they began plotting against the Union. In November, 1863, the governor of the Dominion telegraphed to Lord Lyons, the British minister at Washington, that there were reasons to believe these persons contemplated a raid upon some of the border cities of the United States, particularly Detroit and Buffalo.

For almost a year after this communication was sent to the British minister, no overt act was attempted. Then a conspiracy was formed for the purpose of capturing steamers plying upon the waters of the Great Lakes, setting free and arming the Confederate prisoners on Johnson's Island, near Sandusky, and then raiding the cities that had been most active in raising troops. What followed is thus described in the adjutant-general's report:

"On September 19, 1864, they concluded to make the attempt by seizure of the steamer 'Philo Parsons,' belonging to Detroit, and running as a passenger boat from that point to Sandusky, in the State of Ohio. On the morning of the day referred to, four of the raiders, including Bennett G. Burley, one of their apparent leaders, took passage on said boat at Detroit. On her way down the Detroit River, on her passage to Sandusky, she landed at the Canadian ports of Sandwich and Amherstburg, where the balance of the raiders got on board, the whole, as has since been ascertained, numbering about thirty. The following condensed depositions of W. O. Ashley and D. C. Nichols, belonging to the steamer, taken as evidence on the extradition trial of Burley at Toronto, in Canada, gave a full account of the occurrences on board the 'Philo Parsons' during the time the raiders had possession of her.

"These depositions showed that the steamboat 'Philo Parsons' was owned by the informant Ashley and other citizens of Detroit, that this vessel was a licensed passenger and freight boat, and was plying between the City of Detroit in the State of Michigan and the City of Sandusky in the State of Ohio, and was accustomed to touch in this route at the Canadian port of Amherstburg, and occasionally at Sandwich, and sometimes at Windsor, Canada. Ashley was clerk on board the steamer. On Sunday evening, the 18th of September, she was lying at the City of Detroit. The prisoner came on board and said



to Ashley that he intended to go down in the morning and that three of his friends were going with him, and requested that the boat might stop at Sandwich to take them. Ashley told the prisoner that if he took the boat at Detroit and his party was ready, the boat would call for them at Sandwich. The prisoner came on board the next morning and reminded Ashley of his promise. The boat was stopped at Sandwich and three persons came on board without baggage or freight. They were dressed in the Canadian style. The prisoner said his friends were taking a pleasure trip and would probably stop at Kelly's Island.

"At Amherstburg twenty men or more came on board, roughly dressed, and paid their fare to Sandusky. The only baggage taken on board at Amherstburg was a large, old trunk, tied with a cord. In the ordinary course, the steamer should have reached Sandusky about 5 o'clock P. M. Neither the prisoner nor his three friends apparently recognized the men who came on board at Amherstburg. The boat reached Kelly's Island about 4 P. M. and proceeded south from that island toward Sandusky, Kelly's Island being in the State of Ohio and about five miles from the main shore of the United States. After proceeding about two miles, three men came up to Ashley, drawing revolvers, saying he was a dead man if he offered resistance. Two of them Ashley thought came on board at Sandwich. At this time the prisoner came forward with a revolver in his hand, followed by from twenty-eight to thirty-five men. He leveled the revolver at Ashley, ordering him into the ladies' cabin, where Ashley immediately went, and from which he saw these parties arm themselves from the trunk brought on board at Amherstburg, most of them having two revolvers and some having hatchets. \* \* \*

"Two men guarded Ashley and they told him they intended to capture the United States steamer 'Michigan,' a war vessel. The prisoner acted as one having authority. His commands were obeyed. Another steamer called the 'Island Queen,' was seized by the same party at Middle Bass Island and the passengers were brought as prisoners on board the 'Philo Parsons.' A person named Captain Bell was one of the prisoner's party and gave some orders. He told Ashley he wanted him in the office. Ashley went with him and the prisoner. Ashley requested permission to take off the boat's books. They refused. Ashley then said he had some private promissory notes amounting to about two thousand dollars. The prisoner took them, said he could not collect them and returned them to Ashley. Bell then said to Ashley, 'We want your money.' He and the prisoners then had revolvers in their hands. Ashley swore he was in bodily fear, but did not consider his life in danger, if he did their bidding. He opened the money drawer. There was very little money there. Burley then said, 'You have more money; let's have it.' Ashley took a roll of bills from his vest pocket and laid it on the desk. Bell took part and the prisoner took part, and they took the money in the drawer (about \$10) between them. \* \* \*

"Directly after the money was taken, Ashley was put ashore at Middle Bass by Captain Bell and the prisoner. The 'Philo Parsons' then steered for Sandusky with the 'Island Queen' tied alongside, which last boat was cast adrift in about a half an hour. Some of the party said they intended to release the prisoners on Johnson's Island, which is in the State of Ohio, about two miles from Sandusky. The 'Michigan' was lying off Johnson's Island, supposed to guard it. There were about three thousand prisoners of war there, Confederate officers and soldiers. There were about twenty-five United States soldiers

on board the 'Island Queen.' These were captured by Bell and the prisoner and their followers.

"Nichols confirmed Ashley's story in its essential parts. He was in the pilot house when Captain Bell entered and told him he was a Confederate and had seized the boat and took him (Nichols) prisoner. Afterward the 'Philo Parsons' was steered back toward Detroit and some of the passengers who had been taken prisoners were landed on the American shore. When they had reached the Detroit River on the return trip, some of the party asked Nichols where they were and he informed them they were in Canadian waters. Some of them said it was well for some of the vessels near them, or they would board them. \* \* \* At Fighting Island Nichols and others of the crew of the 'Philo Parsons' and the 'Island Queen' were put ashore and the boat proceeded on to Sandwich. Nichols followed them and found the 'Parsons' there, deserted by the whole party. A piano and a mirror, and some other articles of furniture had been stolen from the boat. The male passengers who had been taken were, before being landed, sworn to keep silent as to the transaction for twenty-four hours. The female prisoners were asked to do likewise. When coming back up the Detroit River some of the party said they had not made much by going down. They had intended to take the war vessel 'Michigan' if they could, and they raised the Confederate flag on the 'Philo Parsons' while in Lake Erie.

"That the Confederate Government was implicated in the raid and that it was made by the consent of that government is evident from a commission to Burley as acting master in the Confederate navy, signed by Jefferson Davis. The president of the Confederacy afterward verified that by a manifesto issued after the arrest of Burley, in which he said the expedition to capture the 'Michigan' and release the Confederate prisoners was a legitimate act of belligerency and was undertaken under orders from the Confederate Government.

"The plot was known to the military authorities of Michigan and Capt. J. C. Carter, of the 'Michigan' was informed that some of his officers and men had been tampered with. In offering a loyal friend of the United States an unusual inducement to become a member of the party, the scheme was laid bare. This man, a former Confederate, who lived at Windsor, informed Lieut.-Col. B. H. Hill of the plot and told that officer that the Confederates had said, with the 'Michigan' in their possession, they could command the lakes for a few months and place the American cities along their shores under tribute. The man who approached the Windsor friend of the United States, said he had been informed that a man named Cole, who had tampered with the officers and men of the 'Michigan,' found that an officer named Eddy and a number of the men were too loyal to the United States to do anything with, and it was the design to dispose of these men by drugging them."

Through Lieutenant-Colonel Hill it was learned that the Confederate agent in Canada who organized this raid was Jacob Thompson, formerly secretary of the interior under President Buchanan. Hill sent a telegram to Captain Carter, commanding the "Michigan," which led to the arrest of the man Cole and others of Sandusky who were implicated in the plot. The conspirators expected the "Michigan" to come out to meet the "Parsons," when an attempt would be made to capture the war vessel. It did not do so, because so many rumors had reached Captain Carter of plots to seize the vessel and release the

prisoners on Johnson's Island that he deemed it unwise to sail very far from that island. As he did not give the raiders an opportunity to attempt the capture of his vessel, it was never learned how many of the men on board had been approached or won over to the Burley enterprise.

#### THE WORK AT HOME

While the soldiers from Wayne County were faithfully discharging their duties in the field, their friends at home were not laggards in the cause. The state military board was organized at the beginning of the war and was composed of Gen. A. S. Williams, Col. H. M. Whittlesey, Col. A. W. Williams and Col. C. W. Leffingwell, with the adjutant-general and quartermaster-general as ex-officio members. J. H. Fountain, of Manchester, was quartermaster-general, upon whom devolved the duty of clothing, equipping and subsisting troops, under contracts made by the military contract board, composed of Col. E. O. Grosvenor, Col. Jerome Croul and Col. William Hammond. The quartermaster-general was ably assisted by Friend Palmer, of Detroit, and Col. James E. Pittman, of Detroit, was paymaster for the state troops. Through the united efforts of these men the Michigan soldiers went to the front as well equipped as those of any state in the Union. Some changes were made in the board during the war, but its efficiency was never relaxed for a moment.

The Ladies' Soldiers' Aid Society was organized on November 6, 1861, with Mrs. Isabella G. Duffield as president. It is said to have been the first society of its kind in the United States. Prior to its organization, Mrs. Duffield and Mrs. Morse Stewart, her daughter, had been active in obtaining and forwarding hospital supplies to the front. The society continued in existence during the war. Its presidents were: Mrs. Isabella G. Duffield, Mrs. Theodore Romeyn, Mrs. John Palmer and Mrs. Bela Hubbard. Vice presidents: Mrs. John Owen, Mrs. N. Adams, Miss Sarah A. Sibley and Mrs. Henry L. Chipman. Secretaries: Mrs. Sarah T. Bingham, Mrs. Kate E. Stevens, Mrs. O. T. Stevens and Miss Lizzie Woodhams. Corresponding Secretary: Miss Valeria Campbell. Treasurers: Mrs. D. P. Bushnell, Mrs. W. N. Carpenter, Mrs. O. T. Sabin, Mrs. Henry L. Chipman and Mrs. George Andrews. These patriotic women were also the officers of the Michigan branch of the United States Sanitary Commission. Members of the society visited the soldiers in hospitals and hundreds of packages containing medicines, bandages and delicacies found their way to the sick and wounded through this channel.

In April, 1862, the Michigan Soldiers' Relief Association was formed by citizens of Detroit. John Owen was elected president; P. E. DeMill, B. Vernor and J. V. Campbell, vice presidents; B. Vernor, secretary; William A. Butler, treasurer. This association sent many packages of supplies and delicacies to the troops in the field, and aided materially in sustaining the Soldiers' Home in Detroit. In 1864 a coalition was formed with the Ladies' Soldiers' Aid Society and the money raised and expended by the two amounted to about fifty thousand dollars, all raised by private contributions.

Early in June, 1863, at a public meeting in Chicago, Rev. C. P. Lyford was engaged to organize a branch of the United States Christian Commission in Detroit. The organization was perfected on June 15, 1864, with E. C. Walker as chairman; C. F. Clark, secretary; H. P. Baldwin, treasurer; Caleb Ives, Francis Raymond, David Preston and J. S. Vernor, associates. More than thirty thousand dollars were collected and expended by this organization and

delegates sent by the commission visited the field hospitals. Frequent public meetings were held during the war, at which money was subscribed for paying soldiers' bounties, caring for their families, etc. Under an act of the Michigan Legislature, approved on May 4, 1861, and supplementary acts, persons were appointed to ascertain and report cases of soldiers' families that stood in need of relief. From the time President Lincoln issued his first call for volunteers to the return of the regiments in 1865, Wayne County appropriated the following sums:

For general military purposes.....	\$660,554.88
For soldiers' bounties.....	369,428.88
For soldiers' relief.....	547,200.00

Total.....\$1,577,183.76

The city council of Detroit also made liberal appropriations for all those purposes, and the amount raised by private subscription aggregated thousands of dollars. In addition to all this, the records do not show how much relief was given to the wives and children of the "Boys in Blue" by the well-to-do farmers of the county. Near neighbors could learn the wants of soldiers' families much easier in many cases than could committees appointed by societies or civic authorities. The relief thus afforded was that kind of charity which "lets not the left hand know what the right hand doeth." Many a basket of potatoes, many a sack of flour, went from some farmer's home to feed the loved ones of a soldier engaged in fighting the battles of his country.

#### SOLDIERS' MONUMENT

At a public meeting held on July 20, 1861, to consider subjects connected with the prosecution of the war, a resolution to erect a monument to "our heroic dead" was adopted and a committee was appointed to take the preliminary steps for carrying the resolution into effect. In the work of raising troops and providing supplies for soldiers' families, etc., the monument project was allowed to rest until the war was over. The return of the troops in 1865, renewed interest in the matter.

The first public meeting called to discuss the question of a Soldiers' and Sailors' Monument, was held in Young Men's Hall on the last day of August, 1865. It was called by a committee consisting of Judge B. F. H. Witherell, Col. E. Backus, of the United States army, Charles C. Trowbridge, J. W. Tillman, T. W. Palmer and Gen. Henry A. Morrow. At the meeting \$9,500 were subscribed toward the erection of the monument. An association was formed, of which B. F. H. Witherell was elected president; Gen. H. A. Morrow, vice president; J. W. Romeyn, secretary; J. W. Tillman, treasurer; C. C. Trowbridge, John Owen, H. P. Baldwin, J. F. Conover, H. N. Walker, S. M. Cutcheon, C. I. Walker and ex-Gov. Austin Blair, executive committee. Rev. George Taylor, as the principal financial agent of the association, raised a large part of the funds, several thousand dollars being contributed by the school children of the state. The Masonic fraternity, the Independent Order of Odd Fellows, the Grand Army of the Republic, the Ladies' Auxiliary Monument Associations and other societies also contributed large sums.

Competing designs were advertised for on February 26, 1867, and on June 7, 1867, the design submitted by Randolph Rogers was accepted. Mr. Rogers was a former resident of Ann Arbor, but at the time he submitted his design



UNVEILING OF SOLDIERS' AND SAILORS' MONUMENT, CAMPUS  
MARTIUS, APRIL 2, 1872



was in Rome. The corner stone was laid on July 4, 1867, in East Grand Circus Park, but was afterward removed at the suggestion of Mr. Rogers to the Campus Martius. The monument was erected by J. G. Batterson, of Hartford, Connecticut. It was unveiled on April 9, 1872, with appropriate ceremonies, which were witnessed by thousands of people from all parts of the state.

The body of the monument is constructed of granite from Westerly, Rhode Island, and is forty-six feet in height. The general design of the monument consists of four sections. On the granite buttresses of the first section, at the four corners of the monument, are four large bronze eagles with outstretched wings. On the buttresses of the second section are bronze figures representing the four departments of arms—infantry, cavalry, artillery and marine. The third section presents four allegorical figures representing Victory, Union, Emancipation and History. The fourth section, the crowning figure, is a bronze statue eleven feet high, representing the State of Michigan. This figure has been compared to a "semi-civilized queen," bearing a sword in her right hand and a shield on her left arm, standing in the attitude of rushing forward ready to thrust her sword into an enemy. On the four sides of the monument are bronze medallions of Lincoln, Grant, Sherman and Farragut. The bronzes were cast in Munich, Germany, and the total cost of the monument was a little over seventy thousand dollars. The monument also bears the following inscription:

Erected by  
The People of Michigan  
in Honor of  
The Martyrs who fell  
and the Heroes who Fought  
in Defense of  
Liberty and Union.

GENERAL GRANT A RESIDENT OF DETROIT

Ulysses Simpson Grant was born at Point Pleasant, Ohio, April 27, 1822. He was named by his parents Hiram Ulysses Grant. His father, Jesse Root Grant, was a tanner, but the son did not like that occupation and he obtained an appointment in the military academy at West Point. Here, by some mistake in making his application for entrance, he was designated Ulysses Sidney Grant. An effort was made to correct the name, but failed. The name was changed to Ulysses Simpson Grant and so remained during his life.

After graduation he remained in the army and was stationed at various places. He was in the Mexican War in 1846 as a lieutenant, but soon received the promotion to a captaincy. He married Miss Julia Dent of St. Louis, August 22, 1848, and was stationed in Detroit in 1849. It was at this time that he occupied the building that is herein referred to as the Grant House. In 1852 he went to California with the army and there resigned his commission and returned to St. Louis.

His wife's father gave him a small farm which he attempted to manage, the work being done by three slaves that he owned. He was not successful in farming and became a real estate dealer. At this he was equally unsuccessful. He then entered into the tanning business with his brother in Galena, Illinois. Upon the breaking out of the Civil War, he again entered the army. His subse-

quent career as colonel, general and President of the United States need not be recited. He died July 23, 1885.

The house in Detroit generally known as the Grant House, at one time the home of U. S. Grant, was located at Number 253 Fort Street, East.

The house was built on lot 41 of the Mullett Farm. The farm of which this lot forms a part, derives its name from John Mullett an old time surveyor and former owner. It was platted into village lots about the year 1835 by James A. Armstrong, who was then the owner of this part of the farm. Lot 41 was sold to Michel Riche in 1835.

Captain Grant was stationed at Detroit with his company in 1849 and remained until 1851.

The barracks for the soldiers was on the Mullett Farm a little way below Gratiot Avenue, and Captain Grant sought a place for a residence near the soldiers. At this time the houses were not numbered and the city directory gives the location of the houses and names of the occupants without giving house numbers. Grant occupied the house above described from April, 1849, until May 25, 1850.

His son, Gen. Frederick Grant, was born in St. Louis, May 30, 1850, and came to Detroit with his mother when the boy was about a month old. This would be in July, 1850. The family from that date occupied a new two-story frame building owned by Washington A. Bacon, which was located on the north side of Jefferson Avenue, the second house east of Russell Street. Captain Grant left Detroit June 11, 1851. This agrees with the statements made by Gen. Frederick Grant, who said that he lived in Detroit about a year. It appears from the foregoing that Gen. Frederick Grant never lived in the Grant House, (253 Fort St. East) for his father surrendered that house to his landlord on May 25, 1850 and the son was not born until May 30, 1850, and did not come to Detroit until about July 1, 1850.

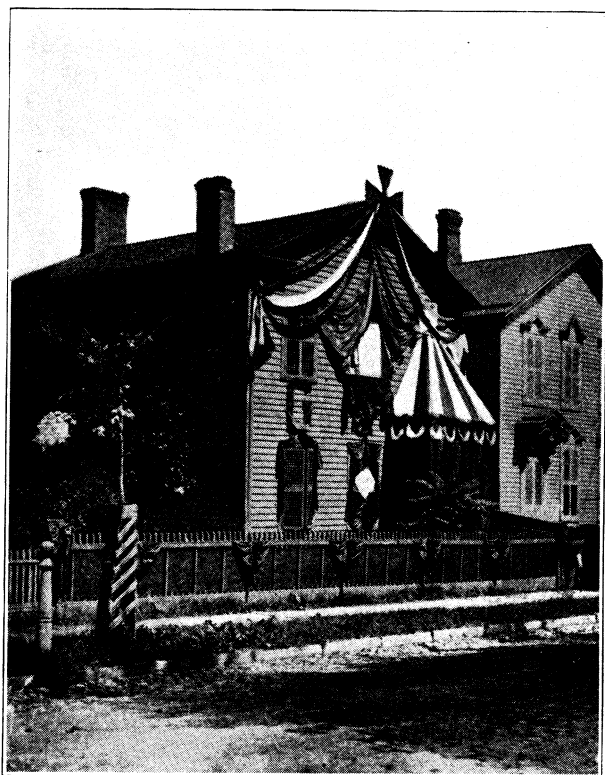
While the house, 253 Fort Street, was not in the poorer portion of the city, it was surrounded by the houses of laboring people. It was as good a house as Captain Grant could afford to rent at that time. His salary was small and he was forced to rent according to his income. His neighbors at this place were mostly foreigners, many of them being from Germany and the provinces of France.

John Luger and Casper Luger, blacksmiths, G. Meldon, laborer, John Meldon, peddler, Peter McCree, boot maker, H. McKinney, sawyer, were all on the north side of Fort Street in this block. Peter Machris lived in the second house east of the Grant House. Across the street lived James & William McCornac, shoemakers. At this time George M. Rich the owner of the house lived at the corner of Fort and Randolph Street, having a grocery in a part of his dwelling.

Rich sold the Grant House to Rodman Stoddard for \$1400 on Nov. 25, 1850. Stoddard probably purchased the property as an investment as he never lived there. He was the owner of the "City Hotel" which stood on the site of the present Free Press Building, Lafayette Boulevard. Stoddard managed the City Hotel for some years and then opened a country hotel, or road house, on the Grand River road in Greenfield or Redford.

The Grant House was sold by Stoddard many years ago and is now owned by Annie M. Wolverton.





HOUSE OCCUPIED BY U. S. GRANT AT 253 FORT STREET, EAST. MOURNING DECORATIONS FOR PRESIDENT GRANT'S DEATH



HOUSE OCCUPIED BY U. S. GRANT AT NORTHEAST CORNER OF JEFFERSON AND RUSSELL. PICTURE TAKEN IN 1873



In 1843 Washington A. Bacon, one of the most famous of the School teachers of early Detroit, purchased the lot on the north east corner of Jefferson Avenue and Russell Street. On the Jefferson Avenue front of this large lot he put up in 1850, three two-story frame dwellings.

He lived in the house on the corner and the next house he rented to Capt. U. S. Grant, and it was first occupied by him about July 1, 1850. Either the house next easterly was occupied by Captain Gore and his family or else Captain Gore and Captain Grant together occupied the second house.

Grant continued in this place until he left Detroit, June 11, 1851. The three houses belonging to Mr. Bacon were removed from the Jefferson Avenue site in 1873, and the late senator McMillan erected a beautiful dwelling which he occupied for his Detroit home, on the site. The McMillan dwelling is now the University Club House.

## CHAPTER XLIV

### SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR

SPAIN'S OPPRESSION OF CUBA—THE LOPEZ EXPEDITION—THE TEN YEARS' WAR—  
REVOLUTION OF 1895—WEYLER'S CRUELTY—INDIGNATION AROUSED—  
DESTRUCTION OF THE MAINE—CONGRESS DECLARES WAR—MICHIGAN'S  
RESPONSE—THIRTY - FIRST INFANTRY—THIRTY - SECOND—THIRTY - THIRD—  
THIRTY-FOURTH—SECOND CALL FOR TROOPS—THIRTY-FIFTH INFANTRY—  
NAVAL RESERVES.

For four centuries after the Island of Cuba was discovered it was a colonial possession of Spain. While that country was losing her other American provinces, one by one, the people of Cuba remained steadfast in their loyalty to the mother country. In 1808, when the Spanish dynasty was overthrown by Napoleon, the Cubans declared war against the "man of destiny." Their faithful allegiance during all these years received but a poor recompense, for in 1825 King Ferdinand issued his royal decree placing the lives and fortunes of the Cubans at the absolute disposal of the captains-general, or governors of the island, appointed by the crown. The "conquistadores" were slow in coming, but they had at last arrived.

Ferdinand's decree of 1825 marked the beginning of Spain's policy of tyranny, and in some instances actual inhumanity, toward her colonial subjects. Some excuse for this policy may be found in the unsettled state of political affairs and the internal dissensions which rendered the Spanish Government powerless to improve colonial conditions against the will of certain powerful citizens. With the death of Ferdinand in 1833, his daughter, Isabella, was proclaimed Queen. Ferdinand's brother, Don Carlos, claimed that this was a violation of the Salic law, forbidding women to exercise the royal prerogative, and that he was the legitimate heir to the throne. He was not without followers in his claims, and for many years the "Carlist Party" was a standing menace to the Spanish Government.

Four years before the death of Ferdinand, a conspiracy was formed in Cuba for throwing off the Spanish yoke, but it was discovered and suppressed before the revolutionists were prepared to begin active hostilities. In 1844 the negroes of the island attempted an insurrection, but, like the former conspiracy, it was checked in its early stages, with great cruelty on the part of the Spaniards. Some five years after the uprising of the blacks (1849-50) Narcisso Lopez, a former resident of Cuba, fitted out an expedition at New Orleans for the liberation of the Cubans from Spanish oppression. Lopez was too quixotic for a military leader and his undertaking ended in failure, some of his men perishing in Spanish dungeons.

Taking advantage of dissensions in the mother country, the people of Cuba began a revolution in 1868, hoping to establish their political independence. After the war had been going on for about two years, Amadeus, second son of

Victor Emanuel of Italy, was called to the throne of Spain and reigned as "constitutional king" until 1873, when the provisional government under Castilla came into power. Castilla threatened to "make a desert island of Cuba." To make this threat good, he sent an army of 257,000 soldiers to Cuba, but the resistance of the revolutionists was so determined that more than four-fifths of this army lost their lives on the island. During this conflict, which was known as the "Ten Years' War," property worth \$300,000,000 was destroyed and a heavy debt was contracted by Spain, which was saddled upon the Cubans as a penalty for their revolt.

The heavy burden of taxation thus imposed, coupled with the increased tyranny and unreasonable demands of the captains-general, only served to strengthen the determination of the Cubans to achieve their independence. Experience had taught them the necessity of moving with caution and for more than fifteen years they carried on their preparations with the greatest secrecy. Under the leadership of Generals Gomez and Maceo, the insurrection broke out at several places simultaneously in 1895. Captain-General Campos, then governor of the island, conducted his military operations according to the rules of civilized warfare, but this course failed to meet the approbation of the authorities at Madrid. Campos was therefore removed and General Weyler was appointed as his successor. Instantly a change could be seen. Upon taking command, Weyler issued his famous "I order and command" proclamation directing the troops to gather the inhabitants of the rural districts into the cities, where they could be kept under the watchful eye of the military authorities. Weyler claimed that this was necessary in order to prevent the people from giving aid to the insurgents. The proclamation also prohibited the transportation of provisions or supplies from one place to another without the consent of the military authorities. The supply of food in the cities and towns was inadequate to the needs of the "reconcentrados," as the people therein confined were called, and many actually starved to death. As Weyler was no respecter of age or sex, women and children were the greatest sufferers.

#### INDIGNATION AROUSED

Weyler's cruel and inhuman policy soon aroused the indignation of the entire civilized world. European nations sent protests to Madrid, but they fell on deaf ears. The people of the United States raised money and forwarded relief to the unhappy reconcentrados, but in almost every case the contributions fell into the hands of Weyler or his subordinates and failed to reach the people for whom they were intended. Political conventions in the United States, irrespective of party, commercial organizations, state legislatures and various other bodies adopted resolutions calling on the Federal Government to intervene in behalf of the oppressed Cubans. The platform upon which William McKinley was elected President in 1896 declared that some action must be taken in the interests of humanity. Immediately following Mr. McKinley's election, riots occurred in Havana, Weyler's supporters industriously circulating the rumor that any intervention on the part of the United States meant the ultimate annexation of Cuba to that country.

The year 1897 passed without any decisive action being taken by the United States. About the beginning of 1898 the Atlantic Squadron of the United States Navy was ordered to the Dry Tortugas Islands, off the southern extremity of the Florida Peninsula and within six hours' sail of Havana. On January 25,

1898, the Battleship Maine, one of the vessels belonging to the squadron, dropped anchor in the Harbor of Havana, the Spanish authorities having been notified the day before by the United States consul-general of the cruiser's intended arrival. Previous to this time, the Spanish Government had protested against the United States' sending cruisers as escorts to vessels bearing supplies to the reconcentrados. It can therefore be readily imagined that the presence of the Maine in the harbor, while the two nations were supposed to be at peace, was not pleasing to the Spanish officials, and, as a matter of retaliation, the Cruiser Vizcaya was ordered to New York Harbor. Thus matters stood until February 9, 1898, when the Spanish minister to the United States resigned his position and asked for his passports. His request was granted and Spain was left without an official representative in Washington. The minister's resignation made it apparent that a rupture between the two nations was imminent, and the press of the country was almost unanimous in demanding immediate action.

#### DESTRUCTION OF THE MAINE

About twenty minutes before ten o'clock, on the evening of February 15, 1898, the Maine was blown up, with a total loss of the vessel and 266 of her officers and men were either killed by the explosion or drowned while trying to reach the shore. A court of inquiry afterward reported that "there were two explosions of a distinctly different character, with a short, but distinct interval between them, and the forward part of the ship was lifted to a marked degree by the first explosion. \* \* \* In the opinion of the court the Maine was destroyed by the explosion of a submarine mine, which caused the partial explosion of two or more of her forward magazines."

The destruction of the Maine, with its consequent loss of life, added to the excitement in the United States and the demands for intervention grew more insistent. Still the administration declined to respond to these demands, for two reasons. The first of these was that General Weyler had been superseded by General Blanco, who had issued a proclamation declaring a cessation of hostilities and a public announcement that the reconcentrados would be permitted to return to their homes. The second reason was that President McKinley was waiting to learn the decision of the court of inquiry that was investigating the causes of the Maine's destruction. On March 8, 1898, Congress appropriated the sum of \$50,000,000 "for the national defense," but nothing further was done until the 28th, when it was definitely learned that General Blanco's promise to release the reconcentrados had not been kept, and probably was made with no intention of fulfilling it. The same day the President submitted the report of the court of inquiry to Congress and in the message accompanying it he invoked the deliberate consideration of that body.

Congress lost no time in complying with the President's recommendations. On March 29, 1898, bills relating to Cuban affairs were introduced in both houses, and on April 1st a naval appropriation bill was passed. On the 11th of April Mr. McKinley sent another message to Congress, in which he said: "In the name of humanity, in the name of civilization, in behalf of endangered American interests, which give us the right and duty to speak and to act, the war in Cuba must stop. In view of these facts and these considerations, I ask Congress to authorize and empower the President to take measures to secure a full and final termination of hostilities between the Government of Spain and the people of Cuba."

## CONGRESS DECLARES WAR

On April 13, 1898, the House of Representatives passed a resolution directing the President to intervene immediately in Cuban affairs. The resolution was sent to the Senate, where it was amended by the use of much stronger and more positive language, and on the 18th the House concurred in the amendments. The resolutions as adopted on that date were as follows:

"1. That the people of the Island of Cuba are, and of right ought to be, free and independent.

"2. That it is the duty of the United States to demand, and the Government of the United States does demand, that the Government of Spain at once relinquish its authority and government in the Island of Cuba and withdraw its land and naval forces from Cuba and Cuban waters.

"3. That the President of the United States be, and he hereby is, directed and empowered to use the entire land and naval force of the United States, and to call into the actual service of the United States the militia of the several states to such an extent as may be necessary to carry these resolutions into effect.

"4. That the United States hereby disclaims any disposition or intention to exercise sovereignty, jurisdiction or control over said island, except for the pacification thereof, and asserts its determination when that is accomplished to leave the government and control of the island to its people."

These resolutions did not constitute a formal declaration of war against Spain, merely giving the President authority to intervene in the interests of humanity. Two days after their adoption, the United States sent an ultimatum to Spain, demanding the relinquishment of all Spanish control over Cuba before noon of April 23, 1898, and the withdrawal of the land and naval forces, in accordance with the second resolution. Spain refused compliance and Rear Admiral Sampson was ordered to blockade the Cuban ports. On the 23d President McKinley issued his proclamation calling for 125,000 volunteers to enforce the ultimatum, "the same to be apportioned, as far as practicable, among the several states and territories and the District of Columbia, according to population, and to serve for two years unless sooner discharged."

At the time this proclamation was issued, no formal declaration of war had been made by Congress, but on the 25th it was enacted: "That war be, and the same is hereby, declared to exist, and that war has existed since the 21st day of April, 1898, between the United States of America and the Kingdom of Spain."

## MICHIGAN'S RESPONSE

On the same day that President McKinley issued his proclamation calling for volunteers, telegrams were sent to the governors of the several states by the war department, informing them of the number of men they would be expected to furnish. Michigan's quota was four regiments of Infantry, of 1,026 officers and men each, making a total of 4,104. Russell A. Alger, a Michigan man, was then secretary of war and no doubt was desirous of having his state to be among the first to fill her quota. When Governor Pingree received the notification from the war department, he turned it over to Adjt.-Gen F. H. Case, who on April 24, 1898, issued his "General Order No. 5," directing the Michigan National Guard to mobilize at Island Lake, where the National Guard had its summer camp and school of instruction.

Sons of men who had fought to preserve the Union in 1861-65 now promptly answered the call to wage war in behalf of the downtrodden Cubans. From every walk of life they came and the camp at Island Lake was soon the scene of military activity.

#### THIRTY-FIRST INFANTRY

Michigan raised thirty regiments of infantry for the Union army in the Civil war, and the first regiment organized for service in the war with Spain was designated the "Thirty-first Michigan Volunteer Infantry." It was mustered into the United States service on May 10, 1898, and left on the 15th for Chickamauga Park, Georgia. Of the field and staff officers the following were from Detroit: Cornelius Gardener, colonel; Charles W. Harrah, major; Andrew P. Biddle, surgeon; Frederick L. Abel, first lieutenant and adjutant. Three members of the regimental band were also from Detroit, viz.: Charles A. Burmaster, Edward P. Munroe and Joseph Robson.

Companies I, K and L of this regiment were raised in Wayne County. The commissioned officers of these companies were as follows: Company I—Duncan Henderson, captain; Walter G. Rogers, first lieutenant; William A. Campbell, second lieutenant. Company K—William H. Sink, captain; Cassius C. Fisk, first lieutenant; Addis C. Doyle, second lieutenant. Company L—Charles S. Baxter, captain; John S. Bersey, first lieutenant; Valentine R. Evans, second lieutenant.

The regiment remained in southern camps until January 25, 1899, when it was ordered to Cuba, where it was on duty until the 25th of April. It was then ordered back to the United States and was mustered out at Savannah, Georgia, May 17, 1899.

#### THIRTY-SECOND INFANTRY

This regiment was mustered in on May 4, 1898, six days before the Thirty-first, with William T. McGurrin, of Grand Rapids, as colonel. The field and staff officers were all from Grand Rapids with the exception of Maj. Thomas H. Reynolds and Surgeon Odillion B. Weed, who were credited to Detroit.

Four companies of this regiment were raised in Wayne County. The commissioned officers of these four companies were: Company I—Louis F. Hart, captain; Alden G. Catton, first lieutenant; Leonard G. Eber, second lieutenant. Company K—J. Edward Dupont, captain; Harry S. Starkey, first lieutenant; George L. Winkler, second lieutenant. Company L—Henry B. Lothrop, captain; Winslow W. Wilcox, first lieutenant; John McBride, Jr., second lieutenant. Company M—John Considine, Jr., captain; Richard W. Cotter, first lieutenant; Frank J. Cook, second lieutenant.

On May 19, 1898, the Thirty-second left Island Lake for Tampa, Florida. It was not ordered to Cuba and was mustered out by detachments between October 25 and November 9, 1898.

#### THIRTY-THIRD INFANTRY

The Thirty-third was mustered in on May 20, 1898, with Charles L. Boynton, of Port Huron, as colonel. Wayne County was represented in but one company of this regiment. Charles O'Reilly Atkinson was second lieutenant of Company L, and ten privates of that company were credited to Detroit.



On May 28, 1898, the regiment was ordered to Camp Alger, Virginia, and the first detachment left that day, the remainder following on the 6th of June. Its stay at Camp Alger was brief, as it was ordered to join the forces of General Shafter in Cuba, and it took part in the movement against Santiago. At the battle of Aguadores, July 2, 1898, the Thirty-third lost two men killed and one wounded. Orders to return to the United States were received on September 2, 1898, and the regiment was mustered out on January 6, 1899.

#### THIRTY-FOURTH INFANTRY

Only one Detroit man's name appears upon the muster rolls of the Thirty-fourth regiment—William G. Latimer, who was commissioned major when the Thirty-fourth was mustered in on May 25, 1898. A considerable portion of the regiment came from the Upper Peninsula. Under command of Col. John T. Peterman, it left Island Lake early in June for Camp Alger, Virginia, and accompanied the Thirty-third regiment to Cuba, where it was General Shafter's army in the campaign against Santiago. Upon its return to the United States it was mustered out by detachments between September 3, 1898, and January 2, 1899.

#### THIRTY-FIFTH INFANTRY

On May 25, 1898, President McKinley issued his second call for troops and Michigan was asked to furnish one regiment of the maximum strength—47 officers and 1,272 men. Some delay occurred in determining the strength of this regiment and it was not mustered in until July 25, 1898, at Island Lake, with Edwin M. Irish, of Kalamazoo, as colonel. It was composed of men from all parts of the state. Alphonse Balck, of Detroit, was second lieutenant of Company A. Company F was raised along the eastern border of the Lower Peninsula. Horace F. Sykes, of Wyandotte, was first lieutenant, and Bertram J. Bishop, also of Wyandotte, was second lieutenant. Several non-commissioned officers and fifty-five privates in this company were from Wayne County.

There were a few Wayne County men in Company H and eleven privates in Company K were credited to Detroit. The regiment left Island Lake on September 14, 1898, for Camp Meade, Pennsylvania, where it was stationed for some time, when it was ordered south. It was mustered out at Augusta, Georgia, on March 31, 1899.

Each of the four regiments sent out under the first call was, on an average, 293 men below the standard regimental organization adopted by the war department on June 10, 1898. Orders were then received to recruit each of these regiments up to the full strength of 1,272 enlisted men. Among the recruits thus added to the Thirty-first, Thirty-second, Thirty-third and Thirty-fourth were a number of men from Wayne County, but few of them were added in time to take any active part in the Santiago campaign.

#### NAVAL RESERVES

In addition to the infantry organizations above mentioned, the Michigan Naval Reserves, consisting of eleven officers and 270 men, served on the auxiliary cruiser "Yosemite" at Havana, Santiago, Guantanamo and San Juan, Puerto Rico, winning praise from their superior officers for their bravery and fidelity to duty. In these naval reserves were several men from Detroit and Wayne county, among them Henry B. Joy and Edwin Denby.

CHAPTER XLV  
WAR WITH GERMANY

Years must elapse before the true history of the great World war of 1914-1918 can be written, but no history of Detroit at this time would be complete without some brief mention of the part taken by the city in the great international conflict in which so many nations were engaged. The English blockade of German ports early in the war led the latter nation to inaugurate a submarine warfare in the effort to cut off provisions and supplies from Great Britain and her allies. This submarine warfare soon became both merciless and indiscriminate. German officials and naval commanders seemed to believe in the truth of the old saying that "All is fair in love or war," and ships were ruthlessly sunk without regard to their nationality or the character of their cargoes.

For several months before the United States entered the war, President Wilson sought by correspondence to obtain some mitigation of Germany's submarine activities, through which passenger vessels of neutral nations were torpedoed and sunk and a number of American citizens lost their lives. Failing to receive reasonable assurances from the Imperial German Government that this warfare would be modified, the President addressed Congress on February 3, 1917, announcing that all diplomatic relations with that government had been discontinued. After reviewing the correspondence, and the failure to obtain satisfactory promises from the German Government that American citizens should be protected, the President said:

"If American ships and American lives should in fact be sacrificed by their naval commanders, in heedless contravention of the just and reasonable understandings of international law and the obvious dictates of humanity, I shall take the liberty of coming again before the Congress to ask that authority be given me to use any means that may be necessary for the protection of our seamen and our people in the prosecution of their peaceful and legitimate errands on the high seas. I can do nothing less. I take it for granted that all neutral governments will take the same course."

The mere act of severing diplomatic relations failed to better conditions upon the high seas and on February 26, 1917, the President delivered to Congress what is known as his "Armed Neutrality Message," in which he asked for authority to take such measures as might be deemed necessary for the protection of merchant ships, by supplying them "with defensive arms, should that become necessary, and with the means of using them." Congress granted the authority asked for and merchant ships going into the "war zone" were equipped with arms, manned by small detachments of United States marines. On April 2, 1917, the President again reviewed the situation in a special message to Congress. In this message he said:

"The German Government denies the right of neutrals to use arms at all within the areas of the sea which it has proscribed, even in the defense of rights which no modern publicist has ever before questioned their right to defend.

The intimation is conveyed that the armed guards which we have placed upon our merchant ships will be treated as beyond the pale of law and subject to be dealt with as pirates would be. Armed neutrality is ineffectual enough at best; in such circumstances and in the face of such pretensions it is worse than ineffectual; it is likely only to produce what it was meant to prevent; it is practically certain to draw us into war without either the rights or the effectiveness of belligerents. There is one choice we cannot make, we are incapable of making: We will not choose the path of submission and suffer the most sacred rights of our nation and our people to be ignored or violated. The wrongs against which we now array ourselves are no common wrongs; they cut to the very roots of human life.

"I advise that the Congress declare the course of the Imperial German Government to be in fact nothing less than war against the Government and people of the United States; That it formally accepts the status of belligerent which has thus been thrust upon it; and that it take immediate steps not only to put the country in a more thorough state of defense, but also to exert all its power and employ all its resources to bring the Government of the German Empire to terms and end the war."

This address is known as the "Wilson War Message." On the same day it was delivered to the two houses of Congress in joint session, the following resolution was introduced in both the House and Senate:

"Whereas, the Imperial German Government has committed repeated acts of war against the Government and people of the United States of America: Therefore be it

"Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the state of war between the United States and the Imperial German Government which has thus been thrust upon the United States is hereby formally declared; and that the president be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to employ the entire naval and military forces of the United States and the resources of the government to carry on war against the Imperial German Government; and to bring the conflict to a successful termination all of the resources of the country are hereby pledged by the Congress of the United States."

This resolution, known as "Public Resolution No. 1," passed the Senate at the evening session on April 4, 1917, by a vote of 82 to 6, and the next morning it passed the House by a vote of 373 to 50. After being signed by Thomas R. Marshall, vice president of the United States, and Champ Clark, speaker of the House of Representatives, it was submitted to President Wilson, who gave it his official approval on April 6, 1917, which date marks the entrance of the United States into the great world conflict.

Like every other city in the Union, Detroit anticipated the declaration of war. The work of organizing the various units of the city's military companies had been gradually perfected. The declaration of war itself brought a rush for the colors and almost before a month had passed 3,000 men had enlisted for the army, navy or marine service. Ambulance companies were formed, ladies' aid organizations placed under way, the conscription law came into effect, Detroit men were dispatched to cantonments and officers' training camps, and in countless other ways the city's resources were assembled.

The complete records of the various war activities in the city and the different military contributions have not yet reached the finished stage, consequently it

is difficult at this time to present a long story of this period. The story of the response of Detroit's industries is given in the "Manufacturing" chapter, also the account of the development of the Liberty Motor, one of the greatest mechanical creations of the war. The high lights of Detroit's participation in the World war may be perceived in the following brief paragraphs:

The date of June 5, 1917 is that of registration day in Detroit, when all male citizens between the ages of twenty-one and thirty-one were required to enroll their names under the selective service act of the government. Of this number, 11,829 were afterwards chosen for the National Army. The first Detroit men taken in this way left on September 5, 1917 for Camp Custer, at Battle Creek, Michigan. There were 184 men in this contingent and similar groups left on each of four consecutive days. The Michigan National Guard encamped at Grayling and at the first officers' training camp at Fort Sheridan, Illinois, 319 Detroit men received commissions. A great part of the 32d Division, a history of which is given later, was made up of Detroit boys; almost the whole of the 339th Infantry was composed of Detroiters, also the 329th and 330th Field Artillery units.

The 31st and 33d regiments of infantry, 161st Battalion, Engineers, Harper Base Hospital Unit No. 17, Detroit College of Medicine Base Hospital Unit No. 36, 1st Michigan Cavalry, 1st Michigan Field Artillery, Ambulance Companies Nos. 82 and 28, were mobilized at Detroit for foreign service.

The Detroit Community Union was organized December 21, 1917 in the Pontchartrain Hotel, for the purpose of coordinating Detroit's efforts in war. The president was Tracy W. McGregor; the vice presidents were: Allan A. Templeton, Clarence Booth, Gustavus D. Pope, Mrs. R. B. Jackson and Miss Claire Sanders and the treasurer was William Livingstone, Jr.

During the first year of war, Detroit sent over 43,000 men, took \$95,242,000 in Liberty Bonds, \$14,046,000 in treasury certificates and \$1,225,000 in war savings stamps; built 120 ships valued at \$15,000,000; spent over \$10,000,000 in improving plants for manufacture of munitions, etc., and at close of year was shipping several tons of materials and daily shipped to the seaboard by-products of coke and drug plants. War contracts on April 10, 1918 totaled \$750,000,000.

In the First Liberty Loan, Detroit's quota was thirty-three million dollars. On Thursday (before June 4th at a meeting of the Board of Commerce, manufacturers of the city guaranteed that their employes would take \$5,700,000 of the new loan). During the week, Abner Larned, camp manager, and 1,000 men canvassed every part of the city. Henry Ford subscribed \$5,000,000, Highland Park State Bank \$2,000,000 and on Wednesday, June 6th, there was \$2,000,000 past the goal.

The Second Liberty Loan, promoted October, 1917, was managed by a committee of Allan A. Templeton, Harry B. Warner, R. H. Webber, J. C. Peter, John W. Staley, Dr. A. G. Studer, Mayor Marx, Lee Anderson, William G. Lerchon, Ralph Stone, Edward F. Fitzgerald, R. B. Locke, secretary, Ted Reed, F. H. MacPherson, Abner E. Larned, William Livingstone, general chairman Harry W. Ford, C. H. Lawson. Detroit's quota was \$42,742,000, but the city raised \$54,709,500, over \$56,000,000 when all in.

The Third Liberty Loan brought forth over \$50,000,000 in subscriptions from Detroit and the Fourth Liberty Loan about \$80,000,000.

The 339th Infantry, the personnel of which was almost entirely Detroit men, performed their hardest service in the bleakness of North Russia, where,

as a part of the Allied Army opposing the Bolsheviki in that region, they won marked distinction. Their period of active service extended many months after the signing of the armistice and not until July 4, 1919 did the Detroit boys return home. The day was given up to a celebration at Belle Isle in honor of them, with an address by Sen. Hiram Johnson, of California, who had labored in Congress for their quick return.

The 32d Division was organized at Camp MacArthur, Texas, under authority of a War Department order, dated July 18, 1917. It was originally composed of National Guard troops from the states of Michigan and Wisconsin, but later there were introduced into it fighters from half the states of the union.

The following organizations composed the division:

63rd Infantry Brigade.

125th and 126th Infantry; 120th Machine Gun Battalion.

64th Infantry Brigade:

127th and 128th Infantry; 121st Machine Gun Battalion.

57th Field Artillery Brigade:

119th and 120th (light), 121st (heavy) Field Artillery; 107th Trench Mortar Battery.

119th Machine Gun Battalion.

107th Engineers.

107th Field Signal Battalion.

Trains.

The 147th Field Artillery of the 41st Division was attached to the 57th Field Artillery Brigade and served with it throughout its activities.

The first unit of the division arrived in France February 6, 1918, and the last, March 14, 1918. The first casualties were suffered when the transport "Tuscania," carrying the 107th Sanitary Train, was torpedoed and sunk February 5, and 15 men of the organization lost their lives.

#### HEADQUARTERS ESTABLISHED

Division headquarters were established at Prauthoy, Haute Marne, February 24. The 32d was originally designated as a replacement division and as such sent many of its members to other organizations. However, the German offensive of March 21 and the resulting necessity for additional American troops forced a change in these plans. Replacements were furnished and the division assembled in the tenth training area preparatory to taking the field as a combat unit. After four weeks spent in this area, the division was ordered to the quiet Haute Alsace sector. The movement to this sector began May 15, and the day following headquarters were established at La Chapelle. On May 18 the French troops in the sector were relieved and the division for the first time took over front line trenches, which were held until July 21.

On July 26 the division was assembled near Verberie, in the neighborhood of Soissons, as a reserve of the Tenth French Army. From this point a move was immediately made to the region of Chateau Thierry, and upon arrival the division was placed in the 38th French Corps, Sixth Army, and later, August 4, in the Fifth American Corps. The Aisne-Marne offensive was by this time in full swing and on July 29-30 the 32d relieved the 3rd Division in the vicinity of Roncheres, northeast of Chateau Thierry. The commanding general of the 32d Division assumed command of battle zone at 11 a. m. July 30 and at 2:30

p. m. the same day an attack was launched in which the Bois des Grimpettes was taken, and the edge of the Bois de Cierges gained.

#### CAPTURES TOWN OF FISMES

On the night of July 30, the 63rd Brigade of the 32nd Division relieved the 28th Division on the Ourcq River extending the zone of action to the left towards Sergy. The attack was renewed July 31 and the village of Cierges captured. Here the advance was stopped by strong resistance from Reddy and Bellevue Farm. An attack on August 1 gained Bois de la Planchette and Hill 230, and forced the enemy to abandon Bellevue Farm. The German forces were now rapidly withdrawing, and on August 3 the division pushed forward to the Vesle River and captured the town Fismes, at which point it was relieved August 7.

The division was next assembled in a reserve position between the Ourcq and Vesle, where it remained for a period of 10 days, when it was again ordered to the vicinity of Soissons for duty with the Tenth French Army, then engaged in the Oise-Aisne offensive.

The 127th French division was relieved August 27 north of Soissons and approximately two kilometers due west of Juvigny. In an attack which began August 28 the railroad tracks west of Juvigny were reached and on August 30 the town itself captured. The advance continued, and on the day following the division reached the Terny-Sorny-Bethancourt road. At this point the 32nd was relieved September 1-2, by the First Moroccan Division.

#### SENT TO NEW AREA

It was next sent to a new area near Joinville, and remained at this place until September 20, when it again started north to join the 5th Corps for the coming Meuse-Argonne offensive. The 32d Division, from a position in Corps Reserve, south of Avocourt, moved up and relieved, on the night of the 29-30th and the morning of the 30th, the 87th Division south of Cierges in the vicinity of Montfaucon, and moved forward driving the enemy north. On the night of October 3-4 part of the Division relieved the 91st Division in the vicinity of Gesnes. The latter village was immediately entered, but no attempt was made to hold it, as it was under constant shell fire. On October 5 the Bois de la Marine was taken and from this point the attack swung to the north and the Bois du Chene sector was captured. Here the advance was temporarily halted by strong resistance from Hills 255 and 269. During the night of the 7-8th of October the Division side-slipped to the east, giving up two kilometers of front in the west to a brigade of the 91st Division, and taking over one kilometer from the 3d Division on the right. On October 9 the Division attacked and reached the Kriemhilde-Stellung, Cote Dame Marie and Romagne, where it made preparations for a drive through. On October 14 the Kriemhilde-Stellung was penetrated, Cote Dame Marie and Romagne being captured and the Bois de Chauvignon entered, making an advance of two kilometers. The division slowly and steadily advanced in the Bois de Bantheville until it was relieved by the 89th Division on the night of the 19-20th of October. The division followed in the wake of the 5th, 89th and 91st Divisions, as a reserve of the 3d Army Corps, with headquarters successively at Romagne and Ainereville. The 128th Infantry re-entered the line November 6 as a unit of the 5th Division operating east of the Meuse, in the vicinity of Dun-sur-Meuse. On the night of the 9-10th of November the remainder of the division crossed the Meuse

and entered the line attacking on November 10 in the vicinity of Brandeville and Peuvilliers; on the morning of the 11th a continuation of the attack was halted by the signing of the Armistice.

## TOTAL CASUALTIES 13,392

During operations the division captured 2,153 prisoners. Its casualties totalled 13,392.

On November 17 the division began its march from Vilosnes-sur-Meuse and on December 1 crossed the Sauer River and entered Germany as a first line unit of the Third Army. It was assigned a sector in the Coblenz Bridge-head with a front of 30 kilometers. Here it remained until April, when the various units began entraining for ports of embarkation. Division headquarters sailed from Brest, April 27, 1919, and arrived at New York May 5.

The division had four commanding generals, as follows:

Maj.-Gen. James Parker, August 26, September 17, 1917; Maj.-Gen. William G. Haan, September 18, 1917-November 20, 1918; Maj.-Gen. William Lassiter, November 29, 1918-April 23, 1919, and Maj.-Gen. William G. Haan, April 27, 1919, to date of its demobilization.

Combat Service, 32d Division:

(1) Haute-Alsace sector, Alsace, France, May 18-July 21, 1918:

125th Infantry.

126th Infantry.

127th Infantry.

128th Infantry.

119th Machine Gun Battalion.

120th Machine Gun Battalion.

121st Machine Gun Battalion.

107th Engineers.

107th Field Signal Battalion.

(2) Aisne-Marne offensive, France, July 30-August 6, 1918: Same as in (1).

(3) Oise-Aisne offensive, France, August 28-September 2, 1918: Same as in (1).

(4) Meuse-Argonne offensive, France, September 11-November 11, 1918: Same as in (1).

The barred red Arrow was chosen as the division insignia, emblematic of the precision with which "Les Terribles" reached and shattered their marks, passing beyond all objectives.

The Detroit members of the 32d returned home on May 19, 1919, with an appropriate celebration awaiting them.

# PART VI

## THE PROFESSIONS

### CHAPTER XLVI

#### BENCH AND BAR OF DETROIT

ORIGIN OF CIVIL LAW—DEMANDS OF THE LEGAL PROFESSION—THE LAWYER AS A CITIZEN—EARLY MICHIGAN JUSTICE—MILITARY COMMANDANTS AS MAGISTRATES—ENGLISH COURTS—COURT OF COMMON PLEAS—NORTHWEST TERRITORY—UNDER INDIANA TERRITORY—COURTS OF MICHIGAN TERRITORY—THE EARLY JUDGES—INFERIOR COURTS—MICHIGAN STATE COURTS—THE SUPREME COURT—CIRCUIT COURTS—COURT OF CHANCERY—CONSTITUTION OF 1850—COUNTY COURTS—WAYNE CIRCUIT COURT—CIRCUIT COURT COMMISSIONERS—PROBATE COURT—MAYOR'S COURT—RECORDER'S COURT—POLICE COURT—SUPERIOR COURT—UNITED STATES COURTS—PROMINENT MEMBERS OF THE EARLY DETROIT BAR—DETROIT BAR ASSOCIATION—DETROIT COLLEGE OF LAW.

Civil law made its appearance as soon as men began to realize that some system of rules was necessary to protect persons and property, and at the same time not conflict with the common interest. The legislator and the lawyer were therefore among the earliest agents of the world's civilization. In the primitive legal systems, such as were practiced in the Punjab of India and among the ancient Hebrews, the sanction of law was usually imposed by tribal custom, or by a king or chieftain ruling as the supreme head, frequently claiming to exercise his prerogatives by divine authority.

As the occupations and interests of the people became more varied, as new lands were discovered and commerce began to carry the arts and ideas of one country to another, the laws became more complex and were arranged into codes. One of the oldest known codes—that of the Roman Civil Law—was made up of the Codex, Pandects or Digest, Institutes, etc. It was compiled and promulgated by order of Justinian, the Byzantine emperor, between the years 528 and 534 A. D., and still constitutes the foundation for the scientific study of civil law in modern Europe.

The law is a jealous profession. It demands of the judge on the bench and the attorney at the bar alike a careful, conscientious effort to secure the administration of justice—"speedy and efficient, equitable and economical." Within recent years courts have been criticized for what the critics regard as unnecessary delays, and much has been said in the columns of the public press about the need of judicial reform. No doubt some of the criticisms have been based on facts and well deserved, but, unfortunately, many people have condemned the entire judiciary system merely because a few judges have failed to measure up to the proper standard, and the entire legal profession has been characterized





JOHN R. WILLIAMS, 1782-1854  
First mayor of Detroit, 1824-5



JUDGE J. V. CAMPBELL



JOSEPH CAMPAU



by the unthinking as one of trickery because here and there a lawyer has adopted the tactics of the shyster or pettifogger. When the American citizen insists upon the right of free speech and free press for fault-finding purposes, he should bear in mind that many of the great men in our national history were lawyers. John Marshall, one of the early chief justices of the United States Supreme Court, was a man whose memory is still revered by the American people and his legal opinions are still quoted with respect and confidence by the members of his profession. Thomas Jefferson, Robert R. Livingston and James Monroe, who negotiated the Louisiana Purchase and gave to their country an empire in extent, were lawyers. Daniel Webster, Henry Clay, Thomas H. Benton, Salmon P. Chase, Stephen A. Douglas, William M. Evarts, Rufus Choate and a host of other eminent Americans wrote their names permanently upon history's pages through their knowledge and interpretation of the laws. All these were men of unquestioned loyalty and love of justice. And last, but not least, stands Abraham Lincoln, self-educated and self-reliant, whose consummate tact and statesmanship saved the Union from disruption.

#### EARLY MICHIGAN JUSTICE

When the first settlement was planted at Detroit in 1701 its principal object was to aid in establishing and maintaining French authority in the country about the Great Lakes, and particularly to stifle the competition in the fur trade of the Hudson's Bay Company, which had been chartered by the English Government in 1670. As there were no white settlers, except the few who came with Cadillac, it was not considered necessary to establish courts of any kind and a military form of government was adopted. Cadillac, as commandant of the post, and his successors were therefore given almost unlimited powers. They could hear causes, imprison offenders, or even execute the death penalty in extreme cases if they deemed it necessary.

These commandants, nevertheless, were subordinate to the governor-general of New France, to whom appeals might be taken. Although the distance between Detroit and Quebec is approximately seven hundred miles, and in those days methods of communication were of the most primitive character, frequent complaints were made to the governor of the injustice of the commandant.

While some of these complaints were well founded, a majority of them were groundless. The isolated position of the settlement, the constant danger of alienating the friendship of the Indians who gathered about the post, the necessity for harmony among the white people, all combined to prevent the commandant from wreaking personal spite or committing serious injustice in his capacity of magistrate. His standing in the community was usually that of "first citizen."

#### ENGLISH COURTS

For several years after Detroit passed into the hands of the English in 1760, the government was of a military character, the powers of the commandant being even greater than under the French regime. About the time of the English occupation, a man named Clapham came to Detroit as a trader, bringing with him two Pawnee Indians, a man and a woman, as slaves. Early in the year 1763 the two Indians killed their master by beheading him and then threw his body into the river. The man escaped to the Illinois country, but the woman was apprehended, tried before Maj. Henry Gladwin, then commandant, and

found guilty. On April 20, 1763, Major Gladwin wrote to General Amherst, governor-general, that she was "sentenced to be hanged for being an accomplice in the murder of the late Mr. Clapham, which I had put in execution in the most public manner."

It is related that Colonel De Peyster, who came to the office of commandant shortly after the beginning of the Revolutionary war, officiated at weddings and baptized persons according to the forms of the Church of England. Thomas Smith, one of the surveyors who laid out the City of Detroit according to the governor and judges plan, testified as follows before the commissioners of claims in July, 1821, regarding the jurisdiction of the English commandants:

"All military commandants were civil officers ex-officio, whether so commissioned or not, and they decided questions of property and put litigants into the guardhouse who disobeyed their decisions. There were civil magistrates, who acted under and in all matters of importance consulted the commandant. The commandant was considered the chief magistrate and often acted without consulting any other magistrate. The will of the commandant, in whom it is presumed confidence was always placed by the British Government, was submitted to and was certainly the then law of the land, whether it be called civil or military law, or whether that will related to civil or military matters."

But the authority and jurisdiction of the commandant were frequently challenged by the lieutenant-governor and the commissioner of trade, both of whom claimed the right to settle disputes between citizens. On November 21, 1763, James Murray, governor-general of the Province of Quebec, was given a royal commission "to erect, constitute and establish such and so many courts of judicature and Publick Justice as shall be necessary." His commission also authorized him to "appoint judges and, in cases requisite, commissioners of Oyer and Terminer, justices of the peace, sheriffs and other necessary officers and ministers in our said Province."

Acting under this authority, Governor Murray established a Court of King's Bench, a Court of Assize and a Court of Common Pleas, all to sit at Quebec; a Court of Quarter Sessions and justices courts, to sit at Quebec and Montreal every three months. These courts were no doubt sufficient for those who were within reach of them, but Detroit was too far away from Quebec and Montreal, where all the sittings were held, to derive any benefit. There was a reason for not establishing courts more easily accessible to the people of Michigan. Says Judge Campbell, in his "History of Michigan:"

"The Lords of Trade opposed any extension of settlement, on the notion that the settlers would become manufacturers, and the English tradesmen would lose their market. The public men who favored settlement, instead of exposing the folly of using colonists as inferiors and contributors of all their energies to serve the greedy demands of home-abiding Englishmen, met the arrogant claims by urging that new settlers would enlarge instead of narrowing the market and could not furnish their own domestic articles. The spirit that drove America into revolution was manifest in the whole correspondence of the government agents."

Protests from the citizens of Detroit, demanding the right of the English subject to have justice brought to them, finally met with a partial reward. In the chapter on British Domination mention is made of the appointment of Philip Dejean as justice of the peace by Capt. George Turnbull. Dejean's commission, dated April 24, 1767, was as follows:

"I do hereby nominate and appoint you justice of the peace to inquire into all complaints that shall come before you, for which purpose you are hereby authorized to examine by oath such evidences as shall be necessary that the Truth of the matter may be better known: Provided always that you give no judgment or final award but at their joint request, and which they bind themselves by bond to abide by, but settle the determination of the matter by arbitration, which they are likewise to give their bond to abide by, one or two persons to be chosen by each; and if they cannot agree and have named two only you name a third, and if four, a fifth, and their determination or award to be approved by me before put in execution. I further authorize and impower you to act as Chief Notary and Tabellion, by drawing all wills and deeds, etc., proper for that Department, the same to be done in English only, and I also appoint you sole vendue master for such sales as may happen here, in the usual and accustomed manner."

Soon after this commission was issued to Dejean, Captain Turnbull was succeeded by Maj. Robert Bayard. Representations were made by traders and others to the new commandant that some means should be provided for the collection of debts, etc. Major Bayard, after considering the matter, on July 28, 1767, authorized a "temporary court of justice to be held twice every month to decide all actions of debts, bonds, bills, contracts and trespasses above five pounds, New York currency," and appointed Dejean "second judge of said court of justice in Detroit."

In the commission issued to Dejean by Captain Turnbull, and in the order of Major Bayard granting him enlarged powers, both commandants made it clear that they were "the court of last resort" as far as local affairs were concerned and intended to keep control of those affairs. More of Dejean's history will be found in the chapter on the Revolutionary War and in the chapters on "Law and Order."

#### COURT OF COMMON PLEAS

On July 24, 1788, Lord Dorchester, then governor-general of Canada, divided the territory of Upper Canada into four districts, viz.: Luneburg, Mecklenburg, Nassau and Hesse, and ordered the establishment of a Court of Common Pleas in each district. Detroit was included in the District of Hesse. Duperon Baby, Alexander McKee and William Robertson, all of Detroit, were appointed justices of the Court of Common Pleas and Thomas Smith was appointed clerk. None of the judges thus appointed was a lawyer. Baby and Robertson were merchants and were more interested in trade than in the trial of causes. Mr. Robertson and thirty-three other citizens of Detroit joined in a petition to the governor, setting forth that the appointees being interested in trade were not free from bias in their opinions respecting property; that being unlearned in the law they would not be competent to discharge the duties of the office; and asked for the appointment of a judge who was "learned in the law," etc.

The petition was referred to the committee in council and on November 14, 1788, the committee made a report recommending the appointment of "Gentlemen of Law Abilities and possessing knowledge of the Custom of Merchants." The recommendation of the committee was approved, except only one judge was appointed. In March, 1789, William Dummer Powell was appointed "First Judge of the Court of Common Pleas for the District of Hesse." By an ordinance of May 7, 1789, it was provided "That until the Bench of the

Court of Common Pleas for the District of Hesse shall have three Judges, duly appointed therein, all the powers and authorities of the whole number shall be vested in such person as shall have a commission to be First Judge thereof."

William Dummer Powell, who has been called the "First Judge of Detroit," was born in Boston in 1755, the eldest son of John and Janet (Grant) Powell. One of his biographers says: "In his veins flowed the mingled blood of commoner and patrician, of roundhead and cavalier, of high churchman and Presbyterian." At the age of twenty he married Miss Anne Murray and in January, 1776, he began the study of law in the Middle Temple in London. Three years later, having completed his legal studies, he returned to America and began the practice of law in Montreal. On June 9, 1789, following his appointment as judge of the Court of Common Pleas, he became a resident of Detroit, though the sessions of the court were held at L'Assomption (now Sandwich), on the opposite side of the Detroit River. He continued to preside over the Court of Common Pleas until 1794, when he was appointed first judge of the Court of King's Bench for Upper Canada. In 1815 he was made chief justice and held that office until 1825, when he resigned on a pension. He died in 1834.

With the establishment of the Court of Common Pleas and the appointment of Judge Powell, the people of Detroit had what they had long desired—a court within easy reach of the citizens and presided over by a competent judge. The jurisdiction of the court extended only to civil matters and until 1792 Judge Powell heard and decided such causes without the aid of a jury, yet there were but few complaints of his rulings. A statute of 1792 provided that every issue of fact should be tried by a jury of twelve men, and that in all cases relating to property the laws of England should apply.

In 1794 the Court of Common Pleas was abolished and the Court of King's Bench for Upper Canada was created, with Judge Powell as the first judge. The new tribunal had unlimited jurisdiction in all matters both civil and criminal. At the same time a District Court was established in each district, the jurisdiction of which covered all cases where the amount involved did not exceed fifteen pounds. The District Court for the Western District (formerly Hesse) sat in Detroit until just before the British evacuation in 1796.

#### NORTHWEST TERRITORY

Under the Ordinance of 1787, which established civil government in the country northwest of the Ohio River, provision was made for the appointment of three judges, who were to constitute the "Supreme Court of the Northwest Territory." Samuel H. Parsons, John Cleves Symmes and James M. Varnum were appointed judges. The tenure of office was "during good behavior," but the judges were required to reside in the territory and the salary was only \$800 per year. These conditions made the position unattractive and there were nine appointments between the years 1787 and 1798.

Sessions of the court were to be held on the first Monday in February, May, October and December, though the first session was held at Marietta, Ohio, on August 30, 1788. Owing to the fact that for thirteen years the British retained possession of the Michigan country, contrary to the terms of the Treaty of 1783, no session of the court was held in Detroit until after the American occupation in July, 1796. From that time until the division of the Northwest Territory a session was held in Detroit each year.

On August 23, 1788, a Court of General Quarter Sessions was created and the first session was held on the 9th of the following month. As the name indicates, sessions were to be held quarterly in each county. This court had jurisdiction in cases of crime or misdemeanor where the penalty did not exceed imprisonment for more than one year, or the forfeiture of life or property. The first session of this court was held in Detroit on August 4, 1798, with Louis Beaufait, James May and Joseph Voyez as judges. The court continued in existence until 1804.

A Probate Court was established in the Northwest Territory on August 30, 1788. In October, 1795, the judges of the Court of Quarter Sessions were given jurisdiction in probate matters, sitting as an "Orphans' Court" and exercising supervision over trustees and executors. This court was abolished in 1811, when the Probate Court was reorganized.

#### UNDER INDIANA TERRITORY

On May 7, 1800, the Northwest Territory was divided by act of Congress and the Territory of Indiana was erected. As then established, the eastern boundary of the new territory was a line running due north from Fort Recovery, Ohio, to the international boundary. This left Detroit in the Northwest Territory until the passage of the act of April 30, 1802, which annexed all the present State of Michigan to the Territory of Indiana.

The judges of Indiana Territory at that time were William Clark (a brother of Gen. George Rogers Clark), John Griffin and Henry Vanderburg. Each of these judges was assigned to a certain district, in which he presided over what was designated as a "Circuit Court." The three judges sitting together constituted the Supreme Court of the territory. Only one session of the territorial Circuit Court was held in Detroit while the city was in the Indiana Territory. It was opened on October 24, 1804, and was presided over by Judge Vanderburg.

By an act of December 9, 1800, a "Circuit Court of Wayne County" was authorized, to be held on the third Tuesday of May in each year. The judge was to be appointed by the governor of the Indiana Territory, but no record of the appointment of a judge or the proceedings of any session of the court can be found.

#### COURTS OF MICHIGAN TERRITORY

Michigan Territory was created by an act of Congress, approved by President Jefferson on January 11, 1805. This act copied the great weakness of the Ordinance of 1787 by vesting the legislative power in a governor and three judges, or a majority of them, who were authorized "to adopt and publish in the district such laws of the original states, criminal and civil, as may be necessary and best suited to the circumstances of the district, and report them to Congress from time to time; and such laws shall be in force in the district until the organization of the General Assembly therein, unless disapproved by Congress; but after the General Assembly is formed, the Legislature shall have authority to alter these laws as it shall think proper."

The words "original states" were construed to mean all states which had been admitted into the Union prior to the passage of the act. In adopting the laws of these states, the Governor and Judges interpreted the word "adopt" as referring to the letter rather than to the principle of the law. Under this

construction the Governor and Judges were enabled to "adopt" such laws or parts of laws as they saw fit—in short, to "make" laws.

The judges were to be appointed by the President, with the consent of the senate. President Jefferson appointed Augustus B. Woodward, of Washington, D. C., Frederick Bates, of Michigan, and Samuel Huntington, of Ohio. All were confirmed by the senate on March 1, 1805. More of the formation of this court is given in the "Law and Order" chapters. Mr. Huntington declined to serve and John Griffin, of Indiana, was appointed in his place on December 23, 1805. Detroit was the capital of the territory and the judges all became residents of the city soon after they were appointed.

Augustus Brevoort Woodward, about whom much has been written in other chapters of this work, was the chief justice, because he was the first to be appointed. Authorities differ as to his birthplace. Harper's "Cyclopedia of United States History" says he was born in Virginia about 1775. Judge Campbell, in his "History of Michigan," says he was a native of New York. Robert B. Ross stated in his "Early Bench and Bar" that Woodward was born at Alexandria, Virginia about 1770. Charles E. Moore says he was living in Rockbridge County, Virginia, in 1795 and was admitted to practice in 1801. That he was well educated is shown in his letters and manuscripts, though the same documents bear testimony that he was both overbearing and pedantic. A notable exception is found in his letters to Presidents Jefferson and Madison, which were more humble in tone than those to most of his correspondents. As the President had the appointing power, this has led to the charge that Judge Woodward was a "time-server." The following incidents will give the reader some idea of the manner in which this eccentric magistrate administered justice:

John Gentle asked for the donation of a lot, but the request was refused because he was not a naturalized citizen. He then asked to become naturalized and again his request was refused on the grounds that he had not been long enough in the territory. Mr. Gentle then wrote a number of articles reflecting on the Governor and Judges, which articles were published in the "Pittsburgh Commonwealth." He was indicted for libel, Judge Woodward acting as complaining witness, prosecutor and judge. Gentle offered to prove the truth of his assertions, but was not permitted to do so, though the only penalty inflicted was to enjoin him from writing any more such letters.

On June 25, 1808, the case of James Peltier vs. James and Francis Lasalle was continued. Capt. John Whipple, a relative of Peltier, afterward met Judge Woodward on the street, accused him of showing partiality to the defendants, called him a damned rascal and other names, and made gestures as if he were about to assault the chief justice. The judge went immediately to his office and issued a warrant returnable before himself. On this warrant Whipple was brought in for trial and was bound over to the next term of court. At the ensuing term he was fined, but the fine was remitted by order of Governor Hull.

When Detroit was surrendered to the British in 1812, Judge Woodward accepted an appointment as secretary of the territory from Col. Henry Proctor, the British military governor. On November 24, 1812, Mr. Poindexter, delegate in Congress from Mississippi Territory, offered the following resolution in the national house of representatives: "Resolved, That a committee be appointed to inquire into the expediency of repealing the act entitled 'An Act to divide the Indiana Territory into two Separate Governments,' passed on the



11th of January, 1805, and of providing more effectually for the government of Michigan Territory; and that the committee have leave to report thereon by bill or otherwise."

In support of his resolution Mr. Poindexter said: "The object I have in view in moving this resolution is to get rid of the salaries of the officers of that territory. Since the surrender of Detroit, their functions have ceased, yet they continue to receive their salaries, while one of them is a British prisoner and another has accepted a commission under British authority. I wish to reorganize the government and enable the proper authority to appoint other officers, such as would, perhaps, administer the government of the territory better than heretofore."

No action was taken on the resolution, probably for the reason that members of Congress believed that Judge Woodward was really trying to serve the inhabitants while acting as a British official. It was known at the time that he had made vigorous protests against some of Colonel Proctor's unjust rulings and this no doubt was responsible for his retention in office.

Judge Woodward was a chronic office seeker and was several times defeated for delegate to Congress. In September, 1819, he was defeated by William Woodbridge, who was then secretary of the territory, acting governor and collector of customs. There was some dissatisfaction over one man holding so many official positions and Mr. Woodbridge resigned the office of delegate. At the election in September, 1820, Judge Woodward was defeated by Solomon Sibley for the unexpired term. The vote of the Michilimackinac district was not counted on account of irregularities. Had it been counted Woodward would have been elected. This was the nearest he ever came to winning success at the polls. In 1821 he was again defeated by Mr. Sibley.

Judge Woodward was slovenly in his dress and untidy in his habits. In the spring of 1821 he made a trip from Detroit to Green Bay on the steamer Walk-in-the-Water. Of this voyage a fellow passenger afterward told the following story:

"The steamer was lying at her little wooden pier at the foot of Bates Street and a goodly number of citizens were on board to take leave of their friends who were passengers. Among those present was Judge Woodward. Just as the steamer was about to cast off her lines, a young man, who had been hurriedly dispatched to the judge's quarters, appeared on board with a clean shirt folded in a red bandanna handkerchief, which he gave to the judge, who announced that he also was a passenger. As the steamer entered the harbor of Mackinaw, where she remained a day, he went below and soon appeared arrayed in clean linen. When the boat left for Green Bay, the clean garment was removed and a soiled one took its place. On arriving at Green Bay a change was again made."

The passenger who told this story did not return to Detroit with the judge but the captain of the steamer afterward told that the judge followed the same course on the return voyage, contriving to make one clean shirt perform duty during the entire time, and to make himself, as he thought, presentable while in port.

Numerous complaints regarding the official conduct of Judge Woodward, signed by the most prominent and influential citizens of Detroit, were sent to Congress. One of these, printed in the "Detroit Gazette" of January 3, 1823, says: "In September, 1820, the court frequently held its sessions from 2

P. M. until 12, 1 and 3 o'clock in the morning of the next day; and cases were disposed of in the absence of both clients and counsel. During these night sittings, suppers of meat and bottles of whiskey were brought into court, and a noisy and merry banquet was partaken at the bar by some, while others were addressing the court in solemn argument, and others presenting to the judges on the bench meat, bread and whiskey and inviting them to partake."

A few weeks before this memorial went to Congress, and while it was in course of preparation, the "Gazette" said editorially: "Another prayer of this petition is, that the law under which our present Supreme Court is constituted may be repealed, and that a law may be passed providing for the appointment of judges and limiting the term of their service to four years. The object of praying for the repeal of this law is, if possible, to effect an immediate riddance of our present judges (we mean the majority of them) and, if that be impracticable, to leave the door open for them to go out at the end of four years."

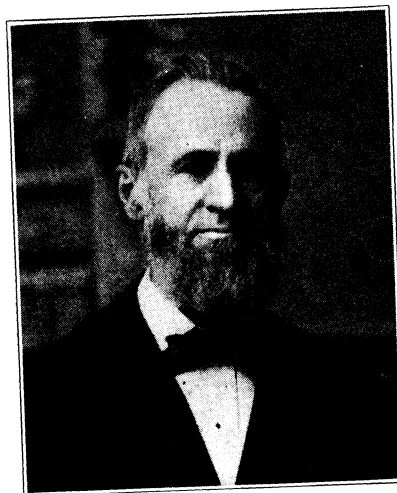
Despite all these protests, Judge Woodward's influence at Washington was strong enough to enable him to hold his position until Congress passed an act, approved by President Monroe on March 3, 1823, limiting the term of the judges to four years from February 1, 1824, and authorizing the people of Michigan to elect eighteen persons, from whom the President should select nine to constitute a Legislative Council. News of the passage of this act was received at Detroit on March 23, 1823, and was hailed with demonstrations of joy. Captain Woodworth's company fired a salute, there were bonfires and music in the evening, after which a number of the leading citizens partook of a supper at the Sagina Hotel, then kept by Colonel Smyth, on the west side of Woodward Avenue, between Jefferson Avenue and Woodbridge Street, Governor Cass presiding. The sentiments expressed at this supper convinced Judge Woodward of his unpopularity in Detroit. He resigned soon afterward and went to Washington to solicit another appointment as judge in some other territory. President Monroe appointed him as one of the judges of Florida and he died at Tallahassee on July 12, 1827.

In fairness to Judge Woodward, it should be said that no sketch of him would be complete which shows only his idiosyncrasies, his foibles and his eccentricities. He was a "character," it is true, but he had his virtues as well as his faults. He was identified with the Detroit Mechanics' Society and the Lyceum of Detroit; was one of the organizers of the Bank of Michigan in 1818; drafted the act for the establishment of the University of Michigan; was a writer of no mean ability, and was interested in various enterprises for the improvement of Detroit. Probably none of his contemporaries, with the exception of Governor Cass, left the impress of his personality to a greater extent upon the Territory of Michigan or the City of Detroit. Woodward Avenue, the Grand Circus and the Campus Martius remain as constant reminders of this peculiar individual.

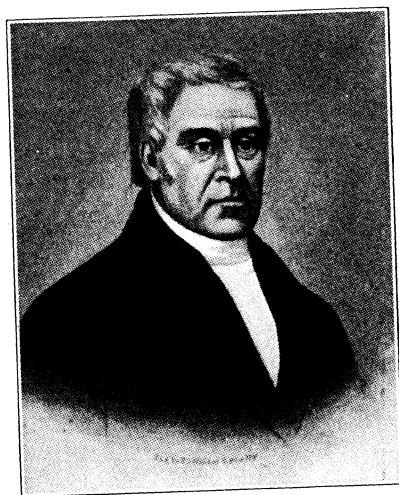
Frederick Bates, who served as associate justice but a short time, was a native of Virginia, but left his native state while a youth and went to Ohio. In 1797 he came to Detroit, where he engaged in the mercantile business and studied law. On January 1, 1803, he was appointed the postmaster of Detroit, the second to fill this office, and held that position until January 1, 1806. He was the first receiver of the Detroit land office when it was opened in 1804; was a member of the board of trustees of the Town of Detroit in 1804-05; was appointed one of the first territorial justices in that year, and was the first ter-



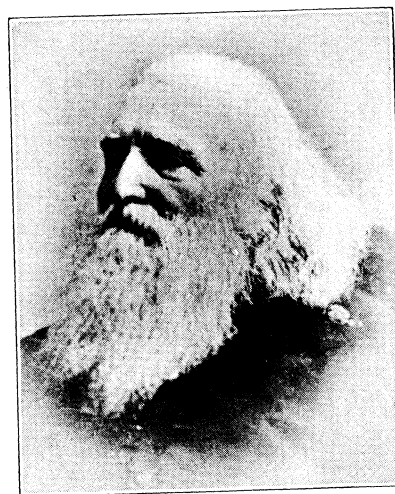
Judge Isaac Marston



Judge Thomas M. Cooley



Judge James Witherell



Judge Ross Wilkins

OLD PORTRAITS OF PROMINENT DETROIT MEN



ritorial treasurer. On November 26, 1806, not liking his associations, he resigned the offices of judge and treasurer and the receivership of the land office and went to Missouri, where he afterward became governor. Bates Street in Detroit was named in his honor. A younger brother, Edward Bates, was attorney-general in the cabinet of President Lincoln.

John Griffin, who served as one of the territorial justices from 1805 to 1823, was a native of Virginia, but at the time Michigan Territory was created he was serving as one of the territorial judges of the Indiana Territory. When Samuel Huntington declined the appointment of associate justice in Michigan, Judge Griffin asked for and received it. He has been characterized as "Judge Woodward's man Friday," because he was always ready to cooperate with and do the bidding of the chief justice. He resigned at the same time as Judge Woodward in 1823 and dropped out of Michigan history.

Judge Bates was succeeded on the bench by James Witherell, who was born at Mansfield, Massachusetts, June 16, 1759. His ancestors came from England in the early part of the Seventeenth Century. In June, 1775, when only sixteen years of age, he enlisted in the Continental army and served through the Revolutionary war. He was with Washington's troops at the siege of Boston; fought at Bemis Heights, Monmouth and in numerous minor engagements; was wounded in the battle of White Plains; was present at the surrender of General Burgoyne at Saratoga, and saw Major Andre executed at Tappan. When mustered out he had \$70 in Continental scrip. He then went to Connecticut, where he studied medicine, after which he removed to Vermont. From 1798 to 1803 he was a member of the Vermont Legislature, then served as county judge for two years, and in 1807 was elected to Congress. On April 23, 1808, he was appointed by President Jefferson associate justice of Michigan Territory and came to Detroit. After Judge Woodward resigned in 1823 he became chief justice and was the author of the "Witherell Code." In 1812 he was in command of the territorial militia and was taken prisoner by the British when Detroit was surrendered by General Hull. The following year he was exchanged, when he bought the Witherell farm and lived there until 1836. He then moved into the city and died there on January 6, 1838.

Upon the resignation of Judges Woodward and Griffin, President Monroe filled the vacancies by the appointment of Solomon Sibley and John Hunt to fill the vacancies on the bench. Judge Sibley has been called "one of the best and wisest men who ever lived in Michigan." He was born at Sutton, Massachusetts, October 7, 1769, studied law in Rhode Island and began practice at Marietta, Ohio. While Detroit was still in the Northwest Territory, he attended the sessions of the court held there and liking the town became a resident in 1797. Two years later he was elected to represent Wayne County in the General Assembly of the Northwest Territory and introduced in that body the bill to incorporate Detroit, which became a law in January, 1802. He was the first mayor of the city under the charter of 1806; was auditor of Michigan Territory from 1814 to 1817; United States district attorney from 1815 to 1823; was elected delegate to Congress in 1820 for the unexpired term of William Woodbridge; reelected in 1821 for a full term of two years; and served as justice of the territorial Supreme Court from 1824 until Michigan was admitted to statehood.

Judge Hunt was also a native of Massachusetts, where he studied law and was admitted to the bar. He came to Detroit about 1819 and from that time

until his appointment as associate justice in 1824 was engaged in the practice of his profession, winning the reputation of being one of the most prominent attorneys in the territory. He died in 1827 and was succeeded by Herny Chipman, of Vermont.

The act of January 30, 1823, provided for the appointment of a third associate justice, who should hold courts in the counties of Brown, Crawford and Mackinaw. James Duane Doty was appointed as the third associate. His jurisdiction extended over the Upper Peninsula and the greater part of the present State of Wisconsin. He was born in Salem, New York, in 1799, studied law in his native state, came to Detroit in 1818, was admitted to the bar the following year and at the same time was appointed clerk of the Supreme Court. He served as associate justice until 1832. The Territory of Wisconsin was created in 1836. He afterward served as delegate to Congress, as a member of the Wisconsin constitutional convention in 1846, served two terms in Congress after that state was admitted, and was appointed governor of Utah Territory by President Lincoln.

Between the years 1824 and 1837 there were but few changes in the personnel of the Supreme Court of the territory. The change caused by the death of Judge Hunt was the first. In January, 1828, Chief Justice Witherell resigned and was succeeded by William Woodbridge, Judge Witherell becoming secretary of the territory. In 1832, for political reasons, Judges Woodbridge, Chipman and Doty were superseded by George Morell, Ross Wilkins and David Irwin. Mr. Morell was made chief justice and from that time until Michigan was admitted in 1837, the Supreme Court was composed of Justices Morell, Sibley, Wilkins and Irwin.

#### INFERIOR COURTS

The history of the territorial courts of Michigan is chiefly embraced in the above account of the Supreme Court. The inferior courts were District Court, the Probate Court, the Circuit Court, the County Court and the justices of the peace, but the records of all are so meager that it would be difficult to give an intelligent account of them.

District courts were authorized by the act of July 25, 1805. Prior to the passage of the act, the governor had divided the territory into four judicial districts, viz.: Erie, Detroit, Huron and Michilimackinac. Judge Doty was assigned to the last named district, while Judges Witherell, Sibley and Hunt held court in the Lower Peninsula. Sessions of the court were held in the District of Detroit beginning on the first Monday in May and the third Monday in August of each year, and were presided over by one of the territorial judges. By Governor Hull's proclamation of July 3, 1805, the District of Detroit was bounded as follows:

"Beginning at the River Detroit on the boundary line of the United States of America, five miles north of the position of the center of the citadel in the ancient Town of Detroit; thence in a due west line to the boundary of the Indian title, as established by the treaties of Fort McIntosh, Fort Harmar and Fort Greenville; thence with the same ten miles, and thence in a due east line to the boundary of the United States."

The first session of the District Court was held in Detroit on Thursday, August 19, 1805. The first entry in the court record is as follows: "On the 19th day of August, 1805, at eleven o'clock in the forenoon, in the grand square

of the new City of Detroit, under a green bower, provided for that purpose by the marshal of the Territory of Michigan, a session of the District Court for Huron and Detroit was held, at which was present Frederick Bates, senior associate judge of the Territory of Michigan. James May, marshal of the Territory of Michigan, opened the court in the following words: 'Attention! The District Court for Huron and Detroit District is now sitting. Silence commanded on pain of imprisonment'."

On October 7, 1805, the Governor and Judges, sitting in their legislative capacity, voted an appropriation of \$8.00, "in payment to Michael Monette and Valne, in laboring in the erection of a bower for the holding of a court."

By the act of April 2, 1807, which was passed in response to a petition from the inhabitants of Detroit, the District Court was made to consist of a district judge and two associates, residents of the district, to be appointed by the governor and to hold office during good behavior. Under this law George McDougall was appointed district judge; James Abbott and Jacob Visger, associates; Peter Audrain, clerk. The court was abolished in September, 1810, part of its powers being then transferred to the Supreme Court and the rest to the justices of the peace, whose powers were enlarged. The Circuit, Probate and County courts were all carried over into the State of Michigan, after it was admitted into the Union in 1837, and will be noticed later.

#### MICHIGAN STATE COURTS

In the constitutional convention of 1835 the opinion was unanimous that the legislative and judicial powers of the state government should be separated. This opinion found expression in Article III as follows:

"The powers of the government shall be divided into three distinct departments: The Legislative, the Executive and the Judicial; and one department shall never exercise the power of another, except in such cases as are expressly provided for in this Constitution."

It was also provided in the constitution that the judicial power should be vested in a Supreme Court and such other courts as the Legislature might from time to time establish. Under this authority the Legislature, at its first session and before the state was admitted, passed acts providing for the organization of the Supreme Court, Circuit Courts and a Court of Chancery.

#### SUPREME COURT

By the act of March 26, 1836, the Supreme Court was organized with three justices, to be appointed by the governor "with the advice and consent of the senate." These justices were to hold office for seven years and were "to receive adequate compensation for their services, which shall not be diminished during their term of office." The salary was fixed at \$1,500 per year, though on July 18, 1836, Governor Mason approved an act allowing the chief justice \$100 additional, making his salary \$1,600. The jurisdiction of the court was chiefly appellate, most of the cases coming before being appealed from the lower courts.

The first Supreme Court was composed of William A. Fletcher, chief justice; Epaphroditus Ransom, associate justice. In 1838 the Revised Statutes made provision for a third associate justice and Charles W. Whipple was appointed. A fourth justice was authorized by the act of April 3, 1848, and Edward Mundy was appointed. The members of the Supreme Court under the constitution of 1835, with the year in which each took his place upon the bench, were: Wil-

liam A. Fletcher, Epaphroditus Ransom and George Morell, 1836; Charles W. Whipple, 1839; Alpheus Felch, 1844; Daniel Goodwin, 1844; Warner Wing, 1846; George Miles, 1847; Sanford M. Green, 1848; Edward Mundy, 1849. Fletcher, Ransom and Mundy were the chief justices in the order named.

#### CIRCUIT COURTS

The act of March 26, 1836, provided that each of the justices of the Supreme Court should be the presiding judge of a Circuit Court, the associate justices of which should be elected by the people in each county. The state was therefore divided into three circuits and Detroit, Ann Arbor and Kalamazoo were designated as the places of holding court in the respective circuits. The first circuit was composed of the counties of Chippewa, Lapeer, Mackinaw, Macomb, St. Clair and Wayne. The circuit courts were given the same jurisdiction and powers they possessed under the territorial regime, except in matters of chancery.

On March 25, 1840, the state was divided into five circuits, Wayne County being made a circuit by itself. George Morell was the presiding judge in the first circuit until 1844; Daniel Goodwin, from 1844 to 1847; Warner Wing, from 1847 to 1851. The associate justices in Wayne County during the same period, with the year when each entered upon his duties, were: Cyrus Howard and Charles Moran, 1837; Eli Bradshaw, 1841; Robert T. Elliott, 1841; Ebenezer Farnsworth, 1842; J. H. Bagg, 1845; J. Gunning, 1845.

#### COURT OF CHANCERY

This court was established by the act of March 26, 1836, to go into effect on the fourth of the following July. The act provided that the governor should nominate and the senate confirm a chancellor, who should hold office for seven years and receive an annual salary of \$1,500. Elon Farnsworth, of Detroit, was appointed chancellor. He was born at Woodstock, Vermont, February 2, 1799, graduated at Middlebury College and studied law in his native state. In 1822 he came to Detroit, where he became associated with the law firm of Sibley & Whitney. When Mr. Sibley was called to the Supreme Bench in 1824, the firm became Whitney & Farnsworth. Mr. Whitney died in 1826 and Mr. Farnsworth formed a partnership with Daniel Goodwin, which lasted until he was appointed chancellor in 1836. He resigned in March, 1842, on account of failing health, and was succeeded by Randolph Manning, who held the office until the Chancery Court was abolished by the act of March 1, 1847, and its jurisdiction conferred on the circuit courts. This was the only distinctive equity court in the entire judicial history of Michigan.

#### CONSTITUTION OF 1850

A number of changes (none of them radical) was made in the judicial system of the state by the constitution of 1850, which provided that the judicial department should consist of a Supreme Court, Circuit and Probate Courts, Justices' Courts, and such municipal courts of civil and criminal jurisdiction as might be established in the cities by legislative action. The constitution also provided that for the term of six years, and until the Legislature should otherwise direct by suitable legislation, the judges of the several circuit courts (eight in number) should be justices of the Supreme Court. After six years the Legislature might provide by law for the organization of a Supreme Court with one chief justice and three associate justices, to be elected by the voters of the state, and, when



the court should be thus organized, no further change should be made for eight years.

The first term of the Supreme Court as thus constituted was held in Detroit in January, 1852. Warner Wing, of the first circuit was chosen chief justice. The judges from the other seven circuits, in numerical order, were: Charles W. Whipple, Samuel T. Douglass, David Johnson, Abner Pratt, Joseph F. Copeland, Sanford M. Green and George Martin.

On February 16, 1857, Governor Bingham approved an act providing that from and after January 1, 1858, the Supreme Court should consist of a chief justice and three associate justices, to be elected by the voters of the state, one for two years, one for four years, one for six years and one for eight years, after which one justice should be elected biennially to serve the full term of eight years. Under this act the Supreme Court consisted of George Martin, chief justice; James V. Campbell, Isaac P. Christiancy and Randolph Manning, associate justices. Judge Manning died on August 31, 1864, and was succeeded on the bench by Thomas M. Cooley. Chief Justice Martin died on December 15, 1867, and was succeeded by Benjamin F. Graves; Isaac P. Christiancy resigned on February 27, 1875, having been elected United States senator. His successor was Isaac Marston. A recent writer, in commenting upon the Michigan Supreme Court, says:

“In all essential particulars, the court established by the Act of 1857 exists today. Changes in the number composing the court have been conservatively made. In 1887 the number of justices was increased to five and the term of the additional justice, and all justices elected after 1887, was extended to ten years. In 1903 the number of justices was increased to eight. The term of office was reduced to eight years. \* \* \* It is without invidiousness or disparagement to any to say (on the contrary, it will be conceded by all), that the court composed of Justices Christiancy, Campbell, Cooley and Graves—a court which was largely concerned with laying the foundations of our jurisprudence—was unsurpassed by any court of any other state in the Union.”

Of all the justices of the Supreme Court, Cooley and Campbell are the best known to the general public, the latter largely through his authorship of a “History of Michigan.” Judge Campbell was born at Buffalo, New York, February 25, 1823, of Scotch ancestry. His parents were Henry M. and Lois (Bushnell) Campbell, and the celebrated Congregational minister, Horace Bushnell, was a first cousin. In 1841 Judge Campbell graduated at St. Paul’s College, an Episcopal institution at Flushing, Long Island. He then studied law with Douglass & Walker, of Buffalo, and in 1844 was admitted to the bar. For five years he was secretary of the board of regents of the University of Michigan. When the law department of the University was established in 1858, he was appointed to the Marshall professorship, a position he held for twenty-five years. He took his place upon the Supreme Bench in 1858 and served continuously until 1890—the longest time for which any judge was ever elected by the people.

#### COUNTY COURTS

By the act of the Michigan Legislature, approved by Governor Cass on October 24, 1815, a County Court consisting of a chief justice and two associates was created. Wayne County was then the only one in Michigan Territory and the act provided that the sessions of the court should begin on the first Monday in January and the third Monday in June, until such time as another

county should be erected. The court was given original jurisdiction in the trial of all offenses except those in which the penalty was capital punishment. On November 9, 1815, James Abbott was appointed chief justice, Henry J. Hunt and John R. Williams, associate justices, and the first term was held in the old council house, beginning on January 2, 1816.

By the act of April 15, 1833, the court was abolished and its business was transferred to the Circuit Court. It was revived by the Revised Statutes of 1846, in a slightly different form. Instead of a chief justice and two associates, the court consisted of a county judge and a second judge, elected by the voters. As thus constituted the county court continued in existence until the constitution of 1850 went into effect. Following is a list of the judges of the Wayne County court and the date of their appointment:

Chief Justices—James Abbott, November 9, 1815; John L. Leib, June 17, 1822; William A. Fletcher, March 25, 1823; B. F. H. Witherell, June 5, 1824; William A. Fletcher, December 31, 1824, Henry Chipman, December 19, 1825; Asa M. Robinson, December 28, 1826; Daniel LeRoy, January 18, 1828; Melvin Dorr, June 26, 1828; John McDonnell, January 13, 1830.

Associate Justices—Henry J. Hunt and John R. Williams, November 9, 1815; John McDonnell, January 17, 1817; B. F. H. Witherell, May 23, 1823; Philip Lecuyer, December 23, 1823; Melvin Dorr, August 4, 1824; Shubael Conant, April 14, 1827; Peter Desnoyers, June 26, 1828; William Barstow, January 14, 1830; Orville Cook, July 28, 1830; Charles Moran, March 4, 1831; James Williams, March 4, 1831.

After the court was revived in 1846, E. S. Lee served as county judge and Cyrus Howard as second judge until 1850. In that year B. F. H. Witherell was elected county judge and Cyrus Howard was reelected second judge, but the new constitution was ratified at the same election and they did not enter upon their judicial duties.

#### WAYNE CIRCUIT COURT

Mention of the Circuit Courts under the territorial governments of Indiana and Michigan and the constitution of 1835, has already been made. The act of February 16, 1857, which went into effect at the beginning of the following year, made the separation of the Supreme and Circuit courts complete, and thus defined the jurisdiction of the latter:

“The said Circuit Courts within and for their respective counties shall have and exercise original and exclusive jurisdiction on all civil actions and remedies of whatever description, and of all prosecutions in the name of the people of this state for crimes, misdemeanors, offenses and penalties, except in cases where exclusive or concurrent jurisdiction shall be given to, or possessed by, some other court or tribunal, in virtue of some statutory provision, or of the principles and usage of law, and shall have such appellate jurisdiction and powers as may be provided by law; and the said courts shall also have and exercise, within and for their respective counties, all the powers usually possessed by courts of record at the common law and in equity, subject to such modifications as may be provided by the laws of this state, for the full exercise of the jurisdiction hereby conferred.”

The courts were also given power to make their own rules for regulating practice until such time as the Supreme Court should prepare and publish .

uniform code of rules; to order changes of venue; to hear and determine cases submitted by agreement; to reserve questions of law for the decision of the Supreme Court; to grant writs of supersedeas or prohibition in vacation for cause shown; and to make all orders necessary for carrying into effect the jurisdiction vested in such court.

By the act of January 29, 1858, Wayne and Cheboygan counties were made the third circuit. At the special session of the Legislature in 1858 the laws relating to the Circuit Courts were amended and the number of circuits increased to ten. On March 27, 1867, Governor Crapo approved an act making Wayne County a circuit by itself. The judges of this circuit, since the adoption of the constitution of 1850, have been as follows:

Samuel T. Douglass, who was judge when the new system went into effect, resigned and B. F. H. Witherell was appointed. He was elected at the next regular election and remained on the bench until his death in 1866. He was succeeded by Charles I. Walker, who resigned in 1868. Henry B. Brown was appointed to the vacancy and held the office until the next regular election, when he was succeeded by Jared Patchin. Cornelius J. Reilly was elected at the spring election in 1875 and continued on the bench until November 3, 1879, when he resigned. F. H. Chambers was appointed to the vacancy and was elected in 1881 for a full term. At the same election a constitutional amendment providing for more than one judge in Wayne County was adopted by a vote of 53,840 to 6,628. The Legislature at the next session passed an act providing for two additional judges and in November, 1882, William Jennison and John J. Speed were elected. The Legislature of 1887 added a fourth judge and in April of that year Henry N. Brevoort, George Gartner, George S. Hosmer and Cornelius J. Reilly were chosen for the full term and William Look was elected to serve from May 1, 1887, to January 1, 1888. A fifth judge was added by the Legislature of 1891 and Robert E. Frazer was appointed. The judges elected in 1893 were: William L. Carpenter, Joseph W. Donovan, Robert E. Frazer, George S. Hosmer and Willard M. Lillibridge. Judges Carpenter, Donovan, Frazer and Hosmer were all reelected in 1899 and Judge Lillibridge was succeeded by Morse Rhonert. The Legislature of that year added a sixth judge to the Wayne Circuit Court. Byron S. Waite was appointed and served until the April election in 1901, when Flavius L. Brooke was elected. In November, 1902, Judge Carpenter was elected to the Supreme Court and Henry A. Mandell was appointed to the vacancy. Judges Brooke, Donovan, Frazer, Hosmer and Rhonert were all reelected in 1905 and Alfred L. Murphy succeeded Judge Mandell. Judge Brooke resigned in the fall of 1909 and James O. Murfin was appointed in his place. Judge Rhonert died in March, 1911, and George P. Codd was appointed to fill the unexpired term. At the April election in 1911 George P. Codd, P. J. M. Hally, George S. Hosmer, Henry A. Mandell, Alfred J. Murphy and Philip T. Van Zile were elected. The rapid growth of Detroit made it necessary to increase the capacity of the court and since 1911 three judges have been added. The judges at the beginning of the year 1920, were: George P. Codd, Harry J. Dingeman, George S. Hosmer, Ormond F. Hunt, Ira W. Jayne, Henry A. Mandell, Adolph F. Marschner, Clyde I. Webster and Arthur Webster. Since this time Judge Hosmer has passed away, and Judge Codd resigned after his election to Congress in 1920. Joseph A. Moynihan is now serving upon the Circuit Court bench and in March, 1921 Theodore J. Richter was appointed to succeed Judge Hosmer.

## CIRCUIT COURT COMMISSIONERS

In November, 1820, while Michigan was still a territory, an act was passed providing for "commissioners of bail." Charles C. Trowbridge and John Winder were appointed early in the following year and served until the office was abolished and the powers of the commissioners conferred on the justices of the peace and the Circuit Court commissioners.

On March 9, 1843, Governor Barry approved an act authorizing him to appoint a circuit court commissioner in each county of the state, with jurisdiction in cases between landlord and tenant, where title to property was not involved; accept bail in suits to recover damages; determine the amount of bail in such cases, and under certain conditions issue writs of habeas corpus. Two commissioners in each county were authorized by the act of April 2, 1850, said commissioners to serve for four years. Under the act of April 8, 1851, Wayne County was given a third commissioner, to serve until January 1, 1853. At that time there was still a demand for the extra commissioner and on February 14, 1853, the Legislature authorized the appointment of one to serve until January 1, 1855. Since that time two commissioners have been elected by the people biennially. In 1869 the power to issue writs of habeas corpus was taken away from these commissioners by an act of the Legislature. A list of the Circuit Court commissioners will be found in the chapter entitled "Statistical Review."

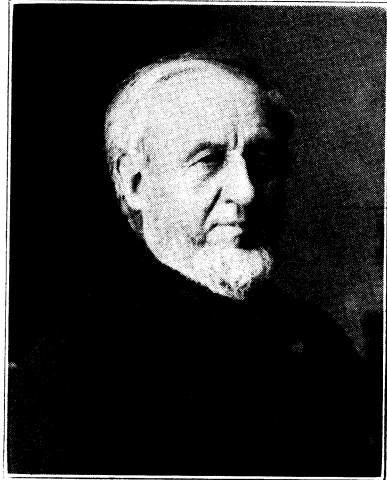
## PROBATE COURT

The Probate Court of Wayne County is the successor of the old Court of Proofs and the Orphans' Court of the Northwest Territory. After the creation of Michigan Territory, the Governor and Judges on January 31, 1809, directed the judge of probate to appoint a register. A number of acts relating to this court were passed during the next twenty-five years, none of which altered its jurisdiction in the matter of settling estates, etc. Prior to the year 1859 the probate judge was paid by fees. In that year he was paid a salary of \$2,750, which continued to 1880, when the board of auditors were authorized to fix the salary, which should not be less than \$2,500 nor more than \$3,000. About a year later the salary was increased to \$3,500. In 1913 the Legislature increased the number of probate judges in Wayne County to three. A list of the judges may be found in the "Statistical Review," near the close of this volume.

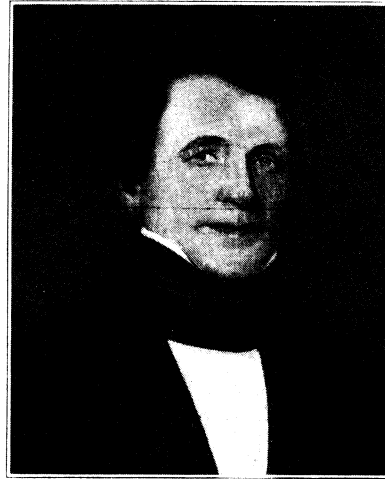
## MAYOR'S COURT

Under the city charter of August 5, 1824, the mayor, recorder and aldermen, or any three of them, were authorized to hold a court on the second Monday in each month (and to continue in session for three days), for the trial of persons charged with violation of the city ordinances and laws. This tribunal was known as the "Mayor's Court." After a few years the common council fixed the dates for holding court, two aldermen being designated from time to time to sit with the mayor as judges.

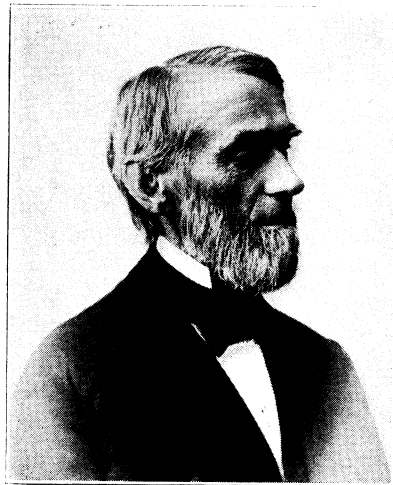
The theory upon which this court was founded may have been sound, but in practice many of the sessions were little better than a farce. The mayor and aldermen would levy a fine or sentence an offender to jail, but the culprit, by appealing to the council, had little difficulty in securing a remission of the fine or obtaining his release from prison. By an amendment to the charter on June



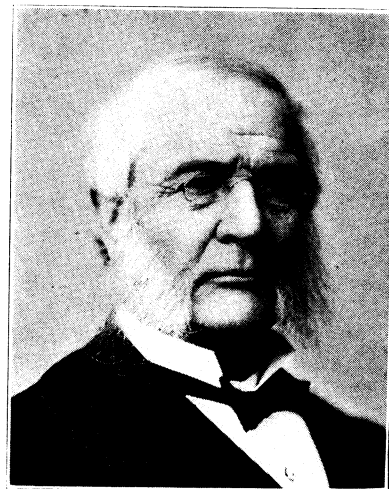
Theodore Romeyn



Alexander D. Fraser



Halmor H. Emmons



Charles C. Trowbridge

OLD PORTRAITS OF PROMINENT DETROIT MEN



29, 1832, the council was given power to employ persons convicted to work on the streets "with ball and chain attached." This put a stop to the practice of appealing to the council, but after a number of prisoners escaped the employment of convicts in this manner was ordered discontinued.

The court continued to pass sentence upon offenders and prisoners were kept in idleness at the city's expense until June 18, 1839, when the street commissioner was instructed to employ men serving a jail sentence upon the streets and credit them with the customary wages for such labor, their earnings to be applied to the payment of fines and costs. This custom prevailed for several years. The Mayor's Court was finally superseded by the

#### RECORDER'S COURT

The act of February 5, 1857, made several amendments to the city charter, one of which was the establishment of the Recorder's Court, to take the place of the Mayor's Court. This court had original and exclusive jurisdiction in all prosecutions and proceedings in behalf of the people of the state for crimes, offenses and misdemeanors arising under the laws of the state and committed within the corporate limits of the city, except in cases cognizable by the Police Court. It also had jurisdiction over violations of the city ordinances, all offenses against the charter, all complaints under the truancy law, all matters pertaining to the opening and extending of streets, alleys and boulevards, condemnation proceedings, etc. It had power to grant writs of habeas corpus and certorari in criminal cases in the City of Detroit, and to hear and determine cases of forcible or unlawful entry and detainer, though cases of the last description were usually brought before the circuit court commissioners.

The first session of the court was held on January 12, 1858, with Henry A. Morrow presiding. The only business transacted at that session was the adoption of a design for a seal, which is thus described in the records: "The seal is of circular form and has engraved upon it the following devices: An American shield resting upon a ribbon-like scroll, having upon it the words 'Spectemur Agendo,' occupies a central position, having upon the left a figure of Justice and upon the right a figure of Mercy. Justice is blindfolded and holds in her right hand a pair of scales and in her left a sword. Mercy has her right hand gently folded upon her bosom and her left extended toward the earth. An eagle with outstretched pinions stands in the middle of the seal on a line with the heads of the figures just described. The seal is surrounded near its outer edge by the words: 'Seal of the Recorder's Court of the City of Detroit, Mich.'"

Six terms of this court were held during the year, commencing on the first Wednesday in January, March, May, July, September and November. The court consisted of a recorder and a judge, who were elected at the April election for a term of six years. At the election in April, 1917, Charles T. Wilkins was chosen recorder and Edward J. Jeffries, judge. This court is now known as the Municipal Recorder's Court, as described in a later chapter.

#### POLICE COURT

By an act of the Legislature, approved by Governor Barry on April 2, 1850, a Police Court was established for the City of Detroit. P. C. Higgins was the first police justice and the early sessions of the court were held at his office on Jefferson Avenue. When B. R. Bagg was elected justice in 1852, the court was removed to Mechanics Hall on Griswold Street. This building was partially

destroyed by fire on March 15, 1861, and a few sessions of the court were held in the Congregational Church on Jefferson Avenue. In August, 1861, Justice Bagg was notified by the church officials that the building could no longer be used for a court room. Unable to find suitable quarters on short notice, he held two or three sessions under the trees near Michigan Avenue on the lot now occupied by the city hall. The court then sat in the council chamber of the old city hall until the building on Clinton Street was completed in January, 1863.

Two police justices were provided for by an act of the Legislature, which took effect on July 4, 1885, and a supplementary act in 1913, provided for a third. The Police Court had original and exclusive jurisdiction to hear, try and determine all criminal cases wherein the crime, misdemeanor or offense charged shall have been committed within the corporate limits of the City of Detroit, or on property owned or controlled by the city, as are by the laws of the state established within the jurisdiction of justices of the peace.

The new city charter provided that: "At the biennial spring election to be held in 1919, there shall be elected two police justices to hold office for four years from the fourth day of July, 1919, and until their successors are elected and qualified, and at the biennial spring election in 1921, one police justice shall be elected for the term of four years to hold office from and after the fourth day of July, 1921, and until his successor is elected and qualified. At each alternate biennial spring election after the year 1921, there shall be elected two police justices, and at the intervening biennial spring election one police justice, each of whom shall serve for a term of four years from and after the fourth day of July succeeding the election."

Thomas M. Cotter and William H. Heston were elected in April, 1919, for the term ending on July 4, 1923, Christopher E. Stein holding over for the term ending on July 4, 1921. The Police Court was merged into the new Municipal Court in 1920.

#### NEW MUNICIPAL COURT

In 1920, through the operation of the Municipal Court reform bill, fathered by Pliny W. Marsh in the Legislature, two extra judgeships were created and Marsh and Harry B. Keidan were appointed by Governor Sleeper. The Municipal Court act was approved in Detroit by a vote of 106,081 to 30,588. There was litigation in opposition to the new court, which merged the jurisdiction of the old Police Court with the Recorder's Court, and the matter was carried before the state Supreme Court. The establishment of the new Municipal Recorder's Court was upheld as constitutional. The judges of the Municipal Court in 1922 are: Harry B. Keidan, Edward J. Jeffries, William M. Heston, Pliny W. Marsh, Thomas M. Cotter, John Faust, and Charles L. Bartlett. Judge Charles Wilkinson died in 1920 while serving in this Court.

#### SUPERIOR COURT

In 1869 a movement was started to enlarge the jurisdiction of the Recorder's Court and to attach Monroe County to the new circuit. The proposition did not originate in Wayne County, but with some members of the Legislature from the interior of the state. The bench and bar of Detroit opposed it so vigorously that the project was abandoned, but the agitation of the subject resulted in the establishment of the Superior Court by the act of March 28, 1873. The first session was held on June 11th of that year with Lyman Cochrane as judge.



For a time the court sat in the Seitz Block on Congress Street, then in the McGraw Block on Griswold Street, and in the spring of 1883 it occupied the council chamber in the city hall for a short time until quarters were provided for it in the Central Market Building. In 1879 J. Logan Chipman was elected to succeed Judge Cochrane and held the office until the court was abolished by the act of February 17, 1887.

## UNITED STATES COURTS

During the territorial era the judges appointed by the President were given power to try offenses against the United States laws. Circuit and District Courts in Michigan were provided for by the act of Congress, approved by President Jackson on July 1, 1836. Ross Wilkins, of Detroit, one of the territorial justices, was appointed district judge for Michigan. He was born in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, February 19, 1799, graduated at Carlisle College when he was eighteen years of age, studied law and began practice in his native city. In 1832 he was appointed one of the territorial judges of Michigan. In 1837 he was elected recorder, but held the office only a short time, resigning to accept the position of Federal district judge.

Michigan was divided into two districts in 1863 and Judge Wilkins continued as judge of the eastern district until March 4, 1870, when he was succeeded by John W. Longyear. Judge Longyear died on March 11, 1875, and Henry B. Brown was appointed as his successor, taking his place on the bench on April 6, 1875. Judge Brown was appointed justice of the United States Supreme Court on December 20, 1890, by President Harrison. His successors upon the bench in the eastern district of Michigan were: Henry H. Swan, Alexis C. Angell and Arthur J. Tuttle.

Prior to 1869 the Circuit Court was presided over by one of the justices of the United States Supreme Court sitting as the "Circuit Justice," but by far the larger part of the business was transacted by the District Court. Between the years of 1836 and 1869, the United States Circuit Court in Michigan was presided over by John McLean or Noah H. Swayne.

After the Civil war, the time of the Supreme Court was fully taken up in the exercise of its appellate jurisdiction and the justices were no longer able to preside over the Circuit Courts. To improve this condition of affairs, Congress passed an act, approved by President Grant on April 10, 1869, creating the office of circuit judge and dividing the country into circuits. Michigan was included in the sixth circuit and Halmor H. Emmons, of Detroit, was the first judge of that circuit under the new law.

## THE DETROIT BAR

The first legally qualified attorney in Michigan was Walter Roe, who began practice in the British Court of Common Pleas in 1789 and was the only regularly licensed attorney to practice in that court during the five years of its existence. After the United States came into possession, and until Michigan Territory was organized in 1805, lawyers from Ohio and Indiana attended the sessions of the court at Detroit. Among those early lawyers were Arthur St. Clair, Jr., a son of the governor of the Northwest Territory, Jacob Burnett, of Cincinnati, and Solomon Sibley, of Marietta, who subsequently became a resident of Detroit.

John Winder, a prominent and respected attorney of the last generation, was born November 24, 1793 in New Jersey, and landed at the foot of Bates

Street, Detroit, from Cleveland on October 3, 1824, with no money, but plenty of determination. His career in a clerical capacity in the Supreme and United States courts was one of accomplishment and gave to him a wide acquaintance among the leading lawyers of the day. Winder lost his wife and a son during the cholera epidemic of 1832.

John S. Abbott was a well known attorney in the '30s and '40s; he was known particularly as an office lawyer, for he never pleaded in the courts. Born in Connecticut in 1814, he died of tuberculosis at Detroit, September 26, 1852.

Samuel Yorke At Lee was born at Philadelphia, January 4, 1809. When about thirty years of age he came to Detroit, but went to Washington in the '50s.

John G. Atterbury, born in Baltimore in 1811, came to Detroit in 1836 for both business and health. Here he practiced law, later with Samuel Pitts in the late '30s, also with Alpheus S. Williams.

Henry Titus Backus came to Detroit in 1834; he was a relative of William Woodbridge, and practiced in partnership with his kinsman (also father-in-law later), also with David C. Harbaugh. He was a grand master in the Masons, had a penchant for big words and foreign expression, and possessed an undecipherable handwriting. He died in 1877.

Dr. Joseph A. Bagg was first a practicing physician, but afterward became a lawyer and judge in Detroit. He was born in Massachusetts in 1797 and, after various migrations, came to Detroit in 1838, where his two brothers, John S. and A. Smith Bagg had become prominent in business. Silas A. Bagg was another brother who became prominent here. Joseph A. Bagg died in 1864, aged sixty-seven.

The Barstow School, established in 1850, was named after Samuel Barstow, attorney, who worked hard in the interest of Detroit schools. He "was an excellent lawyer, a man of good sense and strict integrity, and was universally respected." A New Yorker, Barstow came to Detroit in the early '30s and died in 1856.

Asher B. Bates, born in Genesee County, N. Y., in 1810, came to Detroit in 1831, and here had an honorable career as an attorney, justice of the peace, city attorney and mayor. He passed away in 1873 of leprosy contracted in Hawaii.

Levi Bishop was a prominent attorney and citizen of Detroit during a score of years. Originally a shoemaker, an exploding cannon which he was loading on the Campus tore off his hand, whereupon he became a lawyer. He was a scholar, and attorney of attainments, a writer, and an active worker in politics. He died in 1881.

Alexander W. Buel came to Detroit in 1831 from Vermont when he was twenty-one years of age. He became very well known as an able lawyer, was city attorney, member of the Legislature (where he was a pro tem speaker), prosecuting attorney, congressman, and postmaster at Detroit. He died of pneumonia in 1868.

Geo. M. Bull, attorney and official of the '30s and '40s, was born in New York state in 1802 and came to Detroit in 1835, where he received some prominence in military affairs as well as legal. He died in 1873.

Anson Burlingame, one of the great political orators of the United States, spent his boyhood and received his knowledge of law in Detroit. He was born in New York state, but when ten years old was brought to Detroit by his parents. He won his renown in Boston.

Oscar F. Cargill, who lived in Detroit from 1840 to 1863, was a respected citizen, merchant, lawyer, banker and real estate operator.

Henry Chipman, father of the late J. Logan Chipman, was a Vermonter and located in Detroit in 1824, where he practiced his profession. He was an ardent whig and a man of literary ability. He became a supreme justice in 1827, having been associated with Woodbridge, Doty and Sibley. He was judge of the District Criminal Court in 1841 and United States Commissioner in 1845. He died in 1867, aged eighty-three years.

Henry S. and James L. Cole were leading barristers of the early '30s. The brothers opened an office here on January 25, 1822. Henry Cole was city treasurer, probate judge, alderman, recorder, and territorial attorney-general in 1836, in which year he died at the prime of life, thirty-six years.

Divie Bethune Duffield was born in Pennsylvania in 1821 and was a son of Dr. George Duffield, the noted pastor of Detroit's First Protestant Society. Educated for the law at Dartmouth and Yale, he returned to Detroit and became a partner with George V. N. Lothrop, and later with his brother, Henry M. A complete sketch of D. Bethune Duffield may be found in another volume of this work.

William A. Fletcher served as the first chief justice in the Supreme Court of Michigan from 1836 to 1843. He was born in New Hampshire in 1788. After receiving his legal training, he came to Detroit in 1821. He first became chief justice in Wayne County, succeeding John L. Leib; the associate justices were B. F. H. Witherell and Philip Lecuyer. He also served as circuit judge. Fletcher's appointment as chief justice of the Supreme Court came July 18, 1836.

Alexander D. Fraser, native Scotlander, came to Detroit in August, 1823. Fraser gained a fine practice, was city attorney, recorder and water commissioner. He died in 1877.

Daniel Goodwin, a leading attorney and jurist of Detroit in the early days came to Detroit in 1825. In 1843 he became a Supreme Court judge. Afterward he became a judge of the Circuit Court in the Upper Peninsula, but practiced in Detroit during the winters.

Jacob Merritt Howard was one of the most distinguished members of the Detroit and Michigan bar. He was born in Vermont in 1805 and came to Detroit in July, 1832 and studied under Charles Larned. Howard was a strong political worker, was a member of Congress and "under the oaks" at Jackson in 1854 gave the republican party its name and drafted the platform then adopted. Mr. Howard engaged in a great number of noted criminal cases, including the "Railway Conspiracy Case," the "Tyler Case" and the "Adams Express Robbery Case." Mr. Howard died April 2, 1871.

William A. Howard, no relation of the above, was, however, one of the great leaders of the republican party. He came to Detroit April 12, 1840. He served several tumultuous terms in Congress, was postmaster of Detroit, and was appointed governor of Dakota by President Hayes. He died at Washington April 10, 1880.

George Jerome was one of Detroit's well known lawyers and politicians. He was a native of New York state and came here in 1827 with his parents. He studied law with H. H. Emmons and James A. Van Dyke and won a well-merited reputation as an office lawyer. He was at one time a member of the State Legislature. His demise occurred March 6, 1897.

James F. Joy, one of the most distinguished men ever before the Detroit bar, is treated in detail in another volume of this work.

One of the most prominent lawyers of early Detroit was Charles Larned, born in Massachusetts, but came to Detroit during the War of 1812 from Kentucky. He was Judge of Probate in 1830, was prosecuting attorney of Wayne County, also attorney general of the territory. He died of cholera on August 13, 1834.

Sylvester Larned, himself a brilliant attorney, was the son of Charles Larned, and was born in 1820. After a career replete with legal successes, he died in London, November 25, 1893.

Elisha Smith Lee, born 1794, died 1857, attained high rank as a lawyer and was very prominent in Masonry in the state.

John L. Leib came to Detroit shortly after the War of 1812 and became one of a noted group of lawyers who practiced in Judge Woodbridge's court. He died April 15, 1838.

George Van Ness Lothrop, a native of Massachusetts, came to Detroit in the fall of 1839. During his long career in Detroit, Mr. Lothrop had many distinguished connections and for over a quarter century was attorney for the Michigan Central Railroad, also was minister to Russia. Mr. Lothrop's death occurred July 12, 1897.

Addison Mandell, father of Judge Henry A. Mandell of the Circuit Court, was a native of New York State and landed at Detroit, August 13, 1836, having come from the East at the invitation of Theodore Romeyn, who had come out the previous year. Mr. Mandell won a well-deserved reputation before the Detroit bar, held several appointive offices, and died at Sandwich, Ontario, June 3, 1899.

Patrick C. Higgins was born in Ireland in 1817 and came to Detroit before 1840. He was a teacher for some years in the Detroit schools and subsequently was admitted to the bar. He was the first police justice, serving from 1850 to 1853. He died in Detroit February 24, 1857, leaving a widow, Clara Edsell and two children, Charles R. Higgins and Alice Higgins.

James A. Van Dyke was a very prominent lawyer and politician. He came to Detroit in 1834 and in 1835 married Elizabeth Desnoyers. He held many city offices and was mayor in 1847. He died May 7, 1855, leaving a widow, Elizabeth Desnoyers Van Dyke and the following children, some of whom still live in Detroit: George William Desnoyers Van Dyke, Marie Ellen Desnoyers Van Dyke, Philip James Desnoyers Van Dyke, Ernest Emile Desnoyers Van Dyke, Josephine Desnoyers Van Dyke, Victorie Elizabeth Desnoyers Van Dyke and Elizabeth Emily Desnoyers Van Dyke. The children were all under age at the date of the father's death.

Halmor H. Emmons was born in the State of New York in 1814. He came to Detroit to practice law and entered into partnership with his father, Adonijah Emmons, and his brother, Jed P. C. Emmons. He was subsequently for many years associated with James A. Van Dyke. In 1870 he received the appointment of judge of the United States Circuit Court, which office he held until his death in 1877.

Dewitt Clinton Holbrook was born in Monroe County, New York in 1819 and came to Michigan in 1832, but it was not until some years later that he came to Detroit. He was admitted to the bar in 1843 and was elected County Clerk for 1847 and 1848. He was city counsellor several terms. He retired

from active practice in 1884 and died March 13, 1892. His wife died many years before he did. At his death he left a daughter, Mary, wife of Franklin H. Walker; a daughter, Mrs. Louisa White; a son, Dewitt C. Holbrook and a stepdaughter, Mrs. Ella B. Swift, wife of Col. Fredk. W. Swift. Alexander Davidson was a one-time partner of Mr. Holbrook. Davidson was a nephew of Alexander D. Fraser, the "Nestor of the Detroit Bar," and studied law in his office. Davidson was a Scotchman and a very hard worker. He was appointed master in chancery of the United States Court in 1840. He died March 3, 1854.

Garwood T. Sheldon was from Genesee County, New York. He was related to George C. Bates and Asher B. Bates, prominent citizens of Detroit, and his wife was a sister of Judge Halmor H. Emmons. He came to Detroit in 1840. He applied to the court for permission to be admitted to the bar, on March 4, 1845. The examining committee consisted of E. C. Seaman, Theodore Romeyn and H. T. Backus. He was admitted April 1, 1845, the same year he was appointed Master in Chancery of the United States Courts, Master in Chancery of the Wayne County Courts in 1845, and elected school inspector in 1848 and 1849. He died in 1870.

Ebenezer H. Rogers was born in Vermont and was named after Dr. Ebenezer Hurd who was the family physician of the Rogers family at the birth of the son Ebenezer. Both Dr. Hurd and young Rogers came to Detroit, though not at the same time. Rogers came in 1838, taught school for some time, studied law and was admitted to the bar in Pontiac. He had a small practice in Detroit, but some of his habits were so unfortunate as to deprive him of a lucrative business and he gradually fell into the tax title business and ended his days in comparative want. He was a great student and thoroughly familiar with the classics and with Shakespeare. He died January 2, 1885. He was never married and the relatives who survived him were a brother, Eli W. Rogers and nephew, Willet E. Rogers.

Andrew Harvie was born in Scotland before 1810 and came to Michigan before 1839, for in that year he was the first principal of the Tecumseh Branch of the State University. In the following year he became a teacher or professor in the Detroit Branch of the University on Bates Street. He studied law, was admitted to the bar and practiced in Detroit some time. From 1844 to 1848, he was in partnership with Witter T. Baxter in the practice of the law. He ultimately removed to Chicago. While living in Detroit he was appointed Master in Chancery in 1848 and was elected Representative in 1845 and State Senator in 1850. His name appears as Third Corporal in the muster roll of the first meeting of the "Old Guard" in Chicago at the outbreak of the Rebellion.

Colin Campbell was born in Glasgow, Scotland, June 22, 1811 and came to Detroit in 1842. He was first engaged in business alone in a store on the north side of Jefferson Avenue a few doors east of Woodward Avenue but later formed a partnership with James Jack and took the store in the same block at the corner of Woodward and Jefferson Avenues. The firm was very successful and the store soon came to be called the "Scotch Store," a name that clung to it for many years. Mr. Jack died in 1849 and Mr. Campbell managed it alone for a short time, when the name was then changed to Campbell & Linn, by the introduction of Mr. Thomas Linn. The store in the Smart Block was burned February 5, 1858 and the firm moved to the new location at the northwest corner of Woodward Avenue and Congress Street and here it was again

visited by fire April 23, 1865. The business continued to be carried on at this place for some years but finally Mr. Campbell failed because of his willingness to grant too many accommodations to customers who never paid. After this failure he took up the business of insurance, at which he labored until called by death at his home at Orchard Lake, September 9, 1883.

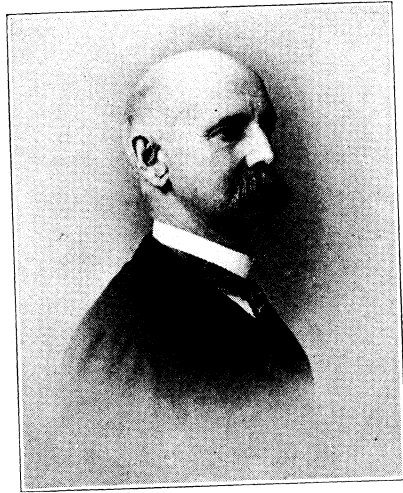
The kindly, genial gentleman of the Scotch Store will be remembered as long as any patron of that store survives. His partner for so many years, Mr. Linn, was as kindly and courtly as himself.

Isaac S. Rowland was the son of Major Thomas Rowland. He was born in Ohio in 1811 and came to Detroit with his father after the War of 1812 was concluded. Here he was educated, in part, and subsequently entered the Military Academy at West Point but did not complete the course. Returning to Detroit he studied law and was admitted to the bar at the same time with Stevens T. Mason and George N. Palmer, December 11, 1833. He was a member of the City Guards, a military organization of Detroit, until it ceased to exist. As a captain in the City Guards he marched to Chicago in 1834 with Gen. John R. Williams to protect that village against the Indian, Black Hawk. He was one of the original members of the Brady Guards, which was organized in the Smart Block in 1836. Of this organization he was the first Captain. The immediate cause of the organization was to provide for the protection of the city against a threatened riot of laboring men who were engaged in filling in the river front of the Cass farm, near Third Street. It was the duty of the Brady Guards during the Canadian Rebellion of 1836-7 to watch the frontier and prevent the Americans from invading Canada as well as to prevent the Canadian troops from crossing the river to Detroit. Rowland was Captain of the Brady Guards at this time and had under him some men whose names were prominent in after years. Among them were Lieutenants Alpheus S. Williams, Edmund Kearsley and James S. Armstrong and Sergeants George C. Bates, John Chester and George Doty. In 1839 he married Catherine, the sister of Governor Mason of Michigan.

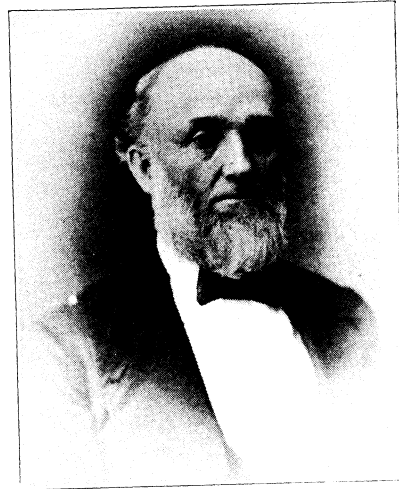
The practice of the law did not diminish his military ardor and when the Mexican War broke out he was still a Captain in the Brady Guards. His former lieutenant, A. S. Williams, had become a lieutenant colonel. Rowland started for Mexico with his company but never engaged in any battle as the war was practically over before he arrived at that country. He died in January, 1850, probably from disease brought on by exposure on his Mexican trip.

William B. Wesson was born in Massachusetts in 1820 and came to Detroit in 1833. He attended school in the university building on Bates Street and entered the University of Michigan in its first class (1845). He did not graduate but was, in 1873, given the degree of A. B. by that institution, "nunc pro tunc" as it is explained in the catalogue. He studied law in the office of Van Dyke & Emmons and was admitted to practice, but formed the partnership with Mr. Crane and both devoted themselves to the real estate business. In this they were exceedingly successful and the great fortune that Mr. Wesson left at his death indicates the results of his continued devotion to his life's work. He was one of the founders, and during his entire life, the president of the Wayne County Savings Bank, one of the largest savings institutions in the state.

Mr. Wesson, in 1852, married Lacyra Eugenia Hill, the eldest daughter of Lyman Baldwin. They had two children, a son who died in early manhood



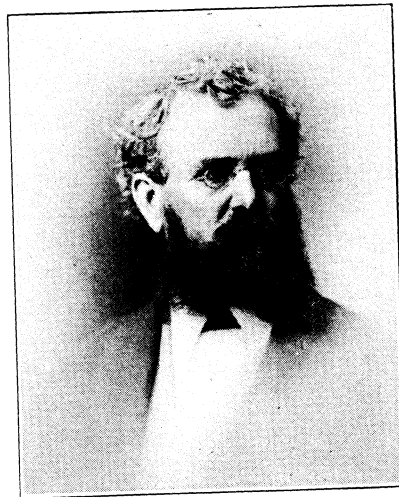
Alfred Russell



Charles I. Walker



Divie B. Duffield



Sylvester Larned

OLD PORTRAITS OF PROMINENT DETROIT MEN





and a daughter, Mrs. Edith W. Seyburn, wife of Col. S. Y. Seyburn. Mr. Wesson died June 18, 1890.

Mr. Jackson was born in the State of New York in 1814 and came to Detroit in 1838. The following year, as a member of the Detroit bar, he was appointed Master in Chancery of the Circuit Court. He was a member of the Common Council elected for the years 1846 and 1847. He continued the practice of the law, interspersing this vocation with publishing the Free Press and other outside work, until 1857. In 1856 he was a member of the Board of Education. The General Navy Register contains the following item regarding him, "Purser 17 July 1857. Pay Inspector 3 March 1871, Pay Director 24 October 1871. Retired list 27 August 1876." During this time he was absent from Detroit on his duties in the Navy but after his retirement he returned home but so broken in health that he did not undertake active practice. The Free Press of January 20, 1863, has this announcement: "Personal.—C. C. Jackson, an old resident of Detroit, and now purser in the navy, is stopping in the city." He died in Detroit in 1883.

Moses F. Dickinson was the owner of a block on the East side of Woodward Avenue, of which he occupied the ground floor for a hardware store. The second floor was fitted up for law offices but it did not long retain occupants of that profession. The tendency of the lawyers was towards Woodward and Jefferson avenues above the hill and in the city directory of 1850, Elisha Taylor, George B. Throop and B. F. H. Witherell, were the only attorneys still remaining in the "Law Building."

Marshall J. Bacon was a son of John F. Bacon of Albany, N. Y. He came to Detroit about 1833 and was admitted to the bar December 5, 1834. He was a Justice of the Peace in 1835, president of the Young Men's Society the same year and also secretary of the first Constitutional Convention of the State of Michigan. After that constitution was approved by the people, Congress refused to admit the state except upon fixing the boundary lines of the new state so as to exclude Toledo from it and place it in Ohio. A convention of delegates was called to pass upon that matter and it was resolved not to accept the terms held out by Congress. A short time later another convention was called for the same purpose. This convention met at Ann Arbor and is usually called the "Convention of Assent." It was there resolved to accept the boundary lines provided by Congress and the state was so admitted. Bacon was a delegate from Wayne County to this convention.

In 1835 Sheldon McKnight was an applicant for the position of postmaster of Detroit and had enlisted in his interest, the influence of John Norvell, the retiring postmaster and afterwards the first Senator from this state. Some time before this McKnight had, while under the influence of liquor, struck a Mr. Avery in such a manner as to cause Avery to fall to the ground, killing him instantly. McKnight was indicted for the crime of murder and was tried, but succeeded in proving that the death was an accident, and he was acquitted. While this trial was proceeding his name was presented for the office of postmaster. The name of Marshall J. Bacon was also presented for the same office. Norvell used all his influence to obtain the appointment of McKnight and succeeded. He wrote to Bacon that if he could not obtain the appointment for McKnight he would lend his aid to secure the appointment for Bacon. McKnight's acquittal brought to his aid the influence of some who thought

he had been unjustly treated in the proceedings brought against him in the Avery matter, and with this assistance he obtained the appointment in 1836.

Bacon was a member of the City Guards that went to Monroe in 1835 in the "Toledo War" and he was one of the organizers of the Brady Guards in the succeeding year. He was one of the persons chiefly instrumental in obtaining for Stevens Thomson Mason, the nomination as first governor of the new state, the other men interested with him being David C. McKinstry, John Norvell, Lucius Lyon and Henry Newberry.

In 1837 Bacon was president of the Young Men's Temperance Society and in 1839 he had returned to New York. It may have been only a passing visit to that city, for he was soon again at his law practice in Detroit.

In 1849 he was "Captain of the Watch" in Detroit, an organization made necessary by the lawlessness of some persons then in the city.

At this time Mr. Bacon was recorder of the city and it was before him that the persons who tore up the track of Detroit & Pontiac Railroad were brought. These men were acquitted. Bacon only remained in Detroit two years longer, when he returned to New York.

George C. Bates is one of the most picturesque characters of the early Detroit. After several years absence he returned to the city in 1877 and wrote a series of articles for the Free Press on the "By-Gones of Detroit." At the time these articles were written there stood on the southeast corner of Griswold and Fort streets a red brick dwelling house that was built by James Abbott and in which he lived and died. This dwelling house had been vacated by the descendants of Judge Abbott and in 1877 had been converted into a restaurant. Taking this restaurant as the starting point of his rambles, Mr. Bates painted in language of which he was an adept, the old times in Detroit. Many of the items in this work are culled from these "By-Gones." I remember Mr. Bates well at the time he was writing these articles. His figure, upon the street, was such as to attract the notice of every one. Mr. Robert Ross, in writing of him says, "his face was of classic mold with a rather high forehead, bright blue eyes, light auburn hair, a flexible handsome mouth, a finely molded chin, a fresh and healthy, but not rosy complexion and small aristocratic hands and feet." He was born in 1813 and was 64 years old at the time of the visit spoken of, but time had apparently not changed him, save that his hair was white and the crowds of friends with whom he associated in his early days, had left him; some to move to other scenes of activity and some to die. His articles are tinged with the sadness of one who is left alone. When he left Detroit he knew everyone and was known by all. When he returned he found himself among strangers. He, also, came from New York and after studying law some time in the office of Cole & Porter, applied for admission to the bar. The committee on examination consisted of B. F. H. Witherell, Daniel G. Goodwin and Charles Larned. The report was satisfactory and Bates was admitted May 26, 1834. The following year he was elected president of the Young Men's Society and in 1839 he was a member of the Common Council. He was a member of the City Guards and one of the organizers of the Brady Guards. He was United States District Attorney from 1845 to 1850 and again in 1852. While holding this office he prosecuted the case of the United States against King Strang—the Beaver Island Mormon King. The effort was to convict Stang of treason, but that could not be shown and the charge was

then changed to the more ordinary crime of obstructing the mails. Even on this charge Strang was acquitted.

In 1836 Bates was associated in the law business with John L. Talbot and in 1849 he had for a partner John V. Wattson. He married Mrs. Eleanor (or Ellen Manon ) Wolcott, the first white child born in Chicago, May 25, 1836. Mrs. Wolcott was the daughter of John Kinzie and her first husband was Dr. Alexander Wolcott. Major Kinzie Bates was the only issue of this marriage.

By reason of his marriage he became interested in the controversy over the "Lake Front" in Chicago and carried on the litigation over the title to this property for many years. Fortune turned against him and he lost nearly all of his property. No more pathetic picture of his decline in life can be written than that given by himself in one of his articles on "By-Gones": "But the lights are gone, the music has passed away, and nearly all that gay and happy crowd sleep the last sleep in Elmwood, and here I sit alone, a stranger, with not one single familiar face today to beckon me beside it, not one friendly hand to bid me to that table where so long ago I was a welcome guest. Such is life. Thomson Mason, Governor Woodbridge, Generals Brady and Larned, and Forsyth and Kercheval and Moran and Witherell and Farnsworth and Bernen and Brush, where are they? And of all the crowd around these tables in this restaurant, what one single person either knows or cares that they, gentlemen and ladies of 'by-gone times' were ever here. And here in the Detroit of today, with its broad streets, beautiful river, magnificent railways, immense and growing commerce, we find that all is changed, and that, though wealth has increased by millions, business of all kinds outgrown the hopes of the most sanguine, that while there are more churches, more schools, more banks, more business places yet that in elegant hospitalities, true fraternity, kindness of heart and the practice of Christ's most beautiful command 'Thou Shalt love thy neighbor as thyself' the by-gones were the truest and the best. My coffee was ended, my sandwich disposed of and as I turned from the doors of the restaurant I felt as the dove did when first coming from the ark it found no resting place for its foot, but I offered up a heartfelt prayer for the spirits of our departed friends, and for all who joined in that housewarming long, long time ago of the Detroit restaurant."

Samuel G. Watson was another New Yorker who came to pass his life in the practice of the law in Detroit. It would seem from the records, that his first appearance in Michigan was as a resident of Pontiac where he was practicing law in 1840. Within a short time after that he came to Detroit and passed here the remainder of his life, dying November 27, 1859 at the age of 49 years. He returned to New York in the fall of 1840 and on the eighth of October in that year was married to Miss Juliet Phelps of Watervliet (near Albany). He was appointed Master in Chancery for Wayne County in 1846 and the same year entered into a partnership with George C. Bates which continued for some time. In 1849 he probably had an office in Cincinnati. In 1850 he was appointed Commissioner for the United States Courts.

Henry H. Wells was a prominent lawyer of the city during the time he made it his home. He was president of the Fire Department Society in 1862. His wife was Millicent Hunt, a granddaughter of Judge John L. Leib and through her he became possessed of a considerable part of the Leib farm. He was the partner of William A. Cook for some years and like Cook, he removed from the city and spent his last days in the state of New York.

William A. Cook was a lawyer of prominence and ability. He married the daughter of Sheriff Lyman Baldwin and thus became the brother-in-law of William B. Wesson. Mr. Cook was city attorney in 1848 and 1849, and in 1854 was elected recorder. He removed to New York where he died in 1899.

Eben N. Willcox was born in Detroit in 1821. His father was a hatter who had lived in the place for some years before the birth of Eben. Eben was born in a cottage then located on the site of the present Hotel Pontchartrain. After being admitted to the bar he entered into partnership with William Gray and continued with him for some years. He was one of the executors of the will of James A. Van Dyke and that took much of his time. He abandoned the active practice of the law and moved out Woodward Avenue some distance from the city and engaged in stock raising—giving particular attention to the raising of fine sheep.

He still devoted some time to his law business and had, at different times, for partners his brother Gen. Orlando B. Willcox, and Albert G. Boynton.

He was one of the original incorporators of the Street Car System of Detroit, the other incorporators being Cornelius S. Bushnell, John A. Griswold and Nehemiah D. Sperry. He was a member of the Board of Education for two terms. He married Marie Louise, daughter of Harry S. Cole the wit of the Detroit bar. Mr. Willcox died in 1891. One of his sons, James Van Dyke Willcox, is a member of the Detroit bar and was, for some years, assistant United States District Attorney.

William Gray was born in Ireland and brought with him to his adopted country a fund of Irish wit. Like his partner, Willcox, he was greatly loved by his associates of the bar and even now, forty years after his death, he is affectionately referred to as "Billy Gray." He made application for admission to the bar on the twenty-seventh day of June, 1845 and, after an examination, was admitted on the twenty-fifth of the following month. He did not become a full-fledged citizen of the Republic until June 13th of the following year.

His partnership with Eben N. Willcox began in 1847 and in 1848 he married Miss Mary Stewart, daughter of Charles H. Stewart, a lawyer of Detroit.

Mr. Gray at one time prepared to return to his former home in the old country and a farewell dinner was given him by the citizens of Detroit. It is not now known whether or not this was one of his practical jokes, but if it was not he soon reconsidered his plan and remained in Detroit. He died in June, 1869. Two of his sons, William J. Gray and Robert Toms Gray are among the most respected lawyers of the city at this time.

George E. Hand was born in Connecticut and came to Michigan while it was still a territory. He was the last appointed judge of the Probate Court, the office being given him by Governor Mason a short time before the organization of the state. He was successful, from a money point of view, in the practice of the law. His first partner was Judge William A. Fletcher and his second was Judge Daniel Goodwin. He was also, at one time, in partnership with the late Edmund Hall and through that association became interested in purchasing lands in Wayne County which he clung to through life. He became incompetent in his old age and was sent back to his old home in Connecticut, where he died in 1889 at the age of eighty-one years. He was never married.

Elisha Taylor came to Detroit about 1837 and was admitted to the bar May 4th, 1839. He held many important public offices by appointment and election. He was Master in Chancery of Wayne County in 1842, City Attorney

in 1843, member of the Board of Education 1844, and Register of the Land Office, 1847 to 1849. In 1848 and 1849 he was clerk of the Supreme Court when that court held its sessions in the old Seminary Building that was situated on the easterly side of Griswold Street where the city hall is now located. He was elected Circuit Court Commissioner in 1850 and was Pension Agent from 1854 to 1857.

He retired from active business many years ago and died at his home in this city August 12, 1896.

In the early part of 1836 there were several applications for admission to the bar and on the second day of May the Circuit Court entered an order appointing Henry S. Cole, Benjamin F. H. Witherell, William Woodbridge, Alexander D. Fraser and Daniel Goodwin a standing committee to whom was to be referred all applications for admission. The object in appointing the committee was to facilitate the workings of the court and to relieve it of making the repeated orders as had been previously done. The next day after this committee was appointed, James Churchman applied to be admitted and the application was referred to the standing committee. Either the members of the committee did not comprehend their duties or were unwilling to act, for they would not or did not take up Mr. Churchman's petition. The affair being reported to the court, another committee was appointed for the occasion, consisting of Charles Cleland, George C. Bates and Francis Sawyer, Jr. Mr. Churchman was soon examined and admitted. Two or three applicants were referred to special committees and it was not until the latter part of June that a better feeling was evinced by the "Standing Committee."

Elon Farnsworth was added to the committee on June 22d and they worked in harmony thereafter for some time.

William Hale filed his application to be admitted to the bar, November 24, 1836 and it was referred to the Standing Committee. Mr. Hale passed the required examination and was duly admitted four days later. At this time he was about 27 years of age, having been born in Oneida County, New York in 1809. His business and popularity increased and he dabbled in politics. In 1845 he was elected State Senator and held the office two years. In 1846 he was elected prosecuting attorney and retained the office until 1849, at the same time acting as clerk of the Supreme Court in 1847 and Register in Chancery for 1846 and 1847. He was attorney general of the state from 1851 to 1855 and alderman of the Second Ward, Detroit, for 1859 and 1860. It was while holding this office that he made the desperate and, most fortunately for the city, unsuccessful, effort to abolish Cass Park. In his effort to accomplish this object he had a pamphlet issued and circulated picturing that park as a swamp which could never be made an ornament or a place of recreation for the city. It was fortunate for our city that his notions did not prevail. The probable reason of Hale's objection to Cass Park and to the acceptance of the Cass Market, was his personal feeling against General Lewis Cass.

In 1857 he purchased the National Hotel of Crane & Wesson, enlarged and refitted it and placed it under the management of W. H. Russell. It was then renamed the Russell House, a name it has continued to bear until very recently. William J. Chittenden, Mr. Hale's brother-in-law, was the chief clerk under Mr. Russell and subsequently became the landlord. In 1862 Mr. Hale removed to California and engaged in the practice of the law in San Francisco, where he died Feb. 4, 1874.

Samuel T. Douglass was born in Rutland County, Vt., but in his youth removed to Fredonia, New York, where he was educated. He came to Detroit in 1837 at the age of 23 years and was admitted to the bar on the twenty-first day of December in that year.

In 1843 he was elected president of the Detroit Young Men's Society and at the same time was a member of the Board of Education. He was again elected a member of the Board of Education in 1859. He served as judge of the Circuit Court for the Third Circuit for 1851 to 1857. At this time the judges of the various circuits constituted the Supreme Court. He was reporter of the Supreme Court in 1845 and two of the first reports of that court were compiled by him.

His first partners were Henry N. Walker and Asher B. Bates, but in 1849 he was in partnership with James V. Campbell. In 1856 he married Elizabeth Campbell, sister of his partner. The latter years of his life were spent at his home on Grosse Ile and although he retained an office in the city with his partner Herbert Bowen and his nephew, Samuel T. Douglass (II), he considered himself as retired from active practice. He died at his Grosse Ile home in 1898.

James V. Campbell was always active in affairs connected with the city and state. His father, Henry M. Campbell, was a business man of the city where he had come from Buffalo in 1826. His father was judge of the County Court in 1828. James Valentine Campbell was born in Buffalo, February 25, 1823 and admitted to practice at the bar in Michigan November 15, 1844. He was Master in Chancery of Wayne County in 1844 and held the same office and that of Commissioner in the United States Court in 1847. In 1848 he was president of the Detroit Young Men's Society. We have already seen that he was a partner with Judge Douglass in 1849 and this partnership lasted for some time. In 1853 he was secretary of the Detroit Bar Library and in 1854 secretary of the Detroit and Milwaukee Railroad. He was a member of the Board of Education in 1854 and 1855 and appointed to the Detroit Public Library Commission in 1880. He was the author of a standard work of the history of the state, published at the time of the National Centenary subtitled "Outlines of the Political History of Michigan." A great student of an early history of the northwest and a poet of considerable ability, his assistance was in frequent demand at celebrations and anniversaries. His productions were always well received and appreciated.

His chief work—the work of his life—was in the judiciary of Michigan. He was elected Judge of the Supreme Court at its organization under the present form, and served by continued reelections during his entire life.

At the time of its greatest potency—when its decisions were received and approved by the entire English speaking world, Mr. Campbell was one of the "Great Four" that composed the Bench. The others were Judges Cooley, Christiancy and Graves. He died March 26, 1890. It was written of him some years before his death, "no man is more universally loved and respected by the people of Michigan" and he carried that love, increasing as his years increased, to the end.

Elon Farnsworth was born in Woodstock, Vermont, February 2, 1799 and came to Detroit in 1822. At the time of the advent of Mr. Farnsworth the judges of the Supreme Court were Augustus B. Woodward, John Griffin and James Witherell. There was a change in the form of the composition of the Supreme Court in 1823 and Judges Woodward and Griffin were retired

and the new court was composed of James Witherell, Solomon Sibley, John Hunt and James Duane Doty. The last named judge had jurisdiction of the Green Bay district and removed to that place. He never presided in Detroit.

In the County Court the attorneys whose names appear in the records are Charles Larned, John Hunt (composing the firm of Larned & Hunt), Solomon Sibley, Andrew G. Whitney (comprising the firm of Sibley & Whitney), William Woodbridge, Samuel T. Davinport, Charles James Lanman (who was frequently associated with his kinsman, William Woodbridge), George McDougall and James Duane Doty. This list comprises the attorneys who were practicing before the reorganization of the court. Charles Larned was the prosecuting attorney, Thomas Rowland was clerk and Charles C. Trowbridge was the deputy clerk. Spencer Coleman was admitted to the bar August 8, 1820, and George Alexander O'Keefe was admitted January 25, 1821, William G. Taylor appears as an attorney in 1823, John L. Leib in 1825 and Joseph W. Torrey and Cyprian Stevens in 1827.

Some of the records in this old court are interesting to read now that nearly a century has passed since they were the living issues of the day.

In June, 1819, Joseph Andre was indicted for accepting a challenge to fight a duel with Alexis Barward. It would be interesting to know what the cause of the quarrel between the two men was and how the affair ended. We only know that the man was never tried and that the case was dropped by the prosecuting attorney.

Philip Warren sued "The University of Michigania" "For work done on the building of the University from March 15, to July 25, by order of Oliver Williams, Superintendent." The amount of the claim was for labor \$400 and lumber \$7.60. The plaintiff was not able to prove his claim and was beaten at the trial, probably because the debt was due to him from the contractor and not from the University itself. John Biddle, afterwards Delegate to Congress from the territory, was indicted for an assault on Thomas Vickory. He was convicted at the trial in 1820 and was fined fifteen dollars. Aaron Thomas, Joseph Bates, Thompson Maxwell, Joshua Chamberlin, William Pangburn and Joseph Vannetta appeared before the court at different dates and proved that they were soldiers in the War of the American Revolution and entitled to pensions for their services. Perhaps the most interesting name among these is Thompson Maxwell whose services extended over the Indian war of 1763, the Revolution and the War of 1812.

Austin E. Wing was sheriff in 1820 and appointed Robert Garrett his under sheriff December 11th of that year. John Strong became a citizen by operation of this court in 1831. He was born in Oxfordshire, England, in 1799 and came to America in 1825.

The usual method of commencing suits at this time was by the issuance of a *capias* and the taking of the body of the defendant. If he could procure bail he was set at liberty to answer the call of the case for trial at any time, but if he was so unfortunate as to have no friends who could go on his bail bond he was committed to the care of the sheriff and confined in jail.

In 1823 Ezra Baldwin had obtained a judgment against Robert H. McNiff (son of the old surveyor) for \$20.30½ and as McNiff was unable to pay he was turned over to the care of Austin E. Wing as sheriff. For some reason not disclosed by the record, Wing permitted McNiff to escape, or McNiff escaped without permission. No matter how he got away, he was not long confined

in jail and Baldwin sued Wing for the amount of the judgment. The case came on for trial January 10, 1823 before a jury composed of Charles Jackson, Alva Gage, Perez Merritt, Charles Deslisle, Obed Wait, Jeremiah Moors, Joseph Riddle, Orville Cook, William Anderson, Adna Merritt, John Smyth and Joseph Jackson. It would be interesting now to know what influenced the jury to decide as they did. The case was evidently hotly contested, and the verdict was for the defendant.

An echo of the War of 1812 came up in a suit begun by Oliver Williams, surviving partner of the firm composed of himself, Amos Lee and Joseph Farewell against William Hull late Governor of Michigan. This suit was begun January 1, 1816 and as Hull was not in the territory at that time, an attachment was issued and levied upon "a large brick house, in possession of the U. S. Medical Department; also a brick stable or barn, a summer house and the lot on which the buildings are erected, situated at the N. E. end of the town of Detroit, the property of the defendant." This property was the old home of Governor Hull, the site of the present Biddle House, at the southeast corner of Randolph Street and Jefferson Avenue. The "large brick house" was afterwards converted into a hotel called the American House.

The account sued upon by Mr. Williams, was very long and complicated, extending over a number of years and the parties agreed that it should be sent to referees, rather than heard in open court. The referees chosen were Thomas Rowland, Austin E. Wing and John Whipple. They decided in favor of the plaintiff, allowing him \$229.99. The Circuit Court was presided over by the judges of the Supreme Court. The first case called for trial was James Allen versus DeGarmo Jones, December 14, 1825 and Judge James Witherell was the judge on the occasion. The court was held in the Council House, on the southwest corner of Jefferson Avenue and Randolph Street, but the session of December 27, 1826 was held at the house of Benjamin Woodworth, on the northwest corner of Woodbridge and Randolph streets.

The judges who presided after 1827 were William Woodbridge, Solomon Sibley and Henry Chipman, Judges Witherell and Hunt having dropped out that year.

In 1828 a man by the name of Levi Willard was tried for murder. The trial occupied the court for several days, beginning June 7, 1828 and ending on June 16th with a verdict of manslaughter. A few days later Willard was sentenced to two years at hard labor. At that time there was no prison in the territory other than the county jail, and the letter of the sentence could not be carried out. The sentence then states "that until proper buildings are erected for the confinement of prisoners to hard labor, the sentence of imprisonment shall be considered as extending to confinement in the gaol of the County of Wayne." Three years later, on June 15, 1830, Robert McLaren was tried for manslaughter, convicted and sentenced to be confined in the county gaol at hard labor for three months.

Almost at the same time Ulysses G. Smith was tried for arson in setting on fire the office of the Detroit Gazette. This office was on the east side of Griswold Street below Jefferson Avenue. The office and paper were completely destroyed. Smith was convicted July 6, 1830 and sentenced to be imprisoned for ten years.

At the same time with these trials came that of Stephen G. Simmons for murder. Little need here be said of this matter for it has been written of very



fully in other places. Simmons was convicted and hung, the last public execution in the territory.

It was during the period of these trials that Mr. Elon Farnsworth conducted his professional business in the city.

Soon after entering active practice he was appointed City Attorney and held the office from 1826 to 1829 and again from 1830 to 1832. He was elected a member of the Sixth Legislative Council of the Territory in 1834. The judicial work for which he is chiefly remembered was in the office of Chancellor, or Judge of the Court of Chancery. This court was organized in 1836 and he remained chancellor from its organization till 1842. Randolph Manning was his successor and after his term ended the court was abolished. He was attorney-general of the state from 1843 to 1845. Mr. Farnsworth had the entire confidence of the people of the city and his advice was much sought for and generally followed. His work, therefore, became more of an office than of a court business and he did not appear in court as often as many other lawyers. He was one of the organizers of the Detroit Savings Fund Institute, of which more will be said hereafter and continued his relations with that institution to the last. He died March 24, 1878.

The career of Governor Stevens Thomson Mason, the first governor of the state, forms an interesting chapter in the history of Michigan. Mason was a brilliant fellow, of wonderful personality and ability, but was stricken by death January 4, 1843, when he was but thirty-one years of age.

The incidents connected with the life of James May have been described elsewhere in this volume, also George McDougall.

Andrew McReynolds, in addition to his success as a lawyer, was a soldier of renown in three wars.

George Morell was associate justice of the territorial Supreme Court, 1832-36, and after organization of the state was associate justice of the State Supreme Court. He also acted as judge of the first judicial district of Wayne County. He was born in 1786 and died in 1845.

John Norvell (1789-1850), the third postmaster of Detroit, was one of the two first United States Senators from Michigan.

Cornelius O'Flynn (1810-1869), lawyer and politician, came to Detroit in 1834 and here had a notable career as a lawyer. He was at one time a probate judge.

George A. O'Keefe (1792-1853), was a native of Cork, Ireland, and was the first probate judge in Wayne County elected by the people.

Samuel Pitts (1810-1868) came to Detroit in 1831, practiced law, but eventually turned to the more profitable pursuit of lumbering.

Augustus S. Porter (1798-1872) came to Detroit in 1827, was Recorder in 1830, Commissioner of Schools in 1833, Mayor in 1838, and U. S. Senator from Michigan in 1840-45. The later years of his life were spent in retirement at Niagara Falls.

Theodore Romeyn (1810-1885) was one of the most distinguished of the early bar of Detroit and came to this city in 1835.

Judge Ross Wilkins, honored jurist of early Detroit, was a Pennsylvanian, born in 1799. He was appointed judge of the Michigan Territorial Supreme Court in 1832 and served until 1837. He was then made United States District Judge which position he held until 1870, when he retired. He died at Detroit May 17, 1872.

Alpheus S. Williams (1810-1878) a distinguished soldier in the Rebellion, was a Detroit citizen from 1837 to 1838. Williams was Probate Judge, Detroit Postmaster, Minister to San Salvador, South America and Congressman for several terms.

The review of those members of the Detroit bar who made their marks during the nineteenth century could be carried on indefinitely. The legal history of Detroit is a tale of distinct accomplishment and of individuals who have carried their talents far. Others of the 1830-50 period who were generally prominent with those mentioned above were: George R. Griswold, Edmund Hall, David E. Harbaugh, Fisher A. Harding, Ebenezer B. Harrington, H. H. Hobart, Benjamin F. Hyde, David Irwin, Henry C. Knight, Charles James Lanman, George F. Porter, Samuel H. Porter, Kintzing Pritchette, Stephen P. Purdy, Elijah J. Roberts, Horace S. Roberts, Robert B. Ross, Thomas Rowland, Franklin Sawyer, Ezra C. Seaman, Garwood T. Sheldon, Sears Steevens, Cyprian Stevens, Charles H. Stewart, David Stuart, Levi B. Taft, John L. Talbot, Anthony Ten Eyck, Jeremiah V. R. Ten Eyck, Henry D. Terry, George B. Throop, Enos T. Throop, II, Tobert P. Toms, Joseph W. Torrey, Charles Tryon, Jeremiah Van Rensselaer, Edward C. Walker, Henry N. Walker, Samuel Gilbert Watson, Daniel Fletcher Webster, Charles W. Whipple, Orlando B. Willcox, Gershom Mott Williams, Theodore Williams, George W. Wisner, B. F. H. Witherell, James B. Witherell and William B. Yerkes.

In the '30s and '40s the lawyer's offices were all on Jefferson Avenue between Randolph and Shelby streets, and on Woodward Avenue between Jefferson Avenue and the river. Coming up into the latter part of the Nineteenth Century, the number of attorneys and jurists runs into the hundreds. Many of these are covered in the biographical volumes of this work.

#### DETROIT BAR ASSOCIATION

The Detroit Bar Association was organized on May 4, 1881, under the provisions of an "Act to authorize the formation of incorporations of associations of members of the bar," which was approved by Governor Jerome on the 25th of the preceding month. At the time of the organization Theodore Romeyn was elected president; George V. N. Lothrop, first vice president; Charles A. Kent, second vice president; Hoyt Post, corresponding secretary; Henry M. Cheever, recording secretary; Robert P. Toms, treasurer.

In addition to the above officers, the charter members of the association were: W. F. Atkinson, H. L. Baker, John H. Bissell, H. F. Brownson, F. H. Canfield, John D. Conely, S. M. Cutcheon, Don M. Dickinson, John C. Donnelly, Samuel T. Douglass, Alexander D. Fowler, Henry A. Harmon, John G. Hawley, D. C. Holbrook, George S. Hosmer, William Jennison, Otto Kirchner, Willard M. Lillibridge, William C. Maybury, A. B. Maynard, George W. Moore, Ervin Palmer, George H. Penniman, Ashley Pond, George H. Prentis, C. J. Reilly, Alfred Russell, John J. Speed, Charles I. Walker.

According to the articles of incorporation, "The objects of the said Association shall be to maintain the honor and dignity of the profession of the law, increasing its usefulness in promoting the due administration of justice and cultivating social intercourse among its members."

Officers are elected at the annual meeting in May and hold office for one year. Aside from the annual meeting, few meetings are held for the trans-

action of general business, that feature of the work being taken care of by committees, to wit: The executive committee, the committee on amendment of the laws, committee on Federal legislation, committee on law reform, judiciary committee, committee on grievances and committee on general affairs. In addition to these standing committees, special committees are appointed from time to time as occasion demands. In carrying out the work of these committees, the members of the association are always ready and willing to lend their aid.

The library committee, of which Sidney T. Miller was chairman, arranged for the purchase and establishment of a law library, to be the property of the association. The library, with all its appurtenances, was installed at a cost of \$32,000, being bonded for that amount and the bonds sold to attorneys to provide the necessary funds, the Detroit Trust Company acting as trustee under the mortgage. In recognition of his work in establishing the library, a complimentary dinner was tendered to Mr. Miller at the Hotel Pontchartrain on February 3, 1917.

A legal aid bureau is an active branch of the association work. It handles a large number of cases each year for poor and deserving people who need legal advice and are unable to pay an attorney. These cases include collection of accounts, landlord and tenant cases, domestic relations (except divorce proceedings), and special attention is given by the bureau to cases involving the guardianship of orphans. The cost of this bureau is approximately one hundred dollars a month. Its work has been so complete that it has been copied by bar associations in several large cities of the country. During the World War the association, through this bureau and special committees, rendered important service to a large number of soldiers and their dependents who were in need of legal counsel. The association numbers about eight hundred members, sixty-two of whom served in the army or navy during the war.

The presidents of the Detroit Bar Association have been: Theodore Romeyn, 1881-1885; Charles I. Walker, 1885-1889; George V. N. Lothrop, 1889-1896; Don M. Dickinson, 1896-1900; John C. Donnelly, 1900-1902; James H. Pound, 1902-1904; William J. Gray, 1904-1906; Alfred H. Wilkinson, 1906-1908; George B. Yerkes, 1908-1909; Samuel T. Douglass, 1909-1911; Allen H. Frazer, 1911-12; Sidney T. Miller, 1912-1915; Augustus C. Stellwagen, 1915-1916; Frank D. Eaman, 1916-1918; Henry C. Walters, 1918-1921; Stewart Hanley, 1921.

#### WOMEN LAWYERS ASSOCIATION

In August, 1919, there was organized the Women Lawyers Association of Michigan with five members. In 1921 the members were: Theresa Doland, Henrietta Rosenthal, Mary Wetsman, Mrs. Carl Rix, Mrs. Robert L. Davis, Mrs. J. J. Mulheron (honorary member), Frances A. Keusch, Harriett A. Marsh, Mrs. Matilda Zlotorzynski, Catherine D. Doran, Dorothy McCormick, Lillian Griffin, and Alice Donovan.

#### DETROIT COLLEGE OF LAW

The Detroit College of Law opened its doors to students on December 20, 1891, with Charles D. Long, of the Michigan Supreme Court, as president, and Floyd R. Mechem, for many years an instructor in the law department of the University of Michigan, as dean. At first the course consisted of two year's work, recitations being held three evenings in each week, and the school

was located in the building of the Detroit College of Medicine. In 1897 the course was extended to three years and students were required to attend five evenings in each week. In 1910 a day school was established in addition to the evening school, the courses in the two being identical.

From 1891 to 1915 the school was a privately owned institution, being controlled by Malcolm McGregor and William C. Weatherbee, two of Detroit's prominent attorneys. In the latter year the college passed to the control of the trustees of the Young Men's Christian Association and the recitations were transferred to the building of that association, where an entire floor was set apart for the use of the College of Law.

More than twoscore of Detroit's active and successful members of the legal profession have acted as instructors since the school was started. Among these men may be mentioned: Charles D. Long, William L. Carpenter and Flavius L. Brooke, of the Michigan Supreme Court; Alexis C. Angell and Arthur J. Tuttle, of the United States District Court; Judges Fred H. Aldrich, George S. Hosmer, Alfred J. Murphy, Cornelius J. Reilly and Philip T. Van Zile, as well as a number of the leading practitioners in the city. The school has over one thousand alumni, many of whom are actively engaged in practice.

## CHAPTER XLVII

### THE MEDICAL PROFESSION

ALSO

### THE STORY OF MEDICINE IN DETROIT

By J. H. DEMPSTER, M. D., F. A. C. P.

THE ORIGIN OF MEDICINE AND THE ART OF HEALING—EARLY DETROIT PHYSICIANS  
—THE STORY OF MEDICINE IN DETROIT, BY DR. J. H. DEMPSTER—THE DETROIT  
COLLEGE OF MEDICINE—HOMEOPATHY—MEDICAL JOURNALISM IN DETROIT—  
HEALTH CONDITIONS IN DETROIT—THE WAYNE COUNTY MEDICAL SOCIETY—  
HOSPITALS—BOARD OF HEALTH.

The history of the healing art dates back to the beginning of the human race. When the first man who "felt out o' sorts" sought for and found some simple remedy to relieve his distress, he no doubt imparted a knowledge of his discovery to his neighbor. Information regarding such discoveries was exchanged, new remedies tested, etc., and in this way began a materia medica which doctors and chemists through the subsequent centuries have developed to its present high standard. Every ancient civilization had its system of medicine and every ancient nation, without consultation or collusion with others, developed a school devoted to the treatment of human ills. It may be of interest to the physician and the lay reader alike to note briefly the leading characteristics of these ancient schools—so different in practice—yet all having the same object in view.

The Chinese were the first people to establish a system of medicine, though its early history is shrouded in tradition and fable. It is said to have originated with the Emperor Hwang-ti, who reigned about 2660-2500 B. C. The Chinese physicians knew nothing of anatomy, although they noted the action of the pulse without comprehending its real significance or importance in physical diagnosis. The remedies they used were a strange conglomeration of substances from the animal, vegetable and mineral kingdoms, such as pulverized spiders, certain stones soaked in milk, etc. They used poultices, plasters and lotions of various kinds over the seat of pain and were no doubt the originators of massage. No improvement was made in their methods until a knowledge of modern methods was carried to the empire by missionaries, and even then the Chinese practitioner was slow to accept the new ideas.

The oldest known medical records are those of Egypt. The "Ebers papyri," which date from the sixteenth century B. C., contain much information that for centuries has been only traditional. In Egypt the healing art, as most others, was vested in the priests, who adopted an extensive formulary, consisting of elaborate ceremonies, spells and incantations. Recent discoveries indicate the Egyptians had specialists, such as gynaecologists, army surgeons, etc., as well as general practitioners. For countless generations little progress was made, one physician or priest communicating his knowledge to another, but few had sufficient initiative to "begin where the other left off." That the Egyptians had a

knowledge of anatomy is evidenced by their methods of embalming by which human bodies have been preserved as mummies for centuries. F. H. Baas, in his "History of Medicine," published in 1899, says: "Most of the Egyptian medical lore is contained in the last six volumes of the Sacred Book, and in completeness and arrangement rival the Hippocratic collection, which they antedate by a thousand years."

Most of the medical knowledge of the ancient Hebrews was derived from the Egyptians during the captivity, though they later developed a far more comprehensive system and may be said to have been the originators of hygiene and public sanitation. In the early years of the Hebrew civilization, disease was looked upon as a punishment for sin and the casting out of evil spirits constituted one of the principal remedies. The Levites were the only ones authorized to practice medicine and were the "licensed physicians," so to speak, of the Hebrew nation. The Talmud shows that the Jewish doctors had a limited knowledge of anatomy and performed surgical operations, though such operations were of the crudest character.

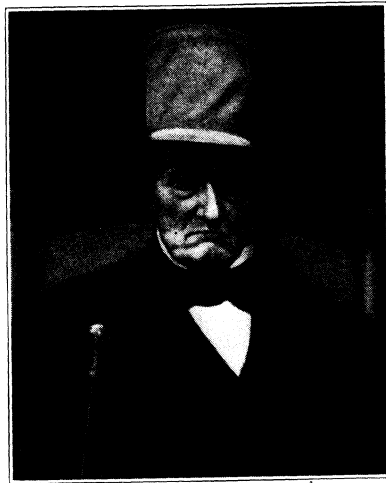
"The physicians of India," says Baas, "combined a close observation of pathological phenomena with a genius for misinterpretation, so their study availed them little." Only the Brahmins were allowed to practice, and they had to undergo a long training before being permitted to prescribe for patients. Demonology played a conspicuous part in their treatment. The system also embraced drugs of many kinds and some attention was given to bathing, diet, etc., a feature that was lacking in most of the ancient medical schools.

Among the Greeks and Romans Aesculapius, a pupil of Chiron the Centaur, was regarded as a "god of healing." The first shrine to Aesculapius was erected at Athens about 420 B. C., though later temples were built in some two hundred cities and towns. His followers formed a separate cult. Their treatment consisted of the interpretation of dreams, propitiatory sacrifices, mysterious ceremonies, etc., as well as the use of drugs. What was of more importance, they taught the importance of diet, bathing, and correct habits of living.

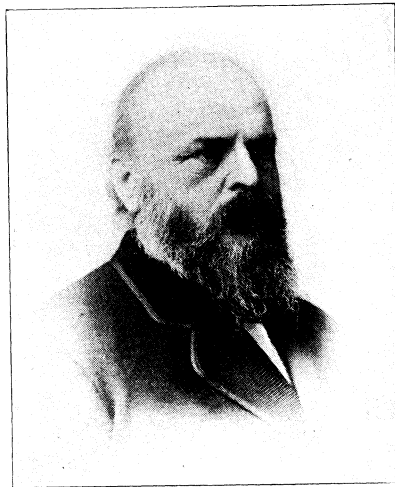
The Aesculapian era is known as "the sacred period of medicine." The system finally degenerated into a sort of mysticism and lost much of its prestige. It was succeeded by the "philosophical period of medicine," which was introduced by Hippocrates, who has been called the "Father of Medicine," and has been frequently referred to as the "first great apostle of rational medicine." The Hippocratic school was really founded after the death of Hippocrates (about 400 B. C.) by his sons, Draco and Thessalus, and his son-in-law, Polybius, who originated the famous "Hippocratic oath," which contains many of the fundamental principles in the ethics of the profession in the twentieth century.

With the founding of the Alexandrian Library, after the death of Alexander the Great (320 B. C.) the anatomic period of medicine began. This celebrated library was founded by Ptolemy, one of Alexander's lieutenants, and the City of Alexandria became the center of thought and learning. Between 320 and 280 B. C. there were two well defined schools of medicine—the Dogmatic and the Empiric. The former followed the teachings of the rationalist school of Hippocrates and the latter taught that the only trustworthy remedies were those suggested by experience. It has been claimed by some writers on medicine that Herophilus, one of the teachers of the Alexandrian school, was the first to dissect a human body, but the claim is not well established.

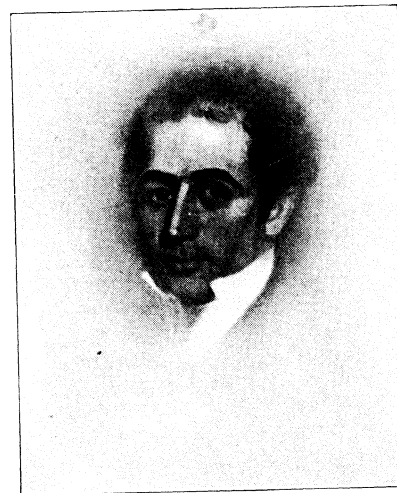
Galen, who lived from 130 to 201 A. D., made a radical departure from the



Joseph F. Marsac, Pioneer Interpreter

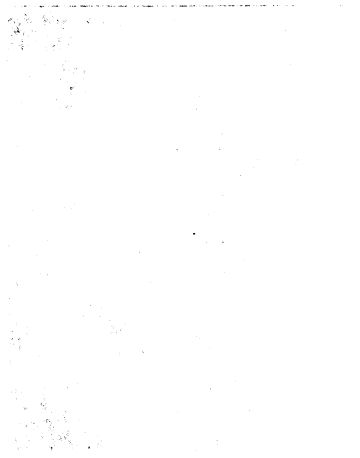


Dr. Herman Kiefer



Dr. Marshall Chapin

OLD PORTRAITS OF PROMINENT DETROIT MEN





Dogmatic school. He wrote over one hundred volumes, some of them treating of anatomy, but his works would hardly be adopted as textbooks by the medical colleges of the present age. The precepts taught by Galen were followed by physicians, with certain modifications, for several centuries.

No doubt the first systematic study of anatomy was made by Andreas Vesalius, who was born in Belgium in 1514. The fact is pretty well established that he was the first to dissect a human body, which gave rise to the story that he began his dissection before life was extinct. For this offense, which was committed when he was about thirty-five years old, he was sentenced to death by the Inquisition, but his life was spared through the intervention of Philip II of Spain. In 1550 he became physician to the court of Philip and while in that position published his "Observations on Anatomy."

The sixteenth century witnessed great advancement in medical science, especially in England. In 1540 Sir William Gilbert, physician to Queen Elizabeth, published the first work on medicine written by an English author. William Harvey, another English physician, was born in the latter part of this century, graduated at Padua in 1602, and in 1616 discovered the circulation of the blood. His publication of the fact brought forth much opposition and ridicule. Prior to this time it was known that the blood moved through the veins, but it was generally believed that the arteries contained only air, as they were always found empty after death. Doctor Harvey lived long enough to see his theory generally accepted by his profession and his original diagrams illustrating the circulation of the blood are still preserved by the Royal College of Physicians and Surgeons.

During the next two hundred years the progress of the medical profession was "slow but sure." The nineteenth century saw many great improvements introduced. The germ theory, established by such eminent physicians as Virchow, Lister and Pasteur, came to be almost unanimously accepted by intelligent practitioners. Sulphuric ether was first used as an anesthetic by Morton in Boston in 1846, and the next year chloroform was used for the same purpose by Simpson of Edinburgh, Scotland. Serums, antitoxins and prophylactics have been introduced and the Roentgen rays have in recent years been of incalculable benefit to physicians, but more particularly to surgeons, in certain classes of cases. In fact, it keeps the physician of the present day "on the jump" to keep up with the progress of his profession.

#### EARLY DETROIT PHYSICIANS

The first white man, of whom there is any record, to practice medicine in Detroit was Dr. Antoine Forrestier, who came with Cadillac in the summer of 1701 and practiced until his death in 1716. Beyond the appearance of his name in the records at intervals, little is known of him. The records of Ste. Anne's Church for May 9, 1710, contain the name of M. Henri Bellisle "Chirurgien," but no further mention of him has been found. Doctor Forrestier was succeeded in 1718 by Dr. Jean Baptiste Chapoton. The post records show that he practiced until 1758, a period of forty years, when he retired and gave his attention to the improvement of a tract of land granted to him by the French government. He was a great friend of the Indians and in May, 1763, he and Jacques Godfrey were selected by Major Gladwin to hold a parley with Pontiac and obtain, if possible, his consent to a treaty of peace, or at least to a truce. That they failed in their mission was through no fault of Doctor Chapoton, who used his most persuasive eloquence to bring peace to the besieged town.

Dr. George C. Anthon came with the first English troops in 1760 as medical officer of the post at "5s per day." He was a graduate of Eisnach and of the College of Physicians and Surgeons of Amsterdam, Holland. Soon after receiving his degree he became a surgeon in the navy. His vessel was captured by a privateer and he was taken as a prisoner to New York. Subsequently he was a surgeon in the military hospital at Albany, then assistant surgeon of the Sixtieth Regiment, Royal Americans, with which he came to Detroit. With his family he occupied the dwelling afterward known as the Cass house. Judge Campbell, in his poem entitled "Cassina," says:

"Behind the dormer windows  
That open on the strait  
First cradled were the Anthon's,  
Renowned in church and state.  
The good and wise physician,  
Of all the red men known,  
Had lore of the German forest,  
Of star, of mine and stone;  
And the slender, dark-eyed mother  
That held them on her knees,  
Sang songs of the Spanish border,  
The land of the Pyrenees."

Doctor Anthon's son, John, born in the old Cass house in 1784, was the author of several essays, etc.; Charles, another son, and Charles E., a grandson, were well known in literary and educational circles.

Dr. William Brown came to Detroit in 1783 and practiced for many years after the American occupation in 1796. He was popular with both the French and Americans. Ague and intermittent fever were then prevalent in Michigan and Doctor Brown combatted these maladies with Peruvian bark, before the sulphate of quinine became an article of commerce. He was elected a member of the last board of trustees of the Town of Detroit under the incorporation of 1802; one of those who signed the protest to Colonel Proctor in February, 1813, against his treatment of American citizens; was one of the organizers of the bank of Michigan in 1818, and the same year was elected county commissioner; was one of the first board of trustees of the University of Michigan when that institution was reorganized in April, 1821; was elected to the Legislative Council in 1828 and again in 1830. This was his last public service.

Dr. Gabriel Christopher le Grand was listed as a physician at Detroit in 1755, but he departed five years afterward for France, when the British came into control.

Doctor McClosky was a contemporary of Doctor Brown in 1783 and later and was a popular doctor of the day. Doctor Henry was another early physician, some time after the day of McClosky and Brown.

At the time of the Asiatic cholera epidemic in Detroit in 1832-4 the list of doctors then practicing and who fought the spread of the disease included such names as Drs. Marshall Chapin, R. N. Rice, Ebenezer Hurd, H. P. Cobb, Robert McMillan, Hardin, F. B. Clark, Douglass Houghton, Zina Pitcher, Arthur L. Porter, J. B. Scoville, N. D. Stebbins, Abram Sager (1835), George B. Russell (1837), Adrian R. Terry, and Lewis F. Starkey.

Other medical men of a former generation who were well known were: Drs. William McCoskry, J. L. Whiting, Shelomith S. Hall, Robert McMillan, E. A.

Theller, E. G. Desnoyers, Francis Breckenridge, Justin Rice, Linus Mott, J. H. Bagg, E. W. Cowles, Pliny Power, Moses Gunn, J. C. Gorton, E. Batwell, C. S. Tripler, Ira M. Allen, J. M. Alden, Richard Inglis, E. H. Drake, George Bigelow, E. M. Clark, A. L. Leland, J. J. Oakley, Isaac S. Smith, N. D. Stebbins, S. B. Thayer, S. M. Axford, Rufus Brown, D. Day, E. Kane, A. B. Palmer, L. C. Rose, M. P. Stewart, S. G. Armor, A. S. Heaton, D. O. Farrand and Samuel P. Duffield.

In 1864 there were practicing in Detroit among others, the following: Drs. Zina Pitcher, N. D. Stebbins, James A. Brown, James F. Noyes, Morse Stewart, Moses Gunn, S. G. Armor, Herman Kiefer, Peter Klein, Richard Inglis, D. Henderson, Lucretius Cobb, E. M. Clark, D. O. Farrand and Edward W. Jenks.

Dr. Douglass Houghton was one of the leading physicians of his time, as was Doctor Pitcher and Doctor Rice. Dr. Ebenezer Hurd was very prominent and married a daughter of Judge James Witherell. Dr. William McCoskry was a very early physician, as he came to Detroit in 1796 as an army surgeon with Wayne; he lived on the southeast corner of Woodbridge and Randolph streets. He was the uncle of Samuel Allen McCoskry, bishop of Detroit. Dr. Marshall Chapin was elected mayor of Detroit in 1831, running against John R. Williams. He established a drug store which, though variously changed in the succeeding years, may be considered to have been the foundation of the Michigan Drug Company. He died December 26, 1838. Dr. John Hendrie lived on the south side of Jefferson, on the site of the future Michigan Exchange. Stephen Chambers Henry, an exceedingly skillful surgeon, died of the cholera at Detroit August 12, 1834. Dr. Thomas B. Clark had his office in a small building on the south side of Jefferson Avenue, between Griswold and Woodward. When the Gazette office was burned in 1830 the spectators pulled Doctor Clark's small office out into Jefferson Avenue in order to prevent the spread of the fire. Clark then opened his office and drug store on the northwest corner of Woodward and Jefferson. Justin Rice, a prominent physician, was one of the owners of the Detroit and Black River Steam Saw Mill Company. Dr. John L. Whiting also, like many other physicians of the early day, engaged in other work besides his profession. He had for a partner John J. Deming in the forwarding business and for a time engaged in the land and tax business.

#### THE STORY OF MEDICINE IN DETROIT BY DR. J. H. DEMPSTER

The history of the medical profession in Detroit is that of a revolution rather than an evolution, so far as medical standards are concerned. In fact, medicine itself has been revolutionized during the past quarter of a century. Prior to 1883, there was no legislative restriction to the practice of medicine in the state, the only requirement being that the person aspiring to the position should hold himself out to the public as a physician or surgeon. Any one was privileged to prefix the term "Doctor" to his name or to use the letters M. D. The citizen had no protection whatsoever from the numerous mountebanks and charlatans that infested the state.

In 1883, a bill known as the Howell Medical Act, a very mild measure, provided for the registration of all persons who had practiced medicine for at least five years preceding the passage of the Act, and that all persons graduating from a legally authorized medical college anywhere in the world might register. No regard whatsoever was paid to the candidate's education or personal fitness to practice the healing art. The law was very seldom enforced and conditions

showed very little improvement. A certain healer's right to practice medicine being questioned, he produced a diploma on which he had been practicing for years. Upon it being pointed out that the document was a dental diploma and not medical, he replied: "It is very funny: I paid for the other kind and supposed I had it."

Numerous successive attempts were made for restrictive legislation, none being more active in his efforts than the late Dr. E. L. Shurly. So indifferent were the legislators in the matter of protecting the public health that it is said the governor of the state was about to sign a restrictive measure when a visit from an itinerant cancer quack caused him to change his mind and to withhold his signature.

Little progress was made until the Chandler Act of 1899. This act was introduced by Dr. B. D. Harison, at the time a resident of Sault Ste. Marie, now a resident of Detroit. This legislative measure provided for a registration board of ten members appointed by the governor of the state, and confirmed by the senate. This dates the beginning of the Michigan State Board of Registration in Medicine, which was empowered to administer the act through its secretary, Dr. B. D. Harison, who has held that office since 1899. Since 1906 the office of the board has been located in Detroit. The Chandler Act resulted in the purging of the state of some 2,200 healers who were denied the right to practice.

The most important restrictive medical legislation was the Nottingham Medical Act of 1903. This measure was much more radical, providing, as it did, for the examination, rejection, licensing and registry of physicians and surgeons, and for the punishment of offenders against this act. This left the matter of medical education as well as pre-medical education in the hands of the Michigan State Board of Medical Registration. This body has exercised its powers, so strenuously and always with the moral support of the great body of the medical profession that the standard of medical education in the state is equal to that of the foremost states of the Union, or to any province of Canada, where for half a century strict attention has been paid to medical education.

At the present time pre-medical requirements consist in a full high school course of four years, followed by two years collegiate training. The professional requirements are four years attendance in a medical college whose standards conform with the demands of the Council on Medical Education of the American Medical Association. A fifth year spent as interne in an approved hospital is now required. The two medical institutions of the state, the Detroit College of Medicine and Surgery and the University of Michigan, conform to these standards and are classed A 1.

In the matter of medical standards and practices, Detroit has undergone the experience of other municipalities in regard to medical education. Our methods of medical instruction were imported from England and Scotland. Briefly it was as follows: A young man desiring to study medicine became apprentice to a medical practitioner for a period of three to four years, and a relationship existed known as that of preceptor and student. Their duties have been thus defined: Living under the same roof, the preceptor would look after both the mind and morals of his pupils. The fledgling, in return for the instruction received at the hands of the master, performed many of the menial services about the house and office. It was he who prepared the powders, mixed the concoctions, made pills, swept the office, kept the bottles clean,

assisted in operations, and often by main force in pre-anesthetic times supplied the place of the anesthetic of today. He rode about with the doctor from house to house, profiting by his personal experience and jotting down on the pages of his notebook and the tables of his memory the words of wisdom that fell from his master's lips.

In this country, combined with this custom, was education in private schools of medicine for those who had the price.

Public taxation for the provision of medical education is a late innovation here.

The old-time preceptor has now ceased to exist even in name, which appeared up to within a decade ago in the catalogues of the medical colleges of this city and state.

Immediately after the Civil war all the medical colleges, with one or two exceptions, were owned by private corporations, one of the two exceptions being the medical department of the University of Michigan.

When the Detroit College of Medicine was founded the only condition of acquiring a charter was a subscription of \$30,000, one-fourth of which was paid in.

#### THE DETROIT COLLEGE OF MEDICINE AND SURGERY

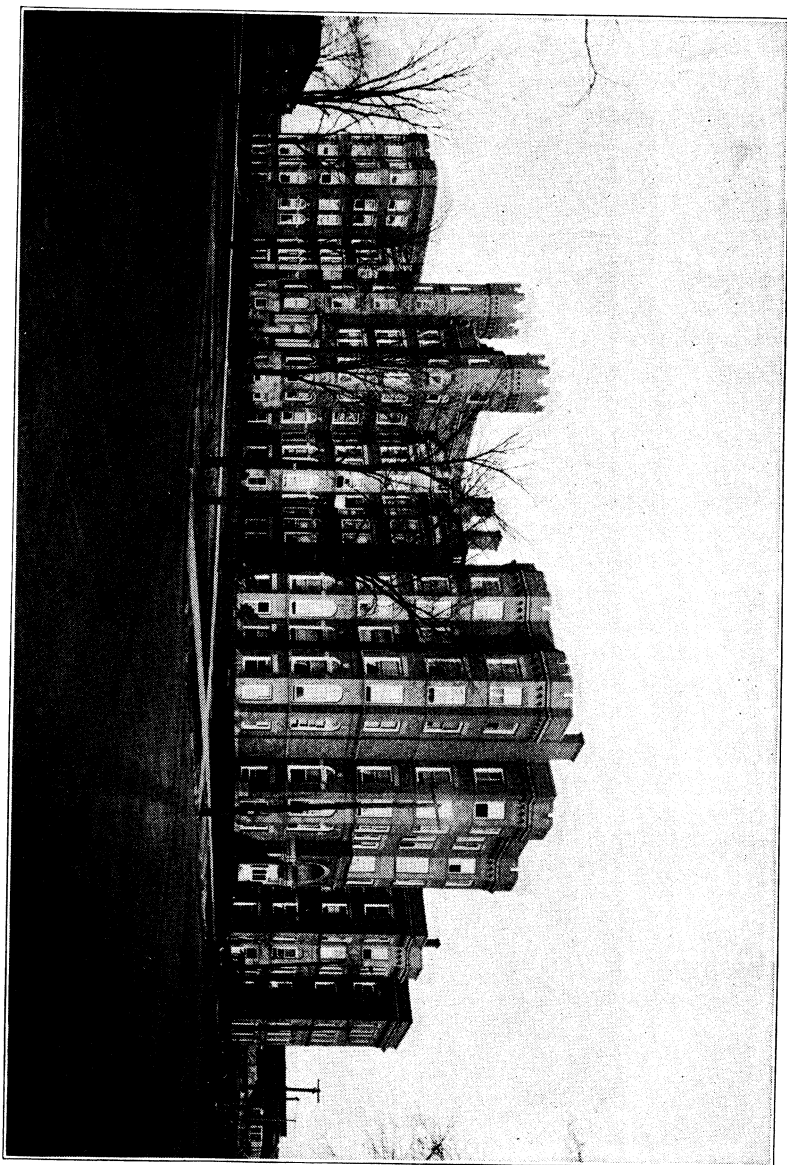
The Detroit College of Medicine was, in a sense, the outgrowth of medical conditions following the Civil war. In 1864, many disabled soldiers were quartered in an army hospital located near the site of Harper Hospital, at Martin Place and John R Streets. It appeared to a number of progressive minds that great advantage might be had in the study of medicine by the utilization of the abundant clinical material. Drs. E. W. Jenks, Theodore A. McGraw, George P. Andrews, Samuel P. Duffield and David A. Farrand were the leading spirits of this early movement in the matter of medical education. The first session was held on February 2, 1869, in two of the Harper Hospital buildings. Harper, St. Mary's and St. Luke's Hospitals afforded clinical facilities. In 1882 the college acquired the property of the Young Men's Christian Association on Farmer Street, where it was located until September, 1893. During the early years of the Detroit Medical College, so greatly were doctors in demand that applicants were accepted without regard to their preliminary education, and were graduated after two sessions of five months each. The courses of study comprised anatomy, chemistry, physiology, medical botany, materia medica and therapeutics, practice of medicine, surgery, obstetrics and diseases of women and children, ophthalmology, otology and medical jurisprudence. Beginning with the opening session, September, 1880, the course was lengthened to three terms of six months each, and an examination was demanded on the preliminary education of each candidate. In 1889, the Detroit College of Medicine was housed in a building newly erected on the northwest corner of St. Antoine and Mullett Streets. In 1891, the faculty secured arrangements with the House of Providence for obstetric teaching. Later the Woman's hospital and the Children's hospital became available for clinical teaching. From now on the college began to expand so as to comprise a department of pharmacy, of dental surgery, and of veterinary surgery in 1891. The Detroit College of Medicine, during this time and up to 1912, was a stock company owned in large measure by the faculty of the institution. The departments of veterinary medicine, pharmacy and dentistry were eventually closed, that of veterinary surgery in 1899, of pharmacy in 1906, and of dental surgery in 1909, owing to the inability

to support and maintain these institutions from the fees of attending students. The teaching force of the institution gave their services without any recompense other than that incident to imparting instruction to others. "To teach is to learn." The very presence of the Detroit College of Medicine, proprietary school though it was, was a stimulus to the medical profession of Detroit. Meanwhile medical education throughout the United States was becoming standardized and, owing to the demands of the committee on medical education of the American Medical Association in the way of increased laboratory facilities, full-time professors and instructors, the non-subsidized or proprietary school was doomed sooner or later to bow to the state-owned subsidized school.

In 1913 came a critical moment in the life of the old college. The stockholders consented to a renewal of the charter and with the help of a large number of alumni and other physicians a new organization was effected under the title, The Detroit College of Medicine and Surgery, and plans were laid for an endowment fund of \$1,000,000 to broaden and improve the work so well carried on by the old Detroit College of Medicine. The new institution was incorporated under the Education Laws of Michigan, August 19, 1913. It has been founded as a membership organization without profit-sharing stock. All powers and obligations of the corporation are vested in a permanent board of trustees. The teaching faculty had been reorganized, including the addition of ten full-time salaried professors and assistants. The clinical facilities of the newly organized college include every hospital but one in Detroit.

The matter of combining the Detroit College of Medicine and Surgery with the medical department of the University of Michigan had been advocated from time to time. The scheme for such union has eventually ceased to be a matter of discussion evidently for all time to come. On July 1, 1918, the Detroit College of Medicine and Surgery was taken over by the municipality of Detroit as a city-owned institution under the direct control of the board of education. This act was confirmed by the state legislature a few months later, removing all barriers to a city-owned medical college. One result has been the removal of a recrudescing subject of endowments and a very material reduction in fees for students from the city, thus affording a medical education to the ambitious young man of moderate means. The perpetuation of the college is likewise insured.

Detroit has had other medical institutions, which, having "strutted and fretted their brief hour upon the stage, are seen no more". The Michigan College of Medicine was organized in June, 1879, and on November 17<sup>th</sup> was opened in the three-story building still standing on the southeast corner of Catherine and St. Antoine streets. From here this institution was moved to the corner of Second and Michigan Avenue, where it was housed in the Emergency Hospital, which institution supplied the clinical facilities for the school. A new building, now occupied by the Artercraft Lithographing Company, was built for medical training, but owing to changes taking place in medical standards the institution was short-lived, and went the way of hundreds of proprietary institutions throughout the land. For years the destinies of this institution were in the hands of the late Dr. Hal C. Wyman, dean, and the late Dr. E. B. Smith, secretary. The proprietary school has had its day, yet many of the best men, men honored in the front ranks of the profession, were educated in these institutions.



PROVIDENCE HOSPITAL





## HOMEOPATHY

Homeopathy was introduced into Detroit the same year, 1843, that Hahnemann, the founder of the school, died. Dr. S. S. Hall, the first homeopath to locate here in the year mentioned, practised many years. Dr. John Mosher (1785-1856) was probably the first homeopathic physician to locate in this state, having opened his office in 1842 at Somerset (then called Gamblesville), Hillsdale County. Homeopathy won popularity as a protest against the huge medicinal dosage that characterized the dispensing of the members of the regular medical profession. Scientific medicine, however, has undergone such a revolution that its present devotees can scarcely be looked upon as the lineal descendants of the regular, as they were derisively known as "Allopaths", a meaningless word applied to them by the homeopathic school. In 1871 there were over three hundred homeopathic physicians in Michigan who worked hard to secure a department at the University of Michigan for the teaching of homeopathy. Up to this time there had been a struggling college at Lansing. Eventually, in 1871 and 1872, a college was opened in Detroit. The college rented Coyle's Hall for four years, from May 1, 1872. Coyle's Hall was on the corner of Woodward Avenue and the Campus, over the present (1921) Elmer's store. Subsequently the college was located at the corner of Lafayette and Third, where it remained until closed, along with two or three regular medical schools in the state, which were unable to meet the demands of the Council on Medical Education of the American Medical Association. Homeopathy is taught in this state at the present time by the homeopathic medical department of the University of Michigan.

The doctors connected with the Detroit College were: Lancelot Younghusband, President; C. B. Kellogg, E. R. Ellis, Cornelius Ormes, Lucy M. Arnold, A. B. Spinney and F. X. Spranger. Lectures began in Merrill Hall on March 12, 1872.

Among the most notable members of the Homeopathic Medical School were: Drs. Cornelius Ormes, Rolin C. Olin, Francis Woodruff, Henry L. Obez, Christopher C. Miller, William M. Bailey, F. X. Spranger, Otto Lang and H. P. Mera.

## MEDICAL JOURNALISM IN DETROIT

Detroit has been a veritable graveyard of medical journalism. One of the first professional publications of a medical nature was the Michigan Journal of Homeopathy, edited by Drs. John Ellis and E. H. Drake, which began in November, 1848, but closed out within a year.

The Peninsular Journal of Medicine was originally published at Ann Arbor, beginning in July, 1853, but was moved to Detroit in July, 1855, where Drs. Zina Pitcher, A. B. Palmer, William Brodie and E. P. Christian were editors. After March, 1858, this paper was united with the Medical Independent.

The Medical Independent was edited by Drs. H. Goadby, E. Kane and L. G. Robinson and was started March 1, 1856. In March, 1857, Moses Gunn and L. G. Robinson became editors and the magazine was called The Peninsular and Independent. The last number was issued in March, 1860.

The Michigan Homeopathic Journal appeared in October, 1853, edited by Drs. John Ellis and S. B. Thayer, and lasted one year.

The American Homeopathic Observer, a monthly, was established by Dr. E. A. Lodge in January, 1864, and was discontinued in December, 1885.

The Detroit Review of Medicine and Pharmacy was established in April, 1866, by Drs. G. P. Andrews, E. W. Jenks, T. A. McGraw, S. P. Duffield, W. H. Lathrop, A. B. Lyons and Leartus Connor, and was later merged, in January, 1877, with the Peninsular Journal of Medicine, the second publication of its name. The latter paper, a monthly, was started in July, 1873, and continued until December, 1876. The Detroit Medical Journal was published for a time in 1877 by Drs. Leartus Connor and J. J. Mulheron.

The Michigan Journal of Homeopathy, the second paper with this title, issued quarterly by Dr. R. E. Ellis, lasted from July, 1872, until April, 1873.

The Medical Advance was established as a quarterly in January, 1877, by Dr. C. H. Leonard and was published for three years, when it was succeeded by Leonard's Illustrated Medical Journal in 1880. This latter paper was purchased by J. F. Hartz and merged with the Detroit Medical Journal, which was in its twenty-second year of publication. The Detroit Medical Journal was a monthly publication devoted to the publication of papers of a general scientific interest, absolutely non-sectarian in policy. It has been edited successively by Drs. Arch Stockwell, Frank B. Tibbals, H. M. Rich, and for the past twelve years by J. H. Dempster. The Detroit Medical Journal was sold in December, 1920, to Medical Life of New York City.

The Therapeutic Gazette, incorporating Medicine (established 1895) and Medical Age (established 1878), appeared in January, 1880. This paper had been originally started in January, 1877, by George S. Davis and edited by C. H. Leonard as New Preparations. In 1885 the editorial offices were changed to Philadelphia, although the office of publication has been continuous and is now located in Detroit. The publisher is E. G. Swift, of Parke, Davis & Company. The editors are: Dr. H. A. Hare, professor of therapeutics in the Jefferson Medical College, and Dr. Edward Martin, professor of surgery in the University of Pennsylvania. The Therapeutic Gazette is devoted largely to the therapeutic phase of medicine.

The American Lancet, edited by the late Drs. Leartus Connor and H. A. Cleland, was first published in 1878 as The Detroit Lancet; the name was changed in January, 1876. The Michigan Medical News, by Dr. J. J. Mulheron, was issued first in January, 1878. Geo. S. Davis bought it in January, 1883, and named it the Medical Age. The Detroit Clinic was established January 4, 1882, with Drs. H. O. Walker and O. W. Owen as editors and owned by Geo. S. Davis, who combined it with Michigan Medical News at the time he changed the name of the latter to Medical Age.

The Leucocyte, 1895, a medical journal, has appeared for nearly a quarter of a century (the present is Volume XXVIII) as the organ of the Alumni Association of the Detroit College of Medicine. Its policy has been largely confined to the reporting of papers and clinics of the alumni association, and it contains as well a students' department which is in control of the undergraduates of the Detroit College of Medicine and Surgery.

A thriving little weekly has appeared for a number of years under the editorship of Drs. Roland Parmeter, Ray Connor, Hugo Freund, J. H. Dempster, Wesley Taylor, R. C. Jamieson and B. C. Lockwood. The Wayne County Medical Bulletin, the organ of the Wayne County Medical Society, as it is called, reproduces the papers presented each week, as well as the weekly announcements of the medical society.

The American Journal of Roentgenology, a national publication, had its

beginning in Detroit under the editorship of Dr. P. M. Hickey. In 1916 the office of publication was removed to New York. Dr. James T. Case of Battle Creek was succeeded by Dr. Hickey, who has been himself succeeded by H. M. Imboden, New York, the present editor.

The Journal of the Michigan State Medical Society, now published at Grand Rapids, was, up to March, 1913, edited and published in Detroit. It is a monthly journal now in its twentieth year of publication.

#### HEALTH CONDITIONS IN DETROIT

Located in a more or less level area on the bank of the Detroit River, Detroit has not been wholly free from diseases incident to a moist and more or less rigorous climate. In the early years of the settlement the Savoyard River ran parallel to the Detroit River, crossing Woodward Avenue near Congress Street. This stream became unsanitary and effectually fulfilled the function of a sewer.

There are no endemic diseases in this city, although the early settlers here suffered from fever and ague or, as we know it, malaria, which persisted until the early forties of last century. Whiskey was at first widely used as an antidote and remedy for this condition until later quinine was found to be a specific. Smallpox is said to have been prevalent in this locality in 1703 and in the year 1785 it was so virulent that the population of that day became greatly alarmed. Again, in 1832 there was an outbreak of cholera, and in July of the same year a boatload of 370 soldiers arrived en route to Chicago under the command of Colonel Twiggs to take part in the Black Hawk war. One of the soldiers died of cholera, and the boat was interned at Hog Island, now Belle Isle. Later it proceeded as far as the southern end of Lake Huron, when owing to so large a number of the soldiers being attacked, the voyage was abandoned. Two Detroit citizens having died of cholera on July 6, 1832, the settlement was at once thrown into a panic. Bridges were torn up and fences built across the road to prevent egress from the city to villages in the vicinity. There were ninety-six deaths in the city during the epidemic. Cholera again broke out in 1834, as many as sixteen deaths being recorded in a single day. Seven percent of the population died within a month. Among those physicians who gave special attention to the treatment of cholera patients were Doctors Whiting, Rice, Chapin, Desnoyers, Chandler, Farmer and Carpenter. In the year 1849, and again in 1854, Detroit was visited by cholera.

The humid climate, especially in the winter and spring, has been particularly hard on tuberculosis patients. The city has kept pace with others of its size in the matter of sanitation, although during the past decade, which has witnessed unprecedented growth, the medical profession and the department of health have been taxed to the utmost in the way of suppression of infectious diseases. The system of sewerage is quite adequate and the water supply has been found, on the whole, to be free from any serious contamination. The housing problem of late has proved a vexatious matter in the way of reducing mortality due to infectious diseases. The automobile industry has resulted in great influx of immigrants from Europe. Probably no other city in the United States has had forced upon it the problem of the assimilation and Americanization of the so-called foreign element as has Detroit. The city has been a veritable "melting pot". As a result, perplexing problems of health and sanitation have arisen.

The earliest report of the Board of Health of Detroit dates from 1882 when

O. M. Wright, M. D., was medical health officer. Dr. Wright was succeeded in 1885 by Dr. Samuel P. Duffield. Dr. Duncan McLeod was appointed health commissioner in 1893, but was succeeded by Dr. Samuel P. Duffield again in 1896. Dr. Heneage Gibbs was appointed to the position in 1898 and succeeded by Dr. W. R. Baker in 1900. Dr. Guy L. Kiefer followed Doctor Baker in 1902 and continued in office until 1912, when he resigned to reenter private practice. During the first decade of the health department's recorded history, the great problem was apparently how to keep within bounds the scourge of diphtheria. This was in pre-antitoxin days: the average mortality during the first decade, namely, 1882 to 1893, was 250 deaths a year, or over 25 per cent of the cases. With a much greater population at the present time the mortality from this infectious disease has been reduced to less than four per cent. Dr. Kiefer's comparatively lengthy administration was marked by some very important innovations, namely: the establishment of an infants' clinic, the tuberculosis clinic of the Board of Health and the dental inspection of schools. It was during his regime that the new city isolation hospitals were constructed, known as the Herman Kiefer Hospital, after Doctor Kiefer's father. Doctor Kiefer was succeeded by Dr. William H. Price, who had long been connected with the Milk and Dairy Inspection Department of the city. Doctor Price carried on the work of his predecessors in a very efficient manner. He has proved himself a statistician of good ability. Among other things Doctor Price set about to improve the housing conditions of Detroit, which had become a vexed problem owing to the unprecedented growth of Detroit's population, which has continued to the present time. He was succeeded in 1917 by Dr. J. W. Inches, formerly of St. Clair, Michigan.

After over a year's incumbency, Doctor Inches was appointed Police Commissioner by Mayor Couzens, and the position of Health Officer was awarded to Doctor Vaughn. The autumn and winter of 1918-1919 saw one of the worst epidemics in the history of the city, that of influenza, but through the efforts of the Health Department and the medical profession the city came through it comparatively well.

#### THE WAYNE COUNTY MEDICAL SOCIETY

No account of the medical profession would be complete without the history of the Wayne County Medical Society, its vicissitudes and growth to its present place among similar organizations in the United States. As at present constituted it is a branch of the Michigan State Medical Society, and membership in it is a prerequisite for fellowship in the American Medical Association.

The first medical organization in Detroit dates back to 1846, when the "Sydenham Society" was organized with Dr. Charles N. Ege as president. This organization gave place three years later to the Wayne County Medical Society, organized as a branch of the Michigan State Medical Society. The life of this local society was very brief, inasmuch as it was followed four years later by the Detroit Medical Society, the first president of which was Dr. Morse Stewart. This association was active until 1858, when it disbanded. Following this, for a period of eight years, Detroit and Wayne County were without a medical society. On May 31, 1866, a second Wayne County Medical Society was formed with the following officers; Dr. Zina Pitcher, president; Dr. H. F. Lyster, secretary.

The meetings were held quarterly. Early in 1876 it adjourned, and was

followed in August of the same year by a third Wayne County Medical Society with Dr. William Brodie as chief. The same was incorporated under the laws of the State of Michigan, in 1902, under the presidency of Dr. Samuel Bell, when its constitution and by-laws were amended to conform to the constitution and by-laws of the state society. The Wayne County Society was granted a charter as a branch of the state society. At this date there combined with it the Detroit Medical and Library Association, which constituted a branch of the profession which did their utmost to facilitate the unification of the medical profession of the city and Wayne County. Among them are: Detroit Academy of Medicine (1868-1919), The Quarter Century Medical Club (1902-1915). With the latter combined the Detroit Obstetrical and Gynecological Society (1884-1887) and the Michigan Surgical and Pathological (1891-1899). "Since the first state society (1819-1851) served all the purposes of a county society in Wayne, the present organization may fairly be said to have begun in 1819 and with slight interruptions continued its evolution to the present, a period of ninety-six years. Under its own name the Wayne County Medical Society began operations sixty-nine years ago. Drs. George B. Russell and Peter Klein, and Morse Stewart, took an active part in the earliest of these stages of development."

In 1906 the Defense League was formed as an integral part of the society. The purpose of the league is to conduct the defense of any member of the society accused of malpractice. The success of this defense feature of the Wayne County Medical Society was so evident that in 1910 it was taken over by the Michigan State Medical Society and made a part of the constitution of that body. As it exists today, the bona-fide members of every county society within the state are granted the protection of the Defense League if required.

Prior to 1909 the Wayne County Medical Society was without a permanent meeting place. For a time it was housed in a room in the Wayne County Court Building. In 1910, the Society was incorporated and a board of trustees was elected and authorized to purchase premises for a permanent meeting place. As a result a commodious house was purchased, 33 High Street, East, the present home of the Society. The price paid was \$30,000, defrayed by subscriptions from the members of the Society. It was not long before the membership outgrew the housing accommodations, necessitating the erection of a hall to the rear of the original building. The first meeting in the new hall was held February 2, 1914.

Weekly meetings are held from September to June 1st, each year, at which scientific papers covering all phases of medicine and surgery are read and discussed. These weekly programs constitute a most powerful stimulus to study and research among the members of the profession.

The social feature is by no means a minor feature among the members of a calling the very nature of which tends to make its members individualistic.

The medical library, under the management of a trained librarian, is housed in the medical building. As this is a branch of the Detroit Public Library, not only the medical profession but likewise the laity have access to it. It consists at present of 10,000 volumes, including bound volumes of medical periodicals. The fact that no other organization gives so much for the fees collected from its membership (\$12) is attested by the healthy growth in membership, which now numbers over 1,000 besides honorary and associate members.

The medical profession of Detroit and Wayne County showed their loyalty

during the war and made probably as great a sacrifice as any other organization in the city. Nearly four hundred of the Detroit profession served in uniform either at home or overseas. Two medical units were organized under the leadership, respectively, of Dr. Angus McLean and Dr. B. R. Shurly. A number enlisted and served with the Canadian or British forces before the United States had actually gone into the war. A large tablet containing approximately three hundred and sixty-five names was unveiled at the Wayne County Medical Society with appropriate ceremony during the spring of 1920. The call to military service of so many of Detroit's medical profession left an added burden upon those who remained at home, who worked assiduously on draft boards besides taking care of the civic population during one of the worst epidemic periods in the history of the locality. The fatalities among the medical profession represented in France consisted of Doctor Post, killed in actual service; Dr. V. C. Vaughan, Jr., who was drowned.

Since the close of the war the medical profession of Wayne County has shown a greater enthusiasm than ever in its history. The auditorium on nights of meetings is frequently taxed to its utmost capacity to accommodate its members. So much interest has been manifested that the time is not far distant when the medical society must look for new and more commodious quarters.

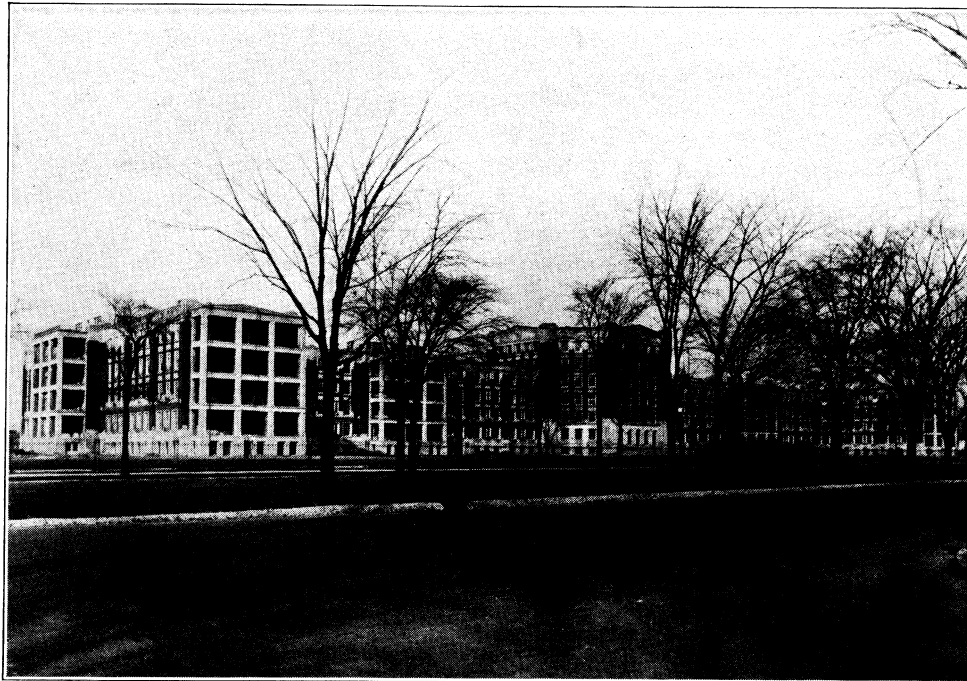
#### HOSPITALS

The first hospital in the City of Detroit was St. Mary's, established by four Sisters of Charity, in an old log building on the southwest corner of Randolph and Larned streets. It was opened for patients June 9, 1845, under the name of St. Vincent's. After about five years of service in the first location the Sisters erected a building on Clinton Street near St. Antoine, and the name was then changed to St. Mary's. This building was first opened November 6, 1850. On November 21, 1879, a new structure facing St. Antoine Street was formally opened.

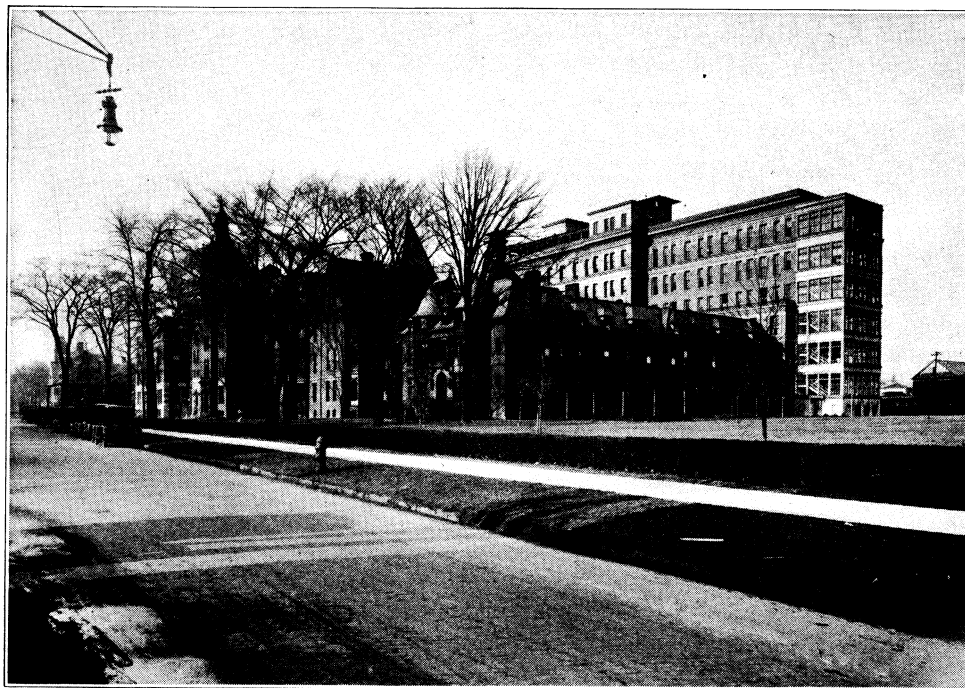
The Harper Hospital was established through the beneficence of Walter Harper, a wealthy resident of Philadelphia, who came to Detroit about 1832 and lived here quietly until his gift, dated February 4, 1859. This deed gave nearly one thousand acres, near Detroit, also three residences in Philadelphia, to a board of trustees for the purpose of establishing a hospital. The only consideration attached to his gift was that he was to receive a certain annuity. In March of the same year, Mrs. Ann Martin deeded to the hospital a five-acre lot in Detroit and fifteen acres in the Ten Thousand Acre Tract. The hospital was incorporated May 4, 1863. During the Rebellion, the trustees bought five acres on Woodward Avenue adjoining that which they already owned and offered the use of the site to the government as a military hospital, providing the latter would erect suitable buildings. The offer was accepted and during the war hundreds of sick and wounded soldiers were cared for here.

The hospital was opened for ordinary patients in January, 1866. A new building was constructed on the old John R. Street grounds and opened June 19, 1884. Subsequent additions have been made to keep pace with the rapid increase of patients attendant upon the growth of the city.

Grace Hospital had its inception in 1869, when Amos Chaffee gave a lot on the northeast corner of Willis Avenue and John R. Street as a site for a homeopathic hospital. During 1879 a society called The Detroit Homeopathic Association was incorporated. Nothing further was done until 1886, and then



FORD HOSPITAL



HARPER HOSPITAL





James McMillan gave \$100,000 for the erection of a building and later John S. Newberry offered \$100,000 as an endowment for operating costs. This was the beginning of the present Grace Hospital, which has two locations in Detroit, 277 West Grand Boulevard and 4160 John R Street.

The Herman Kiefer Hospital on Hamilton Boulevard was established in memory of Dr. Herman Kiefer, eminent physician and author.

The Henry Ford Hospital was founded with the purpose of making it one of the largest and best equipped hospitals in the country. This large institution, partially completed in 1917, was then turned over to the government for use as a base hospital. After the close of hostilities the work of completing the vast building was undertaken. The institution is now operated as a closed hospital, in that the staff attached to the hospital cares for all the patients.

Detroit's municipally-operated hospital located at St. Antoine and Macomb streets cost the city about \$250,000 and was opened October 12, 1915.

It was established by the Poor Commission, now known as the Department of Public Welfare.

It serves as an emergency hospital and clearing house for accident or injury cases occurring on public thoroughfares or of a public nature, and a psychopathic hospital for the safe and humane handling of the mentally disturbed, and is under the control of the Welfare Commission. Other wards of the hospital are devoted to the care of medical and surgical patients unable to pay for treatment in other hospitals.

The receiving hospital is of service to the various courts and departments of the city in holding persons for medical care or observation pending a proper disposition of their cases and the saving made thereby is large.

Before the Receiving Hospital was opened the cost of caring for the city's sick poor in private hospitals was approximately \$110,000 per year, which has now been reduced to about \$45,000 per year; the cost of maintenance of the Receiving Hospital to the City of Detroit is approximately \$70,000 per year.

The Board of Health of the City of Detroit was organized on the first day of March, 1895, under an act of the Legislature approved February 27, 1895, and consists of four members, who are electors and freeholders in the City of Detroit, appointed by the Mayor. Two of them and no more must be graduates in medicine. The Board of Health has authority such as ordinarily pertains to such bodies, has power to make orders and regulations as they shall think necessary or proper for the preservation of public health; and other and extensive powers, especially granted by said act; and also the right to elect a president and appoint a health officer and secretary.

Perhaps one of the most notable additions to the facilities of Detroit for the relief of its afflicted is the Detroit Tuberculosis Sanitarium recently completed at Northville.

The work on this place was started on March 3, 1920. The Sunday preceding representatives of John Finn & Son, general contractors, visited the site and laid out roughly where the commissary buildings were to be placed, the construction office and other buildings, such as the blacksmith shop, garage, cement shed, etc.

By the middle of the same week two bunk houses and a temporary dining-room building were under roof and the first of the following week a crew of eighty men was on the job. Two weeks later the first concrete footings were poured and the excavations were well under way. The roofs on all the sani-

tarium buildings were completed by Thanksgiving of 1920 and the entire sanitarium plant was substantially completed by May 1, 1921.

The sanitarium plant will be totally completed, ready for full occupancy by early spring. The sanitarium will accommodate both adults and children, about three hundred adults the year around, one hundred children in winter and two hundred children in summer. Dr. A. H. Garvin is superintendent of the sanitarium. Although thirty-three children are already accommodated, to relieve overcrowding in Detroit, the full staff of the sanitarium will not be organized until the first of the year.

Other hospitals of Detroit, in addition to those covered under the head of "Charitable Institutions," are:

Children's Free Hospital, 5224 St. Antoine.  
Cottage Hospital, 54 Oak, Grosse Pointe.  
Detroit Eye, Ear, Nose and Throat Hospital, 62 W. Adams.  
Delray Industrial Hospital, 7125 W. Jefferson.  
Detroit Osteopathic Hospital, 188 Highland.  
Dunbar Memorial Hospital, 576 Frederick.  
Evangelical Deaconess Hospital, 3245 E. Jefferson.  
Fernwood Hospital, 3818 Northwestern.  
Grand River Hospital, 5964 Grand River.  
Highland Park General Hospital, Glendale Avenue.  
Hart Hospital, 2838 Trumbull.  
Lincoln Hospital, 1051 25th.  
Mercy Hospital, 668 Winder.  
Michigan Mutual Hospital, 1366 E. Jefferson.  
Roosevelt Memorial Hospital, 2920 Mt. Elliott.  
Providence Hospital, 2500 W. Grand Boulevard.  
St. Luke's Hospital, 228 Highland.  
Salvation Army Woman's Hospital, W. Grand Boulevard and W. Fort.  
Samaritan Hospital, Grand Boulevard and Milwaukee.

## CHAPTER XLVIII

### DETROIT IN LITERATURE AND ART

BY WILLIAM STOCKING

DETROIT'S PLACE IN LITERATURE AND ART—THE FIRST HISTORIANS AND CHRONICLERS—THE FRENCH AND ENGLISH PERIODS—EARLY AMERICAN WRITERS—MEN WHO COMBINED STATESMANSHIP AND LITERATURE—MANY PASTORS WITH READY PENS—MODERN HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS—DETROIT'S CONTRIBUTIONS TO POETRY AND FICTION—THE DETROIT INSTITUTE OF ART—ITS HISTORY AND PROSPECTS—NOTES ON INDIVIDUAL ARTISTS.

In the French dominions of North America every administrative official was a historian and every priest an annalist. The letters and dispatches of the commandants and the seventy-three volumes of the "Jesuit Relations" furnish the basis for much of the connected history that has been written about these regions. Some of the officials were also masters of a more finished literature, and Cadillac, the founder of Detroit, was in the latter class. He wrote memoirs on Acadia, a geographical term that was then applied to a long stretch of coast, and in these he described the coast and islands from Nova Scotia to New York. He wrote a memorandum on Michilimackinac, including accounts of the appearance, traditions and customs of the Indian tribes of that post and beyond. Of the style of his writings Farmer's History says: "He was equally successful in describing the customs of the Indians, in suggesting means for outwitting the English, and in exposing the malice and intrigues of those who opposed him. His writings sparkled with bon mots and epigrammatic sentences, some of them remarkable for concentrated thought. His reasoning powers were of a high order and his arguments were clear, logical and forcible. His opinions were definite and expressed with clearness and precision. His writings abound in tropes, and proverbs dropped easily from his pen."

Among the conspicuous figures that arrived in Detroit with the first British occupation in 1760 was Maj. Robert Rogers who took part in the turmoils here and at Mackinac, having been in command at the latter post for several years. He was a writer as well as a fighter, and was the author of "Rogers' Journal," "A Concise Account of North America," also a tragedy entitled "Pontiac."

Col. Arent Schuyler De Peyster was in Detroit as commander of the post from 1779 to 1784. His correspondence, orders and reports are scattered through 300 pages of the Haldimand Papers in the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections. He had a cultivated literary taste and was the writer of many poems and sonnets containing allusions to local scenes and events. Among other poems is one on "Red River, a song descriptive of canoeing or sleighing upon the ice in the post of Detroit in North America." Among his

humorous conceits were verses to "The Ghost of Old Cocosh (a pig). Shot by the Guard in the King's Naval Yard at Detroit." A portion of his verses were collected in a quarto volume of 277 pages, printed in Dumfries, Scotland, after De Peyster's return to that country. He was a personal friend of Robert Burns, and to him were addressed that poet's verses on "Life," the last lines that he wrote.

#### EARLY AMERICAN WRITERS

Many of the officials in the early days of the American occupation made contributions to literature aside from their official papers. The first of the judges who came here in 1805, Augustus Brevoort Woodward, was the author of "Epaminondas on the Government of the Territory of Columbia," a work on "The Substance of the Sun," published in 1809; "The System of Universal Science," published in 1816 and "The Presidency of the United States," published at New York in 1825. He was also the author of the extraordinary prospectus of the "Catholepistemiad or University of Michigania," with its didaxum or professorship on anthropoglossica, physiognostica and others: Pruned of its excrescences, this institution became the University of Michigan.

Gabriel Richard, the priest of Ste. Anne's parish, brought the first printing press to the territory in 1809, and printed the first weekly newspaper. With a long look into the future he wrote a pamphlet urging that this country open trade with China. His carefully kept annals are among the dependable sources of information about that period.

The memoirs of Gen. Lewis Cass on his journey of exploration were an important contribution to the general knowledge of the lake country, and the Indian tribes inhabiting it. His political letters and addresses were, of course, very numerous. He was a frequent contributor to the old North American Review. He also wrote "France, Its King, Court and Government," published in 1841, and a treatise on "The Right of Search," published in 1842.

Henry R. Schoolcraft lived in Detroit in 1820 and again from 1836 to 1840. He accompanied General Cass on his explorations, made others on his own account, and was the chief student of Indian affairs of that period. He wrote six large volumes on "Archives of Aboriginal Knowledge" and ten or twelve other books on the Indian tribes.

Charles C. Trowbridge, who accompanied General Cass as his private secretary, and who was active in Detroit affairs for over half a century wrote an interesting volume on "Detroit, Past and Present."

Douglas Houghton, who was a resident of Detroit and twice its mayor, was the first to make a scientific study of the mineral wealth that underlies the Upper Peninsula, and was the author of a number of state and United States Geological reports. His reports hastened the development of the iron, copper and salt resources of the state.

C. Edwards Lester, a great grandson of Jonathan Edwards, was a man of fine mental qualities and wide learning and was a prolific writer. In 1843 he published "The Condition and Fate of England," and three years later he issued an excellent work entitled "The Artists of America." His other works were: "The Light and Dark of the Rebellion" (1863); "The Glory and Shame of England" (1866); "Life of Charles Sumner," "Sam Houston and His Republic," "The Life and Voyages of Americus Vesputius," "The First Hundred Years in the Life of the United States," and many others.

William Woodbridge, who was successively territorial secretary, delegate to Congress, justice of the supreme court, governor and United States senator, made an industrious use of his pen in all these positions, and wrote a number of addresses outside of his official work. His residence in Detroit was for several years after 1825 the home of his father-in-law, John Trumbull, author of the long poem, "Mc Fingal."

Elkanah Watson, who was one of the promoters of the Erie Canal, wrote "Recollections of the Revolutionary War" and a "History of the Rise, Progress and Completion of the Western Canals of New York."

Alpheus Felch, bank commissioner, supreme court justice, governor and United States senator made a few important contributions to state historical writing. In his message as governor in 1846 he gave an account of the whole internal improvement movement in Michigan. He also wrote an entertaining account of the wild cat banking craze, which was printed as a United States Senate document, and which was the basis of many subsequent accounts of that financial orgy.

#### RELIGIOUS AND THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE

Aside from their sermon writing the clergy of Detroit have been prolific contributors to religious literature. The itinerary of the Methodist Episcopal church naturally gave to leading clergymen of that denomination short pastorates in Detroit. The city has also been an inviting field for leading divines in other denominations. The following represents some of their principal contributions to book literature.

William Aikman, for several years pastor of the Westminster Presbyterian Church, was the author of "The Future of the Colored Race in America," "Life at Home, or The Family and Its Members," "The Moral Power of the Sea" and several other works.

Dr. Orestes A. Brownson, one of the most prominent lay writers in the Roman Catholic Church, spent the last years of his life in Detroit. He was the editor and publisher of Brownson's Quarterly Review, "Essays and Reviews," and other works, which were collected for publication in a series of volumes by his son Henry F. Brownson.

Frederick Baraga, after whom one of the counties in the Upper Peninsula was named, lived in Detroit in 1854-5. He wrote a dictionary of the Ojibway language and several other Indian works.

Rev. William E. Boardman, pastor here in 1851-2, was the author of a book on "The Higher Christian Life" that had wide circulation.

Dr. Alfred Brunson, a veteran of the War of 1812, and an early Methodist pastor of Detroit, wrote "The Western Pioneer" and a "Key to the Apocalypse."

Rev. J. M. Buckley, one of the leading Methodists in the country, had a pastorate at the Central Methodist Church. He wrote many controversial pamphlets and a number of books. Among them were "Supposed Miracles," "An Appeal to Persons of Sense and Reflection," "Oats and Wild Oats."

Dr. J. H. Brown, at one time pastor of St. Peter's Church, wrote a volume of 320 pages on "The Pious Dead of the Medical Profession" and a shorter work on "New Treatment of Consumption."

Rev. D. D. Bush, pastor of the Central Methodist Church, wrote a book of 300 pages on "The Christian Virtues Personified."

Rev. Thomas Carter, pastor of the French Methodist Church, was the author

of "The Great Reformation in England and Scotland," a volume of 373 pages, and of several minor works.

Rev. George Duffield, for thirty years pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, was one of the most industrious of workers. While pastor of a church at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, he published an octavo of 615 pages on "Spiritual Life or Regeneration." A question as to the strict orthodoxy of this work led to the severing of that pastoral relation and a move to Detroit. During his pastorate here Doctor Duffield published half a dozen or more volumes, prominent among them being "Dissertations on the Prophecies" and "The Claims of Episcopal Bishops." In addition to his religious works Doctor Duffield wrote occasionally to the local papers on material interests of the city.

Dr. Zachary Eddy, pastor of The First Congregational Church, wrote a volume of 750 pages on "Immanuel or The Life of Christ," and assisted in the compilation of two church hymnals.

Rev. George Field, pastor of The New Church, wrote "Memoirs, Incidents and Romances of the Early History of the New Church," and three or four other books explaining the tenets of that order.

Bishop Samuel S. Harris, of the Protestant Episcopal Church, was the author of "The Relation of Christianity to Civil Government," and Samuel A. McCoskry, an earlier bishop of the same church, published a volume on "The Episcopal Bishops, the Successors of the Apostles."

Two of Detroit's clergymen laid especial emphasis in their writings on the temperance question. They were Rev. J. S. Smart, who wrote the "Funeral Sermon of the Maine Law," and Rev. George Taylor who wrote an account of the "Rumsellers' Indignation Meeting," and a poem on "The Satanic Agency in Drunkard Making."

Rev. R. J. Laidlaw, pastor of the Jefferson Avenue Presbyterian Church, wrote a book on "Religion as It Was and Is."

Rev. John Levington, pastor of the Simpson Methodist Church, was the author of three books entitled "Scripture Baptism," "Power with God and with Man," and "Watson's Theological Institutes Defended"; Rev. J. H. McCarthy of the Central Methodist wrote "Black Horse and Carry All," and "Inside the Gates," and Rev. E. H. Pilcher of the same church wrote a book on Protestantism in Michigan, with special reference to the history of the Methodist Church.

Rev. L. P. Mercer published a volume on "The Bible, Its True Character and Spiritual Meaning," and Rev. James Nall one on "Practical Atheism Detected and Exposed."

Rev. J. H. Potts, for a long time Editor of the Michigan Christian Advocate, was the author of "The Golden Dawn, or Light on the Great Future," and "Pastor and People or Methodism in the Field." Rev. W. H. Poole furnished a striking volume on "Anglo Israel, or the Saxon Race, the Lost Tribes of Israel," and one on "History the True Key to Prophecy."

Bishop Edward Thomson of the Methodist Church published half a dozen books, among them "Evidences of Christianity," and "Moral and Religious Essays."

Robert Turnbull, pastor of the First Baptist Church in 1836-7, wrote a number of works, among them "Pulpit Orators of France and Switzerland" and "Christ in History, and Rev. W. W. Washburn one on "The Import of Jewish Sacrifices."

Leonard Bacon, in later years one of the most noted of New England divines, also president of Yale University, was born in Detroit in 1802. One of the best known of his works was "The Genesis of the New England Churches."

#### HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS

Histories of Detroit, and histories of Michigan in which Detroit occupies a prominent part, have been numerous. Known for its wide scope and wealth of detail is Silas Farmer's "History of Detroit and Michigan," 1884, 2 volumes, pp. 2,504. This covers every phase of Detroit life from the earliest date to the year of publication, and is a marvel of individual industry. Few cities in the country have so complete a historical record in a single publication.

One of the earliest and one of the most quoted records is Mrs. Sheldon-Stuart's "Early History of Michigan." Its interest is enhanced by the amount of personal reminiscence that is woven into it.

Justice James V. Campbell published in 1876 "Outlines of the Political History of Michigan," a book of 600 pages which covers the ground in a very thorough and interesting manner. It was written by request in connection with the country's centennial celebration.

"Landmarks of Detroit," edited by Robert B. Ross and George B. Catlin, and published by the Evening News Association in 1898, is one of the most voluminous of local compilations, making about 1,200 pages. Paul Leake's History of Detroit published in 1910, by the Lewis Publishing Company of Chicago, is another large compendium of facts about Detroit. Both these publications treat the subject topically rather than chronologically. The historical part of Mr. Leake's book is comprised in one volume of 403 pages, and there are two large volumes of biography besides.

The historical publication of which this chapter is a part was issued in 1922 by The S. J. Clarke Publishing Company of Chicago. It was written in the years 1920 and 1921 under the editorial supervision of Mr. Clarence M. Burton, with some chapters and portions of others from the pen of Mr. William Stocking. The vast resources of the Burton Historical Collection, also the many articles by Mr. Burton relative to the early history of Detroit, were utilized in preparing this work.

Charles Moore's "Northwest Under Three Flags," published by Harper Brothers in 1900, covers in a very graphic way the section of country of which Detroit and Michigan were a part. In the preparation of this work Mr. Moore had the advantage of access to documents which were not available for earlier writers.

Henry M. Utley of Detroit and General B. M. Cutcheon of Grand Rapids collaborated in a history of Michigan as a province, as a territory and as a state. It was published in four volumes in 1906 by the Michigan Publishing Society.

Judge Charles I. Walker was more of a collector than author, but he prepared a number of historical addresses, and wrote a valuable monograph on "The Northwest During the Revolution."

In 1879 William Stocking, in celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the organization of the Republican Party, prepared an elaborate account of the convention at Jackson, Michigan, which founded and named the party, and of the events which led up to this action. This was printed in *The Post and Tribune*, and then in pamphlet, was expanded into several chapters of "The History of the Republican Party" which was published by William Livingstone

in 1900 and was rewritten in still longer form for "Under the Oaks," published by the Detroit Tribune in 1904.

A valuable contribution to Michigan biography and history was "The Life of Zachariah Chandler," written in 1879 by members of the editorial staff of The Post and Tribune, and edited by Charles K. Backus, then the principal editor of that paper. Mr. Backus also compiled for several years "The Michigan Almanac," a very useful reference publication, and an equally useful pamphlet on "The Resources of Michigan."

A book exceedingly popular among the old residents was Robert E. Robert's "Sketches and Reminiscences of the City of the Straits and Its Vicinity," published in 1884. Bela Hubbard's "Memories of Half a Century" appealed strangely to the same class of readers. Friend Palmer's "Detroit in 1849" belongs to the same class of publications.

Mrs. Marie Godefroy Hamlin, a descendant of one of the oldest French families, struck a new vein in her "Legends of Le Detroit" a book of 317 pages, published by Thorndike Nourse in 1884. The book abounds in the mysterious and the supernatural as reflected in the minds of the Indians and the early French habitants.

Henry A. Ford and his wife, Kate Brearly Ford, who lived in Detroit for several years, were joint authors of a number of city and county histories.

The Wayne County Pioneer Society was organized April 21, 1871, with Levi Bishop as president and Stanley G. Wight, secretary. Out of this grew several other county societies, and eventually the State Pioneer and Historical Society. The publications of the latter comprise thirty-nine volumes of "Pioneer and Historical Collections," twenty numbers of the Michigan History Quarterly and a few other volumes. These volumes have rescued from oblivion the reminiscences of a host of pioneers and constitute a vast storehouse of historical material.

#### POETRY AND FICTION

The longest aboriginal poem written by a Detroiter was "Teuchsagrondie," written by Levi Bishop, a lawyer of local fame. The title is the Indian name of Detroit and the verse treats of the legendary and imaginary history of the place. Mr. Bishop also dropped occasionally into minor verse. One of his efforts gave expression to his emotions on meeting a bear; whereat J. Logan Chipmen produced some responsive verses giving the emotions of the bear on meeting Levi Bishop.

Henry R. Schoolcraft, whose writings were mostly scientific, wrote some acceptable descriptive verse. His tribute to the white fish, "Choicest of all Fishes" is the one most often quoted.

Judge James V. Campbell wrote a large number of household poems, which were intended first for family and friends. Some of them were printed in local publications, but they were never gathered in a volume.

William K. Coyle had a volume of his poems in print, when the whole edition was destroyed by fire in 1853. It was again published in 1883. His address to the old French pear trees, written at the request of a friend in 1849 is the best known of his poems.

Andrew Wanless, published in 1873 a volume, 180 pages, of miscellaneous verse, chiefly in the Scotch dialect. It was dedicated to the St. Andrews Society of which Mr. Wanless was a zealous member.



Lewis J. Bates, for a long time one of the editorial writers of the Daily Post, wrote many short poems, a collection of which was made in "Waifs and Their Authors."

D. Bethune Duffield varied his legal pursuits with occasional verse writing, as well as with historical and political addresses.

William H. Sexton published in 1908, a volume of 200 pages of verse, sentimental, humorous or religious; the book was entitled "Truth and Near Truth."

A favorite for a good many years among verse makers was Will M. Carleton, author of numerous farm ballads. He was first known to the public as a contributor to the Detroit Advertiser and Tribune, and was attached to the staff of that paper for two or three years.

The most prolific and versatile of modern verse makers in Detroit is Edgar A. Guest, "The poet of the home." He is a regular contributor to the Breakfast Table column of the Free Press, frequently furnishes verse for special public occasions, has appeared in public at Detroit and other cities, and has published two large volumes in book form.

In modern fiction Detroit has had two conspicuous names. Robert Barr began his literary career in Detroit, and was for many years connected with the Free Press. He was the author of "From Whose Bourne," "In a Steamer Chair" and other strong stories. Mary Catherine Crowley wrote fascinating stories picturing the life of the early French inhabitants and their Indian neighbors.

Another Detroitier who has won distinction in recent years by his works of fiction is Clarence Budington Kelland, formerly editor of The American Boy. Most of Mr. Kelland's work has been published serially prior to its issue in book form.

Among earlier writers was Prof. Jacques Edward, who wrote a scientific novel of several hundred pages and a satirical story on "John Bull, Uncle Sam and Johnny Crepaud."

Morgan E. Dowling was the author of a novel entitled "Southern Prisons, or the Heroine of Florence."

In 1866 Harper Brothers published a story entitled "The Hidden Sin." It was written by Mrs. Bela Hubbard, but at her request this fact was not made public until after her death.

General O. B. Wilcox was the author of a story entitled "Walter March," and J. Logan Chipman wrote "George Pemberton, or Love and Hate."

Edward G. Holden, for many years an editorial writer of distinction, published in 1880 a political novel entitled "A Famous Victory." It was afterwards republished in several editions under the title "How He Reached the White House."

Col. O. T. Beard, of The Post and Tribune staff, wrote a number of political and war stories as newspaper serials. One of them "Bristling with Thorns" had a large circulation in book form.

Writers of fiction for Sunday School publications, the magazines and the local press have been too numerous to catalogue.

#### MISCELLANEOUS PUBLICATION

Of professional works, law and medical, Detroit has furnished its full proportion.

Of works on geology the principal are the reports of Douglass Houghton, to

which reference has already been made; reports written by his brother, Jacob Houghton on "The Geography, Topography and Geology of Lake Superior," 1846 and a report by Bela Hubbard and John Burt on "The Geology of the South Shore of Lake Superior." Mr. Burt also wrote an account of the origin of the solar compass.

Among the prolific early writers was Ezra C. Seaman, who published in 1846, a book on "The Progress of Nations." He also wrote "Views of Nature" and a series of commentaries on the Constitution and Laws of the United States.

Richard Storrs Willis published a number of musical works including "Church, Choral and Choir Studies," "Pen and Lute" and "Our Church Music."

Gen. Alexander Macomb was the author of a military manual, "Macomb's Tactics," and Gen. Philip St. George Cooke, who lived in Detroit several years wrote, "Cavalry Tactics of the United States," "Scenes and Adventures in the United States Army," and "The Conquest of New Mexico and California."

Two of Detroit's writers specialized in genealogies, Fred Carlisle, who made this a particular study, and Christian Denissen, priest of St. Charles Church, who traced the genealogies of a number of the old French families.

Mrs. C. M. Kirkland, for a long time a teacher in the academy on the site of the present city hall, was the author of many published essays and sketches.

Henry Gilman furnished to the Smithsonian Institution in 1877 a monograph on "The Mound Builders in Michigan."

Giles B. Stebbins, who was a pioneer advocate of manual training in the public schools, furnished among numerous other publications a strong treatise on "Industrial Education."

Among its numerous other writers Detroit furnished one dramatist of distinction, Bronson Howard, whose numerous plays found prominent place on the New York and London stage.

#### PROMINENT DETROIT PAINTERS

The earliest Detroit painter of whom we have record is J. O. Lewis, who lived in the city till 1827, and was a friend of Governor Cass. His most noted portrait was that of Black Hawk, the Indian chieftain, who was escorted on a visit to Washington by Lieutenant Jefferson Davis, and who stopped at the Biddle House, Detroit, on his return.

The most industrious of Detroit artists was Alva Bradish who executed over 500 paintings. One of his portraits was a full length of Governor Cass, intended for the city hall, Detroit, and one of Douglass Houghton, which is now in the state capitol at Lansing. He also painted portraits of President Tappan of Michigan University, Washington Irving and Thurlow Weed.

Charles Burnham's name appears modestly in the Detroit Directory as "draughtsman, 55 Franklin Street." He was a brother of George P. Burnham, one of the editors and publishers of the Evening Spectator. During his stay in Detroit he painted a picture which will hand down his name to future generations. It was a representation of the election of 1837 in this city, wherein Governor Mason and all notabilities of the city are represented in graphic and comic style.

Leon Dabo, the "poet in color" and his brother, Theodore Scott Dabo, were born in Detroit of French parents and did their early work here. Leon left here at the age of sixteen. He did ecclesiastical decoration, and painted many

Hudson River scenes. Examples of the work of both these artists are in the the permanent collection at the institute.

J. M. Stanley was born in Canandaigua, New York, in 1814, came to Detroit in 1834, and commenced painting portraits in 1835. He traveled extensively over the western prairies, and painted many of the leading warriors in full costume. One hundred and fifty-two of his Indian paintings were stored in the Smithsonian Institution at Washington, awaiting transfer to the United States Government, when they were destroyed by fire. He subsequently painted many others. One of the most famous, the Trial of Red Jacket, was exhibited in many cities through the country.

Among Mr. Stanley's pupils were Robert Hopkin and Lewis T. Ives. Hopkin was born in Glasgow, Scotland in 1832 and came to Detroit with his parents eleven years later. He was educated in the public schools of this city, learned house painting and after that scene painting. He fitted the scenes to the stages of many of the leading theaters in the country. He then turned to marine painting in which he became one of the leading artists in the country. In November, 1907, there was an exhibition of seventy-five of Hopkin paintings all gathered from homes in Detroit. His "Setting the Range Lights," is in the permanent collection at the institute.

Lewis T. Ives was a lawyer by profession and was in practice for several years as assistant attorney for the Grand Trunk Railway. He was assiduous in his devotion to painting in such leisure as he could get, and eventually devoted his whole time to that art. He was regarded as the best portrait painter of his time in Detroit, and put upon canvas a large number of the leading citizens of this part of the state. A room at the Art Institute is named after him.

Percy Ives, son of Lewis T., was born in Detroit, June 5, 1864. He had the benefit of his father's instruction and advice and at the age of eighteen entered the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts. In 1885 he spent six months traveling in Scotland, England, the Netherlands, Germany and Italy, and subsequently studied at the Academy Julien and The Ecole des Beaux Arts, Paris. Returning to Detroit, he succeeded his father as the most prominent portrait painter in Detroit. He was an instructor in the Art Museum and was one of the founders of the Society of Western Artists. His portrait of Sen. Thomas W. Palmer is in the senate chamber at Lansing.

Francis P. Paulus was born in Detroit in 1862, studied at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts and in Paris and Munich. He painted and taught art classes in this city for a number of years, and then took up his residence at Bruges. Belgian scenes have since been the principal objects of his brush.

Miss Marie Perrault studied in the Detroit Art Museum, in Paris, The Hague and Brussels. She lived long in Holland and has painted many Dutch scenes. She is preeminently a painter of children.

Julius Rolshoven is one of the best known of contemporaneous painters. He was born in Detroit in 1858, studied in Düsseldorf, Munich, and Paris, and has lived long in Florence. He has had art classes in three of these cities. He is a member of the Société des Beaux Arts in Paris and has a long list of honors to his credit. He has been a frequent exhibitor at the Detroit Art Institute where one of his pictures, "The Refectory of San Daniamo," is in the permanent collection. Mr. Rolshoven's paintings in recent years have been mostly of the Indian and desert life in the Southwestern United States. He is a member of the Santa Fe colony of artists.

Gari Melchers was born in Detroit in 1860 and at the age of seventeen went to Germany, studying first in Düsseldorf and afterwards in Paris. He settled in the north of Holland, and many of his paintings are of Dutch peasant scenes. He has received many honors from foreign societies, and has received much attention in the art magazines. Two of his pictures, "The Fencing Master," and "The Wedding," are in the permanent collection at the Detroit Art Institute, both presented by E. Chandler Walker.

William B. Conely, one of Detroit's veteran artists, came to this city in 1868, after studying in the New York Academy, and devoted himself enthusiastically to his work. He opened one of the first art schools in the city and established the first life class. He achieved distinction in portraiture and paintings of still life. He painted the portrait of Richard Storrs Willis which he presented to the Detroit Art Institute in 1906.

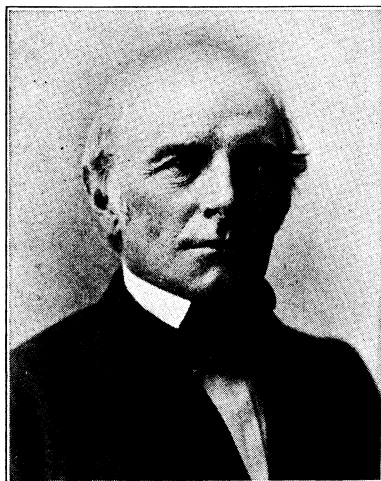
Joseph W. Gies, dean of Detroit artists, was born in Detroit. He was a pupil of Bougereau and Robert Fleury in Paris and studied also in Munich. Much of his work was done in Detroit, where also he has had art classes. At the 1912 exhibition in the Detroit Art Institute he entered eleven canvases. The portraits of Robert Hopkin and Donald G. Mitchell in the permanent collection are his work.

Letitia Crapo Smith was born in Detroit and studied here with William M. Chase and Julius Rolshoven, and also at the Julien Academy, Paris. She has taken her subjects for painting in Holland, Brittany and Normandy. She had pictures hung on the line at the Paris Salon in 1901 and 1902, and these were both loaned to the Detroit Art Museum in 1907.

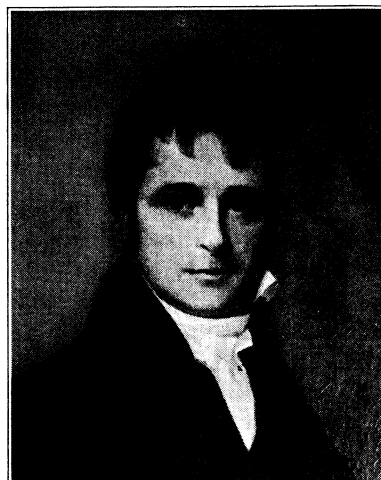
Myron Barlow was born in Ionia, Michigan, but laid the foundation of his career by studies at the Detroit Art Museum. There were seven of his canvases at the exhibition in 1907.

Irving R. Bacon was born in Detroit, and after studying three years in Europe returned to this city in 1909. He later made his residence in Munich, and remained there till this country entered the war. Animal painting is his special delight, and he has been a frequent exhibitor at the Detroit Art Institute.

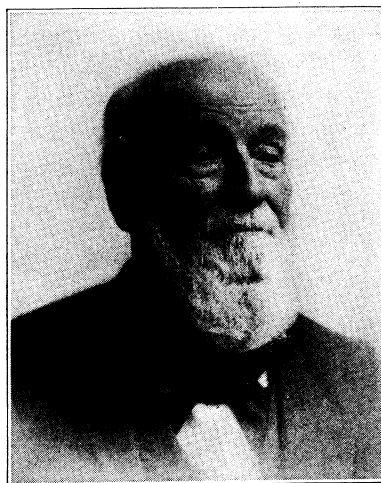




Alexander Chapoton



Frederiek Bates



John Winder



George Jerome

OLD PORTRAITS OF PROMINENT DETROIT MEN

CHAPTER XLIX  
DETROIT MEN IN PUBLIC LIFE

BY WILLIAM STOCKING

DETROIT MEN IN PUBLIC LIFE—NEW ENGLAND'S CONTRIBUTIONS DURING THE FORMATIVE PERIOD—MEN WHO ESTABLISHED THE CHARACTER OF THE NEW COMMONWEALTH—DISTINGUISHED GOVERNORS AND EMINENT JUDGES—A LONG LINE OF UNITED STATES SENATORS FROM DETROIT—A FEW CABINET OFFICERS AND FOREIGN MINISTERS.

Many of the activities of the Michigan men who were most prominent in public life are recounted in other chapters of this publication, but the men themselves may properly be grouped in this chapter. The most striking fact about the history of the state in its formative period is the great preponderance of men of New England birth. In 1823 when representative government first took form the governor, the territorial secretary, all four of the supreme court judges and more than half of the territorial council were from that section. The two men, Cass and Chandler, who were successively the dominant figures in Michigan politics from 1813 to 1879, were from one little corner of New Hampshire. Every New England state furnished Michigan with one or more governors and eleven United States senators had their birthplace in the same prolific area.

The career of General Cass occupies first place in the early history of the state. He was born at Exeter, New Hampshire, October 9, 1782. He started for the Northwest Territory in 1801, crossed the Alleghany Mountains on foot, studied law in Marietta, Ohio, and practiced there and in Zanesville till 1812, when, as colonel of the Third Ohio Militia, he accompanied General Hull's army to Michigan. He was appointed governor of the territory in 1813, and held that office for eighteen years. As governor he promoted the security and expansion of the settlements in the Northwest by Indian treaties, made wide journeys of exploration, inaugurated a comprehensive system of territorial roads and promoted the adoption of representative government in territory, county and town. He was secretary of war in President Jackson's cabinet, 1831-6; minister to France, 1836-42; United States senator, 1845-8 and 1849-57; democratic candidate for president in 1848 and might have had the same honor in 1856 but declined it. He was secretary of state in President Buchanan's cabinet, 1857-60. He was chairman of an immense union meeting in Detroit, April 24, 1861. The last act of his public life was to appear on the platform at a recruiting meeting in Hillsdale, August 13, 1862, and lift his voice once more for the preservation of the Union.

The most intimate associate of Governor Cass in territorial affairs was William Woodbridge, who was born in Norwich, Connecticut, August 20, 1780. He followed his father to Marietta, Ohio, in 1791, and lived alternately in

Connecticut and Ohio till 1806 when he was admitted to the bar in the latter state. He was a member of the Ohio assembly and senate, and prosecuting attorney of his county. He came to Michigan in 1819 as territorial secretary and ex-officio collector of customs and was the first delegate in congress from the territory. He cooperated with Governor Cass in promoting local self government and in securing the territorial roads. He was presiding justice of the territorial supreme court from 1828 till 1832, and was elected governor in 1839, the only whig governor ever chosen in this old democratic state. He was elected United States senator in 1840 by vote of the democrats and a few whigs who had bolted their party nominee, J. Wright Gordon. It was this event, together with the succession of two other governors to the senatorship during that period which led to the adoption in the constitution of 1850 of a clause which made the governor ineligible to any office or appointment from the legislature.

Intimately associated with these executive officers in moulding the character of the young commonwealth were the judges of the supreme court.

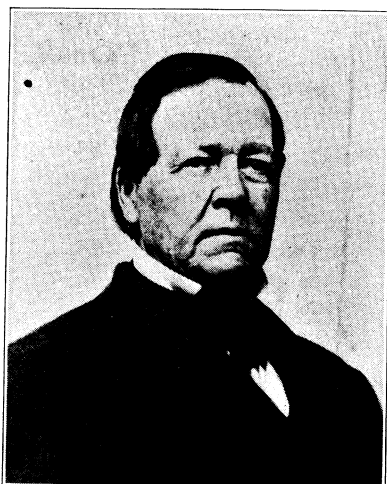
When the executive, legislative and judicial departments were separated in 1823 this court was reorganized. James Witherell was appointed chief justice; Solomon Sibley, John Hunt and James Duane Doty, associates. Judge Doty was assigned to remote parts of the territory. The other three were resident in Detroit, where they all took part in public affairs as well as performing their judicial duties.

Judge Witherell had a varied career. He was born in Mansfield, Massachusetts, in 1759, enlisted as a private in the Revolutionary Army when sixteen years old and served through seven years of the war. He then settled in Connecticut, studied medicine, went to Vermont to practice, then took up the study of law, served on the bench, in the legislature and in Congress. In 1808 he was appointed one of the judges of Michigan territory and contributed to the unique history of the governor and judges' rule. When the War of 1812 broke out he took command of the local militia, known as the legion, as its colonel. He refused to surrender his command in compliance with the terms of Hull's capitulation, and told his men to disband and go home. He was, himself, taken prisoner and held till 1814 when he was paroled and returned to his judicial duties. His term as chief justice expired in 1828, when he became territorial secretary and continued in that office till the retirement of Governor Cass in 1831.

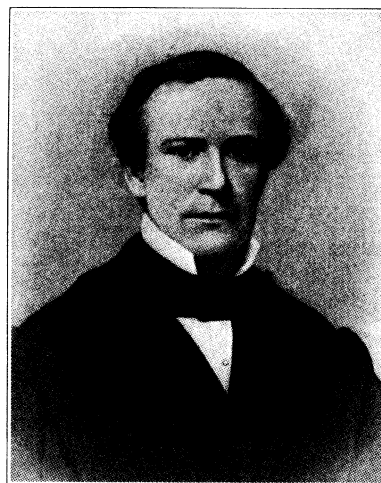
Solomon Sibley was born in Sutton, Massachusetts, in 1769, and came to Detroit in 1797. Two years later he was elected to represent Wayne County in the general assembly of the Northwest Territory, and was largely instrumental in securing the act incorporating the town of Detroit in 1802. He was the first mayor after the town was incorporated as a city in 1806. He was auditor of the territory from 1814 to 1817, United States district attorney from 1815 to 1823, elected delegate in congress in 1821 and was a justice of the supreme court through four national administrations from 1824 to 1837. He was characterized as "one of the wisest and best men that ever lived in Michigan."

The third supreme court justice, John Hunt, was a native of Massachusetts and came to Michigan in 1819. He was active in politics, especially in the exciting four cornered congressional campaign of 1823 when he was manager for Austin E. Wing, the successful candidate. He died in 1827 and was suc-





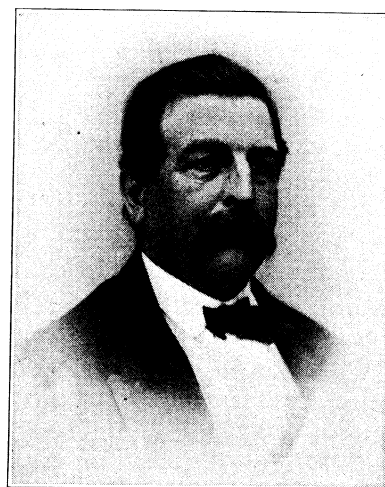
Judge Benjamin F. H. Wetherell



Henry Ledyard



William C. Maybury



Hon. Benjamin G. Stimson

OLD PORTRAITS OF PROMINENT DETROIT MEN



ceeded by Henry Chipman who was born in Vermont in 1784. He studied law and was admitted to the bar in that state, but practiced for twenty years in Charleston and Waynesborough, South Carolina, before coming to Detroit in 1824. He was, for three years, one of the publishers of the Michigan Herald. He was on the supreme court bench from 1827 to 1832, and was active in whig politics and in public affairs for thirty years after that.

In 1832, for political reasons, President Jackson appointed George Morell and Ross Wilkins in place of Woodbridge and Chipman. From that time until Michigan was admitted as a state in 1837, the judges resident in Detroit were Chief Justice Morell, and Associates Sibley and Wilkins.

Judge Morell is described as a man of very commanding presence. He was over six feet in height, well proportioned, with an erect and dignified carriage, a large Websterian head, prominent nose, blond complexion, grayish blue eyes, firm, well-shaped mouth and thick, curly iron gray hair. On the bench he wore a blue coat with brass buttons, buff vest, high collar, black satin stock and ruffled shirt. He was punctilious in manner, but considerate to litigants.

A contemporary account of Judge Wilkins describes him as "a remarkable man. He was about five feet ten inches in height, well proportioned, lithe and graceful, with long hair, expressive eyes, and a facial resemblance to Lord Byron. His motions and his intellect were both quick and his reasoning was clear and lucid. While reading and studying the evidence and papers before him he was always moving restlessly in his chair, and when he had finished he would rise and going to the back part of the court room, would fill and light his long pipe and smoke as he walked around, always paying the strictest attention to the proceedings. When a case was finished he always had his decision ready. Some of his charges will compare favorably with the best efforts of both American and British courts."

It has been said that the Bar of Michigan during this period was hardly surpassed by that of any other portion of the Union. The judges of this court were all men of strong character and aside from their judicial position were prominent in moulding the institutions of the territory.

When in 1857 the state supreme court was organized in entire separation from the circuit courts, James V. Campbell of this city, then only thirty-five years old, was one of the four judges elected. He was retained on the bench by subsequent reelection till his death in 1890. It was during his incumbency that under the "illustrious four," judges Campbell, Cooley, Christiancy and Graves, the court attained its highest rank, being regarded as one of the ablest courts in the country. In the modern period the justiceships of the supreme court have been well distributed through the state. Those from Detroit in addition to Judge Campbell have been John W. McGrath, William L. Carpenter and Flavius L. Brooke.

Detroit has had only one justice of the United States supreme court, Henry B. Brown, who was district judge at Detroit from 1875 to 1890 and in the higher court from 1890 to 1909.

One of the most versatile men who ever figured in Detroit affairs was John R. Williams, whose activities covered the whole period from 1812 to 1850. In the course of that long period he held military, judicial, civic and political positions, his roll call of offices figuring up to about twenty. He was best known as mayor of the city, which position he held from 1824 to 1830 and in 1844. He had been considered invincible when running for this position, but

was beaten by Zach Chandler in 1850. He was colonel of militia in 1812, commander of Michigan troops in the Black Hawk war in 1832 and was adjutant general of Michigan from 1818 to 1829. He was associate justice of the county court in 1818. At other times he held such diverse positions as official auctioneer, county commissioner, trustee of the University of Michigan, member of the board of education and member of the city council. In business he was a merchant, one of the founders of the Free Press, president of one bank and a director in two. He was a good Catholic, but the parish priest offended him by persisting in abandoning his church to become a member of congress. Williams left the church and never afterward attended it. It required two parallel streets to perpetuate his name, John R Street and Williams Street, though the latter was afterwards changed to Witherell.

#### THE ROSTER OF GOVERNORS

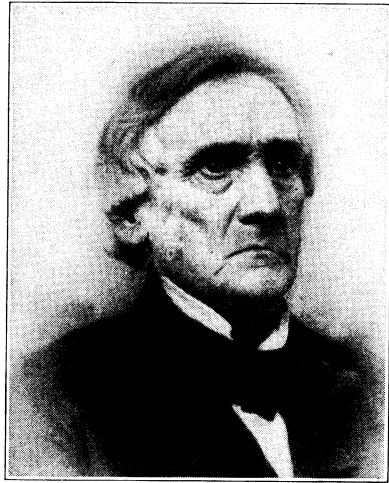
The governors of Michigan resident in Detroit have been as follows:

William Hull, 1805-1812; Lewis Cass, 1813-1831; George B. Porter, 1831-1834; Stevens T. Mason (secretary and acting governor: he was the first elected governor after the formation of the state in 1835), 1834-1839; William Woodbridge, 1840; Henry P. Baldwin, 1869-1873; John J. Bagley, 1873-1877; Russell A. Alger, 1885-1887; Hazen S. Pingree, 1897-1901; Alexander J. Groesbeck, 1921—.

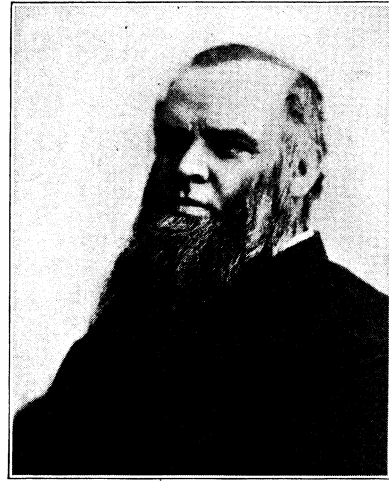
George B. Porter was appointed governor to succeed Lewis Cass when the latter was called to a seat in President Jackson's cabinet. He belonged to a distinguished Pennsylvania family, living at Lancaster, and was the head of the "Lancaster Regency," a potent factor in Pennsylvania politics, the other members of which were James Buchanan, Benjamin Champneys and Rhea Frazer. Surprise was expressed at his leaving such an influential position in one of the old states to come to this remote territory. He may have seen possibilities of future preferment through helping to mould the territory into a state and in helping to secure its admission into the Union. His career here was short, ending with his death from cholera during the epidemic of 1834.

Stevens T. Mason, the "Boy Governor," was appointed territorial secretary from Virginia. Before he was of age he filled that position and was also acting governor during a prolonged illness and absence from the state of Governor Porter. He was the last governor of the territory and the first governor of the state. He was an enthusiast for internal improvements, and it was during his administration that the state entered upon its unprofitable experiments in canal digging and railroad building. His full length figure in bronze on Capitol Square is one of the very few fine monuments erected in Detroit in memory of its public men.

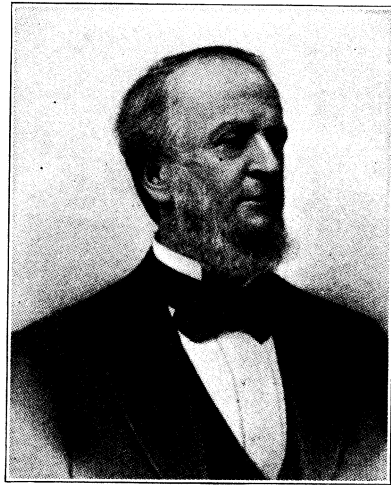
Among the distinguished governors of the early period was Alpheus Felch, whose home was in Ann Arbor, but whose official duties in various positions kept him much in Detroit. He was born in Limerick, Maine, in 1805, came to Michigan in 1832, was a member of the first state legislature in 1835 and was reelected for the next two succeeding terms. He was one of only four members who voted against the general banking law, was one of the first bank examiners and was chiefly instrumental in breaking up the wildcat banks; was chosen auditor general in 1842, was a judge of the supreme court 1843-5, and was elected governor in the latter year. After serving fourteen months in this office he was elected to the United States senate. He was afterwards chairman



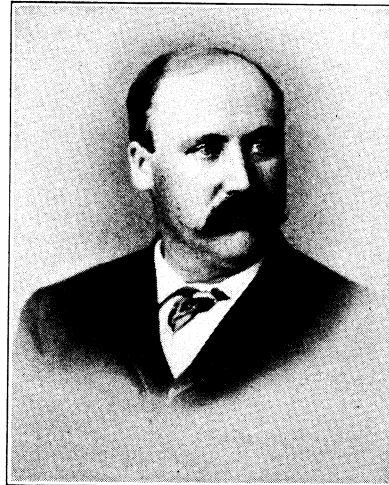
William Woodbridge



John J. Bagley



Henry P. Baldwin



Hazen S. Pingree

OLD PORTRAITS OF PROMINENT DETROIT MEN



of the commission to adjust Spanish and Mexican war claims in California. In 1879 he was appointed Tappan law professor in the University of Michigan and retained that position until old age compelled his retirement.

The gubernatorial campaign of 1852, the last campaign before the whig party went to pieces, brought into rivalry two men whose paths crossed or coincided in after years. Robert McClelland was the democratic candidate and won. He served his term as governor and was afterward secretary of the interior in President Pierce's cabinet. The whig candidate was Zachariah Chandler, of Detroit, and the free democratic, or free soil, as it was more commonly called, was Isaac P. Christiancy of the nearby town of Monroe. Two years later Christiancy was among the most active of the free soil leaders in bringing that organization into the union which formed the republican party. Chandler was equally prominent in advocating the same line of action for the whigs. In 1875 Chandler was nominated for a fourth election to the United States senate, but Christiancy was elected by a combination of democrats with a few bolting republicans. But senatorial duties were distasteful to him and in the latter part of 1878 he resigned to accept the position of ambassador to Peru, when Chandler was again elected to the senate. Mr. Christiancy's chief fame was not gained in the senate nor in the diplomatic service, but as one of the distinguished four who constituted the Michigan supreme court during its best days.

Henry P. Baldwin's services as senator in the legislature of 1861 paved the way for his subsequent promotions. He was chairman of the finance committee in the senate and his wide acquaintanceship and high reputation were of immense value in negotiating the loans needed for the state's participation in the war. As governor and subsequently as United States senator he was an industrious and prudent official.

John J. Bagley, before his nomination for governor, had served acceptably in the Detroit common council. He was the prime mover in securing legislation creating the metropolitan police department of Detroit and was on the first board of police commissioners. The distinctive feature of his administration as governor was the watchful care and development of the state educational and reformatory institutions.

Hazen S. Pingree's energetic and progressive administration as mayor of Detroit opened the way to the governorship. A remodeling of the state assessment and taxation system was the most conspicuous result of his accession to the latter position.

#### THE SENATORIAL LIST

The United States senators resident in Detroit have been as follows:

Lucius Lyon, 1836-1840; John Norvell, 1835-1841; Augustus S. Porter, 1840-1845; William Woodbridge, 1841-1847; Lewis Cass, 1845-1848, 1849-1857; Zachariah Chandler, 1857-1875, 1879; Jacob M. Howard, 1861-1871; Henry P. Baldwin, 1879-1881; Thomas W. Palmer, 1883-1889; James McMillan, 1889-1902; Russell A. Alger, 1902-1907.

The activities of Senators Woodbridge and Cass, and the earlier services of Senator Chandler have been fairly well covered in other paragraphs of this publication. There were two notable incidents of Chandler's last term. In the closing hours of the Forty-fifth Congress a bill for pensioning soldiers in the Mexican war was pending. On a motion to exclude Jefferson Davis from the

benefits of any pension bill there were many eulogies of the former Confederate chieftain which called out from Senator Chandler a remonstrance commencing with the sentences: "Twenty-two years ago to-morrow, in the old Hall of the Senate, now occupied by the Supreme Court of the United States, I, in company with Mr. Jefferson Davis stood up and swore before Almighty God that I would support the Constitution of the United States. During four years I sat in this body with Mr. Jefferson Davis and saw the preparations going on for the overthrow of this Government. With treason in his heart and perjury upon his lips he took the oath to sustain the Government that he meant to overthrow." The speech was widely published and found a place in school declamations. The state campaigns of 1879 turned largely on the money question and Mr. Chandler was in great demand. He had not been popular with the Massachusetts politicians. He was not up to their standard of culture and he had been opposed to the civil service reform movement. He was greatly pleased that in combatting financial heresy cultured Boston should send an urgent request to the rough Westerner to "come over into Macedonia and help us." One of the best of his hard money speeches was made in Chicago on the night before his sudden death, November 1, 1879.

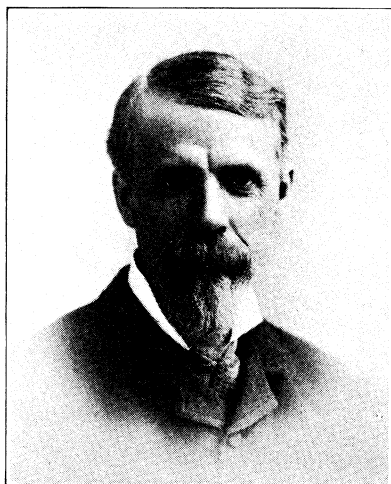
Among the distinguished statesmen that figured in Michigan affairs during and after the Civil war period was Sen. Jacob M. Howard. He was born at Shaftesbury, Vermont, July 10, 1805, graduated at Williams College in 1830, studied law at Ware, Massachusetts, and came to Detroit in July, 1832, and speedily took high rank at the bar. He was elected to the legislature in 1840, was active in promoting the Mass Convention at Jackson in 1854, and was chairman of the committee that gave to the new party its platform and name. He was nominated for attorney-general against his wish and served three terms in that office. In 1862 he was elected to the United States senate to fill the vacancy occasioned by the death of Kinsley S. Bingham, and was reelected for the full term in 1865. He was considered one of the best constitutional lawyers on the judiciary committee of that very able body, and was the author of the fifteenth amendment to the Constitution which is inscribed on his monument in Elmwood cemetery.

During a large portion of the time which James McMillan was in the senate he was chairman of the committee on the District of Columbia which is the governing body of the city of Washington. He was largely instrumental in developing plans for the improvement of the city and for restoring, as far as possible, the original design made by L'Enfant under President Washington's direction.

Although Russell A. Alger had been active in Michigan politics from the time of his first residence in Detroit in 1866, he did not appear in official life until 1884. He was a delegate to the republican national convention and the same fall was elected governor. In the national convention of 1888 he was, through thirteen ballots for president, third in the list. He was secretary of war in President McKinley's cabinet in 1897-9, and was elected to the senate in 1902.

Up to 1873 Wayne County was in congressional districts with other counties. It was then for forty years a district by itself and since 1913 Detroit alone has had two members of the lower house. About a dozen members all told have been residents of this city. The member who reached the highest national reputation was William A. Howard, who represented the district in the

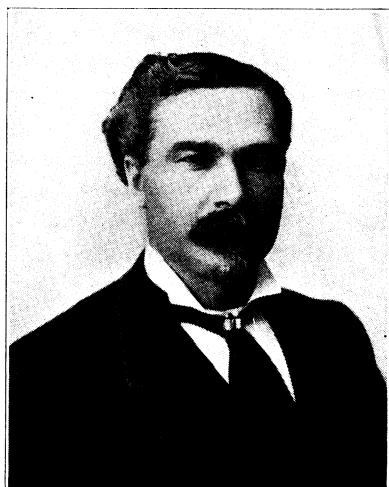




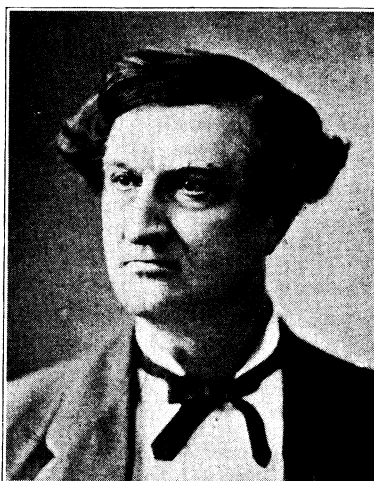
Russell A. Alger



Thomas W. Palmer



James McMillan



Zachariah Chandler

OLD PORTRAITS OF PROMINENT DETROIT MEN



Thirty-fourth, Thirty-fifth and Thirty-sixth congresses. He was one of the most effective stump speakers in the country. In Congress he headed the committee to investigate affairs in Kansas, and his report on this subject did more than almost any other one document to crystalize anti-slavery sentiment and make the election of Lincoln possible. Mr. Howard was a delegate at large to the republican national convention in Cincinnati in 1876, and was mainly instrumental in turning the Michigan delegation from Blaine to Hayes at a critical moment.

#### CABINET MEMBERS AND FOREIGN MINISTERS

Residents of Detroit have been members of presidents' cabinets as follows: Lewis Cass, secretary of war, 1831-6; secretary of state, 1857-61; Zachariah Chandler, secretary of the interior, October 19, 1875 to March 4, 1877; Don M. Dickinson, postmaster-general, December 6, 1887 to March 4, 1889; Russell A. Alger, secretary of war, March 6, 1897 to August 1, 1899; Truman H. Newberry, secretary of the navy, 1908 to March 5, 1909. Edwin Denby, a sketch of whom is presented in another volume of this work, was appointed secretary of the navy under the Harding administration in 1920.

Three of these cabinet officers held numerous political positions as noted on other pages of this publication. Mr. Dickinson never held any elective office in city or state, though serving on local commissions and trusteeships. He was a brilliant lawyer, and one of the most active and prominent democratic leaders in the state, and the representative of Michigan on the national committee of that party.

Mr. Newberry is a prominent Detroit manufacturer, was one of the organizers of the Michigan Naval Brigade in 1893, was in the naval service throughout the Spanish-American war, was both assistant secretary and secretary of the navy and was elected United States senator in November, 1918.

Five residents of Detroit have represented the country at foreign courts: Lewis Cass, minister to France, 1836-42; Lewis Cass, Jr., minister to Rome, 1852-60; George V. N. Lothrop, minister to Russia, 1885-89; Thomas W. Palmer, minister to Spain, 1889-91; William E. Quinby, minister to the Netherlands, 1893-97. They were all eminently fitted by temperament and education for the diplomatic service. In 1921 Charles B. Warren, of Detroit, was appointed ambassador to the Japanese Empire and, with his family, sailed for his post in the early part of September. (A biographical sketch of Charles B. Warren may be found in another volume of this work.)

General Cass was, at the time of his appointment, one of the leading men in public life in the whole country, a French scholar and an authority on international affairs. Lewis Cass, Jr., was the son of Gov. Lewis Cass; he died in Paris about 1879. Mr. Lothrop was a democrat during the long period of republican ascendancy in Michigan and therefore did not reach official preferment at home, though he was the candidate of his party for the highest political and judicial positions. He served on many local commissions and committees. He was at the head of the Detroit Bar and an eloquent and polished orator. Mr. Quinby was at the head of the leading democratic paper in the state, and was prominent in the party councils. Senator Palmer had lived in Spain during his student days and was familiar with the language.

# PART VII

## RELIGIOUS HISTORY

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### CHAPTER I

#### EARLY HISTORY OF CHURCHES

THE FIRST CHURCH IN DETROIT—FATHER GABRIEL RICHARD AND HIS WORK—  
OTHER EARLY CATHOLIC PARISHES—A VIEW FROM THE YEAR 1849—PROTESTANT  
CHURCH BEGINNINGS—THE MORAVIANS—MIGRATION OF CHURCHES.

The history of the church in Detroit begins with the history of Cadillac's village in 1701. Commencing with the little church of Ste. Anne, the religious development of Detroit has kept pace with its growth from a palisaded village to the fourth city in the United States, with over four hundred church parishes. In conjunction with nearly every subject treated in this history, pertaining to the early history of Detroit, there has been traced the history of early Catholicism, so any lengthy description in this connection would be merely repetition. The Catholic Church supplied one of the most unique and interesting figures of Detroit's history, that of Father Gabriel Richard. There have been several sketches of the life of Rev. Gabriel Richard, but no extended biography has ever been printed. The largest and most comprehensive biographical sketch is that prepared by Narcisse Eutrope Dionere, printed in French and never translated. Another sketch by James A. Girardin is in Volume I, Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections, page 481.

In all of these sketches it may be noted that the conflict between Catholicism and Protestantism is displayed. There is a constant effort on the part of the Catholic writers to extol the virtues of the priest and laud his work for the church, at the same time to ignore the peculiarities of his private character. On the other hand, the Protestant writers, likewise ignoring, or being ignorant of his private character, extol his workings for education and give him an occasional sly dig for his love of his church. It is evident that no one who has written concerning him has taken the care to find out how he lived and worked.

Father Richard was born in Saintes, in Saintonga, France, October 15, 1767. He was baptized under the name of Jacobus Gabriel Richard. His father was Francois Richard, a clerk in the navy department of Rochefort, and his mother was Marie Genevieve Bossuet. He attended the village school and in 1784 entered the theological seminary at Angers, kept by members of the Sulpician order. He received the order of the priesthood at Paris on his twenty-first birthday, October 15, 1788.

During the French Revolution, a law was passed compelling every priest to take the oath of allegiance to the new government. This resulted in the expatriation of many priests, and among them was Father Richard. He arrived in Baltimore, June 24, 1792. His first real work was among the Catholic popu-



REV. GABRIEL RICHARD



lation, partly French and partly Indian, in the Illinois country and on the western side of the Mississippi River, then designated as Louisiana. He was at Prairie du Rocher, Kaskaskia, Cahokia and the other settlements. His work in these small missions occupied his time till the 2d of March, 1798, when he was called to Detroit, where he arrived in June of that year. The Rev. John Dilhet, also a Sulpician missionary, accompanied him to Detroit, where they began their work in Ste. Anne's church as assistants to the Rev. Michel Lavadoux. The people they met, in their church work in Detroit, were the French settlers and Indians. Father Richard did not confine himself to Detroit, but visited Mackinac and other places in northern Michigan in 1799. Father Richard returned to Detroit in October and began the enlargement of the church to accommodate the increasing number of parishioners. The church was at this time located on Ste. Anne Street in the village and, with the burial grounds adjoining it, was just west of the present Griswold Street and extended a considerable distance into the northern portion of the present Jefferson Avenue. Mr. Girardin, who knew Richard personally, says of him that "he adopted various means for the better regulation of his parish, to reform existing abuses and promote a spirit of piety among his people."

Personally, Father Richard was tall and gaunt, giving the impression of being hungry and ill fed. In his later days he wore glasses, but let them slide so far down on his nose that he seemed to be looking over them rather than through them. His love for the church was so great that all other matters were of little importance to him. There were, however, many things that he considered and worked for as a part of his church work. He wanted the sale of liquor to the Indians prohibited. In a letter from Mackinac he wrote: "The trade there is principally in liquors, and so long as this state of things exists, there can be no prospect of making them Christians. God only knows how many evils flow from this traffic." So, also, he wanted education spread among all of the people, French and Indian. He worked very hard and continuously for the education of the youth. He was opinionated, disagreeable and intolerant towards anyone who did not think as he did or who was unwilling to work as he did, for the good of the church. These matters are set down here in order to explain many of his actions through life. He was a hard and continuous worker and could not understand why others should not work as hard as he did. Bear this in mind and you have the single fault to be found with this great man.

The field of his church work was very extensive, as it included all of the northwestern portion of the then United States, namely: Michigan, Wisconsin, part of Minnesota and some portion of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois. The lines were not well defined, but they were extensive. Father John Dilhet was his assistant at this time. The two priests did not agree very well socially, for there are frequent references in Dilhet's journal of disagreements in their work. Jointly, they undertook to establish a school for the instruction of young men to become priests. It is not known that any priests developed from this instruction. There was much need of schooling here at that time. The connection of the church with the first attempts to establish a school is described in another chapter of this work.

As stated before, when Richard first came to Detroit, the church was under the management of Rev. Michel Lavadoux, as priest, and the *marguilliers*, or trustees. Lavadoux had been curé but a short time, having been named to that

position August 15, 1796, as successor to Monsieur Suchet, retired. In the month of December, in each year, an election of trustees was held. The voters at this election were the anciens, or old trustees, so that the body of trustees was not exactly self-perpetuating, but, as a rule, a new trustee was elected every year. The board elected in January, 1797, consisted of Dominique LaBrosse, Philippe Belanger, Charles Moran (or Morand), Louis Vessiere (Laferty), Joseph Serre dit St. Jean, and Jean Baptiste Campau. Belanger resigned in December, 1797, but subsequently undertook to withdraw his resignation. The assembly would not permit this and elected Joseph Voyez in his place. Charles Morand stated that he would like to have his brother, Louis, elected in his place. This action was taken.

The Church of Ste. Anne, on Ste. Anne Street, was sadly in need of repairs, but at this time, January 17, 1798, it was resolved to put a new roof on it. The contract for this work was let to Francis Racotta and he was to have twelve livres (pounds) for materials and six shillings per day for workmen. He was also to be paid forty cents per day for the board of each person. Great confidence was placed in Racotta and when he died about this time he was buried at public expense.

In 1799, Theophilus LeMay was elected trustee and the board now consisted of Louis Vessiere, Dominique LaBrosse, Charles Moran, Francois Gamelin, Joseph Serre, Joseph Voyez and LeMay. Michel Lavadoux was yet the curé. The name of Gabriel Richard, as priest, first occurs in the records at this date.

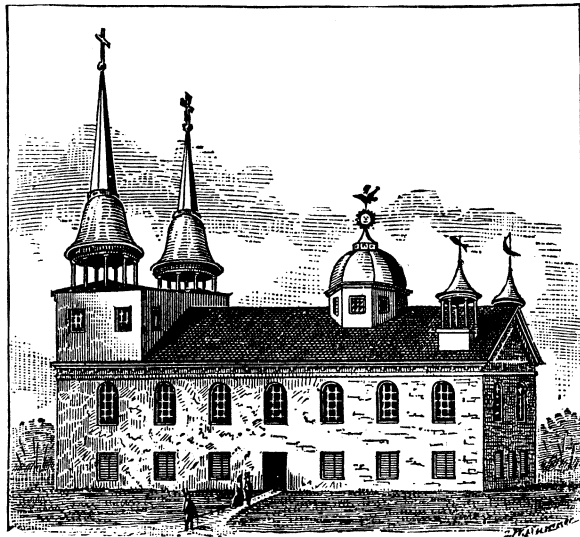
At a meeting held June 29, 1800, the decayed condition of the church was presented and it was resolved to build a new church. It was also resolved to request permission to build the new church on the domain, and a site was requested for that purpose. It was at this time that Richard, who had been on a mission to Mackinac, returned to take up the work of the proposed building. Under the rules established by the bishop of Quebec, every farmer in the Detroit district was required to give Lavadoux or his successors, in order that the priests might live decently, a twenty-sixth of his crops, and all other parishioners were required to give according to their means. No provision was made for the payment of any priest excepting the curé, and the assistant priest had to get along the best way they could and practically lived upon the alms of the people.

Richard did not have very good success in his efforts to get means to build a new church. In May, 1801, Richard was chosen to perform the functions of chantre and sexton in place of J. Bte. Roucour, deceased. This gave him a small income, for the chantre received thirty pounds and the sexton twenty-four pounds each year.

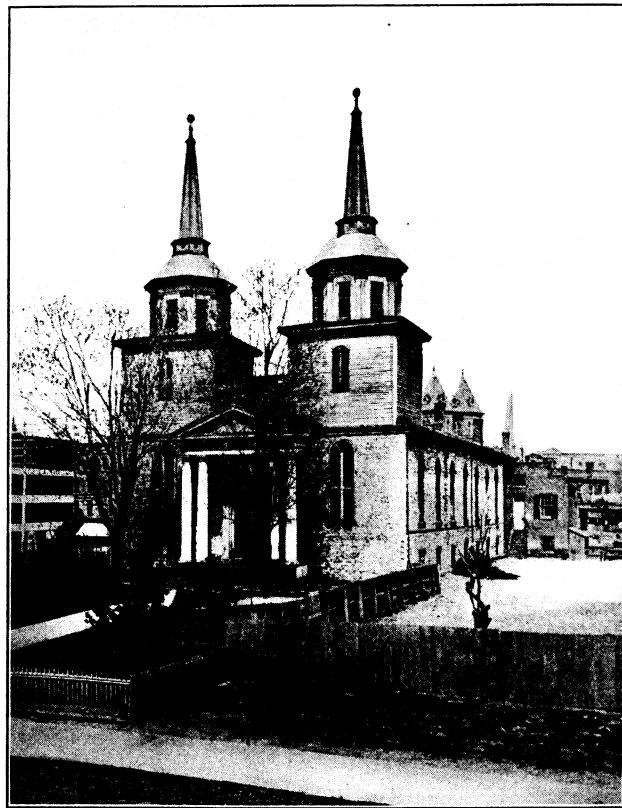
The bishop of Quebec, Pierre (Denault) Deneau, visited Detroit and confirmed a number of people on June 25, 1801 and the succeeding days. He remained some time and confirmed a great number. Many years had elapsed since there was a visit from any bishop and several of the confirmees were advanced in life. More than half of them were over twenty-one years of age and some of them were very aged. People came from all over this country and many came from across the river.

In August, 1801, it was decided that the old church could no longer be repaired and a new one should be built at once. A committee was named to do the work and the plans were prepared and presented August 23, 1801. A few days later it was decided to build the new church of stone. The only stone was at the Monguagon lime quarry and Abbott Brothers, James and Robert, had sole control of the quarry and were using the output for their own pur-





STE. ANNE'S CHURCH, BUILT IN 1818



STE. ANNE'S CHURCH  
(Fourth one erected)



poses. They refused to permit the church to take stone from this place. Some of the trustees were of the opinion that the Abbott brothers were not justified in refusing the sale of the stone and they consulted an attorney, Solomon Sibley, but the rights of the Abbotts could not be evaded and the idea of building the church of stone was abandoned for the time.

At a meeting of the trustees in May, 1802, the subject of church dues was discussed at length. It was very difficult to collect the dues required by the rules. The people were very poor, farms were only partly cultivated and even if wheat or corn were raised in abundance, only a little could be sold. Necessarily the community had to live upon itself to a great extent, for it was very expensive to send farm produce to Montreal and Quebec for sale. At this meeting, it was resolved to make an assessment roll of the property of the settlement belonging to church members and levy a uniform tax in proportion to the value of the farms. Those who were not farmers were to be called upon to pay according to their ability. Instead of giving this income to the priest, he was to be paid three hundred pounds New York currency (about \$750). It would seem that the trustees thought that they were more than liberal in giving the priest so large a salary, so they immediately repented of their generosity and reduced his salary to two hundred and forty pounds.

It cannot be determined from the records whether this was the first general quarrel between the priest and the trustees but it is quite certain that they disagreed and the priest appealed to the bishop at Baltimore. It was some time before the appeal could reach the bishop and be decided. The decision is contained in the bishop's letter dated at Baltimore April 21, 1804. This letter was read to the assembly on the 25th of November, 1804. After speaking of the impropriety of the proposed method of collecting the taxes, the bishop quoted and approved of the statutes of the synod held at Baltimore October 10, 1791, and approved of it as applicable to Detroit. "It is provided that in each congregation two or three persons of recognized probity and of a respectable character shall be chosen by the congregation or selected by the pastor, to be marguilliers (trustees) and each Sunday or Feast Day after the reading of the first lesson or after the sermon, they will collect the offerings of the faithful."

So in this first contest with the trustees, the priest was successful. This was not the last tilt between Father Richard and the trustees. Father Richard's years of life in Detroit, his work, his writings, are described in other portions of this work. As a territorial delegate to Congress from 1825 to 1829, he was the only Catholic priest ever in the governing body of the United States. Father Richard's death from the cholera in 1832 removed one of Detroit's greatest figures. His love of hard work was his chief characteristic aside from his intense devotion to his church.

Ste. Anne's became the cathedral church when Bishop Résé came to Detroit in 1833. He was the first bishop of the Detroit diocese and was consecrated at Cincinnati in 1837. Of Father Résé more is written in the chapter upon "A Lost Title." Father Francois Vincent Badin and Father Johannes De Bruyn were appointed joint administrators of the diocese after Résé and they occupied a residence on the Ste. Anne's Church grounds. De Bruyn passed away in 1838, and Badin remained alone for about three years. The next bishop coadjutor was Peter Paul Lefevre, who was consecrated Bishop of Zela on November 22, 1841. He arrived in Detroit during the same month and remained until his death on March 4, 1869. Résé was nominally bishop till

his death. The next bishop was Caspar H. Borgess and during his regime the bishop's house on Washington Boulevard was built. Bishop Borgess resigned April 16, 1887 and died three years later. John S. Foley came to Detroit as bishop in November, 1888, and served as head of the Detroit diocese until his death on January 5, 1918. Bishop Michael J. Gallagher succeeded him on July 18, 1918.

The second Catholic parish organized in the city was the Holy Trinity and its first house of worship was purchased in 1834. This was the building formerly used by the First Protestant Society and was moved from the corner of Woodward Avenue and Larned Street to the northwest corner of Cadillac Square and Bates Street. In August, 1849, it was moved to the northeast corner of Porter and Sixth streets and in 1856 demolished to make room for a new brick building, which is yet in use having been remodeled from time to time. The brick church was consecrated October 29, 1866. Monsig. James Savage, the priest of Holy Trinity, has been active as such since 1887. One of the notable pastors of Holy Trinity was Rev. Martin Kundig, whose labors relative to the establishment of a poor farm and during the cholera epidemic of 1834 are described elsewhere. In 1834 Kundig conducted the first Catholic services in German at Detroit in Ste. Anne's Church. St. Mary's Church (German) was started within a few years and on June 29, 1843, a building was consecrated on the corner of St. Antoine and Croghan streets. A new church was built in 1885.

The church of SS. Peter and Paul, on the northeast corner of Jefferson and St. Antoine, was consecrated in 1848 by Bishop Kendrick of St. Louis and Archbishop Eccleston of Baltimore. This remained the cathedral church until 1873 and then became the church of the Jesuits.

#### A VIEW FROM THE YEAR 1849

In regard to the churches which existed in Detroit about the middle of the last century, Mr. Clarence M. Burton prepared an article which was originally published in the Free Press in 1910. This illuminating story of the vista of Detroit religious history up until that stopping point, follows:

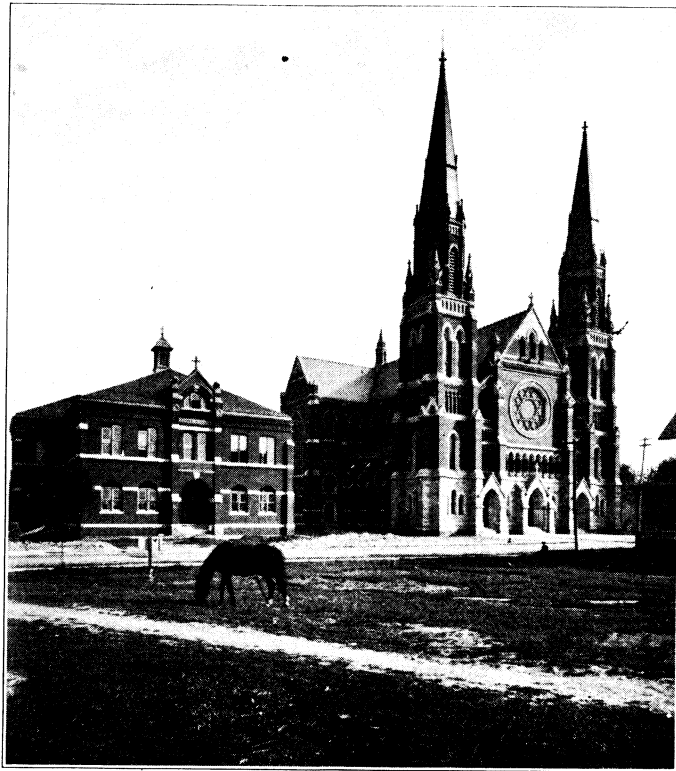
The events of 1849 in the city were no more important than those of any other year in our history and that date was taken almost by accident, to show the progress of the little village as a contrast with the great city of today. It was the year of the exodus to the California gold fields and many of the young men of the place were numbered in the great list of "Argonauts of '49."

After the opening of navigation in the spring of that year many people came from the East and were joined here by many more, who made their way over land to the Land of Gold. Only occasional reference is made in the papers to these people by name, but notice of the starting of these travelers is found in nearly every issue. No list is available to show who went, who returned, or how many fill nameless graves on the road across the great prairies and over the desert and mountains.

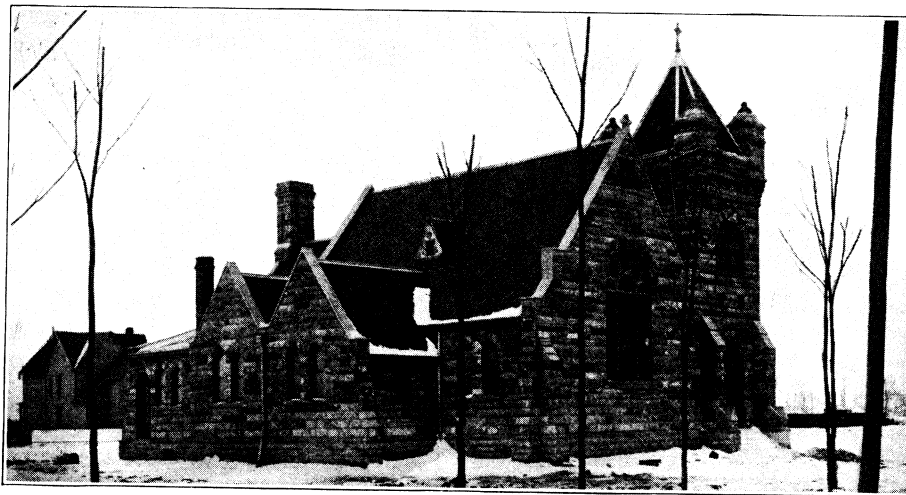
The population of Detroit in 1850 was 21,019, an increase of 7,954 over the previous census of 1844 so that in 1849 the population was about 19,500.

#### THE CHURCHES

There were in the city four Catholic church buildings. Ste. Anne's Church is the oldest church organization in Michigan and probably the oldest west



STE. ANNE'S ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH (FRENCH),  
CORNER HOWARD AND 19TH, IN 1887



ST. JOSEPH'S PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH, WOODWARD AND MEDBURY,  
ABOUT 1881  
Afterward Church of the Holy Rosary (Roman Catholic)



of Montreal, save only those organized by the early Spanish explorers on the Pacific coast.

The little church built by Cadillac at the time of the founding of Detroit in 1701 was located just west of the intersection of Griswold Street and Jefferson Avenue. This church and its successors by the same name, have continued to exist and flourish for more than two hundred years. The church society was incorporated in 1807, under the name of "The Catholic, Apostolic and Roman Church of St. Anne of Detroit." The church edifice on the north side of Larned Street between Bates and Randolph streets, was begun in 1818, but it was several years before the work was completed. In 1886 the property on which the church stood having been sold, the building which was of stone, was razed and the materials used for the new church of Ste. Anne on Howard Street between Eighteenth and Nineteenth streets.

The property occupied by this building and the adjacent burial ground was originally nearly in the form of a triangle. A glance at the present city map shows that Congress Street runs at right angles from Woodward Avenue eastwardly to Randolph Street. Originally this street extended from Griswold Street only as far as Bates Street in its present direction, and from that point was laid out nearly parallel to Michigan Grand Avenue (or Cadillac Square). Throughout its entire length it was called Virginia Street. Some years previous to 1849 Virginia Street, east of Bates Street, was vacated and given to St. Anne's Church in exchange for the property taken to continue Congress Street as now located. The bodies in the cemetery were removed either to the Beaubien Street cemetery, now called Clinton Park, or to Mt. Elliott cemetery. This proceeding left the entire block surrounded by Bates, Congress, Randolph and Larned streets, nearly in a square form, for the use of the church, parsonage and school. A school was held, for a time, in the basement of this church.

The pastors in charge of Ste. Anne's Church were Rev. Peter Kindekens in 1846, assistant Pascal Maister in 1850. In 1854 Rev. Peter Hannaert was pastor with H. J. DeBolle as assistant.

The Cathedral of Saints Peter and Paul, located on the northeast corner of Jefferson Avenue and St. Antoine Street, was nearly new. The corner stone was laid in 1844 and the building was completed and consecrated June 29th, 1848. Rt. Rev. Peter Paul Lefevre was bishop coadjutor of the diocese in 1849. (Dr. Frederick Résé, bishop.) Rev. Michael E. E. Shaw was pastor, with Fidelis C. Misseure as assistant.

Saint Mary's Church was further out, being on the same St. Antoine Street on the southeast corner of Monroe Avenue, at that time called Croghan Street. It was used almost exclusively by the Germans, and was described, in the records of 1850, as being "near the extreme northeast limites of the city." Rev. A. K. Kopp was pastor in 1846. In 1850 Rev. M. Hasslinger was pastor and M. Leimgruber was assistant. In 1854 the priest in charge was Rev. Mr. Schaeffler and he had two assistants, Messrs. Claunbach and Kotte.

Of Trinity Church—or the Irish church as it was sometimes called—more will be said hereafter. At present we will only say that it was located on the northwest corner of Bates Street and Cadillac Square. The property was purchased by Bishop Frederick Résé in 1834, and although it was generally called the Irish Church, the only condition contained in the deed of the property was that it should be an English Catholic Church.

This lot was afterwards used for some years as a stone yard. Rev. C. L.

Kilroy was in charge in 1846. In 1850 it was stated to be "in lower part of town" with Rev. Francis Letourneau as pastor and in 1854 P. J. Donohue was pastor.

#### PROTESTANT CHURCH BEGINNINGS

A Catholic Church organization has existed in Detroit from the first establishment of the place, but there was no such thing as a Protestant Church, organization or society before the end of the French rule in 1760. It was in the fall of that year that the fort was taken over by the English troops under Maj. Robert Rogers and it was at that time that it became possible to establish any other than the Catholic Church.

The articles of capitulation signed at Montreal in 1760 provided that the Canadian French should be forever permitted to retain the Roman Catholic religion. If for no other reason than this permission, the Catholic religion would have been retained in Detroit from that time.

It was the prevailing religion, here, for there were no Protestants save those who came with the army either as soldiers or as tradesmen.

We have no evidence that there were any ministers or chaplains with the soldiers at Detroit for many years, nor can we find that any religious services were held aside from those conducted by the Catholics.

We have evidence that marriages were performed by the lieutenant governor and military commandant; that baptisms were performed by the Catholic priests in some instances where the parents were strong Protestants, and we have the additional and very strong evidence that a law was enacted in Canada making valid the marriages which had before that time been performed by the military officers. This was the 5th act of the 2nd parliament of Upper Canada. If there were chaplains they held no public services of which we have any evidence, they built no church edifice, they left no record of marriages, births and deaths.

#### THE MORAVIANS

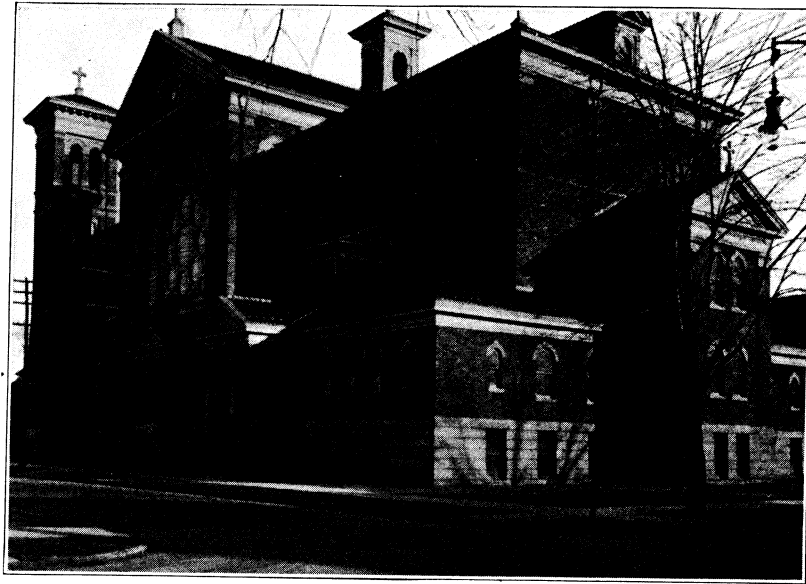
In the northern part of Ohio there had been, for some years before the American Revolution, a settlement of Christian Indians having for instructors some Moravian ministers or teachers. The Indians belonged to the Delaware tribe and were not very numerous at that time. They were peacefully inclined, devoting themselves exclusively to peaceful pursuits, and during the war refusing to assist either of the contending parties.

As they were situated directly between the advancing American forces and the British Incursionists from Detroit, their attempted neutrality only served to make enemies of both their neighbors and the result was that the Americans murdered nearly all of the Indians, and the British took the remaining Indians and all of their teachers to Detroit and finally settled them on the Huron River of Lake St. Clair, now called the Clinton River.

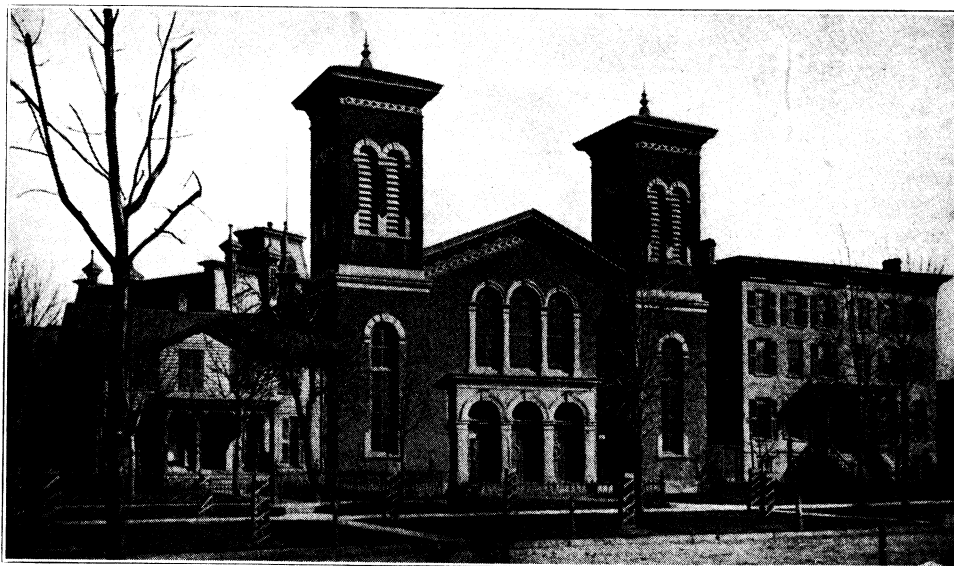
These Moravian teachers were Protestant ministers, and two of them, David Zeisberger and John Heckenwelder, have left accounts of their trip to Detroit and of what they saw there. They were brought here first in the fall of 1781 and their observations of the religious practices of the village are as follows:

On Sunday the 4th of November, they remained in their lodgings because they had been robbed of most of their clothing, but many officers of the garrison,





ST. CHARLES BORROMEIO ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH



ST. ALOYSIUS ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH IN 1882



English, German and French, called upon them. The French priest of the village, Father Simplicious Boquet, a very aged and infirm man, also called on them, but as he knew no English and they knew no French, the call was one of courtesy only. They did not remain over another Sunday, but were permitted to return to their old home in Ohio. They mention many other matters pertaining to Detroit, but do not mention the presence of any Protestant minister.

In the following year, 1782, Maj. Arent Schuyler De Peyster, who was in command of Detroit at that time, again sent for the Moravian teachers and they arrived on the 20th of April and were quartered at the barracks. There were many prisoners of war here at the time, and Zeisberger preached to a number of these prisoners on Sunday, May 23rd, in English and baptized a child of Elisha Schmidt. He says "Many were right glad to hear a sermon again and wished to do so oftener, if only we had a place or house suitable."

On the following Sunday, Zeisberger notes in his diary: "It is something wonderful here and pleasant if any one is found who shows a desire for God's Word, for the place here is like Sodom, where all sins are committed. The French have indeed a church here and a priest who, however is quite old and never preaches, but merely reads mass. On the south side of the river is also a church and a priest, where both French and Indians go, there to be seen in their heathenish garb, with painted heads in full war array. But the English and Protestants have neither, and wish for neither, although they could have them if they would. The Indians wonder at this, as is natural, for they see among the so called Christians no good example, but bad alone. The Wyandottes, though already baptized, are not only heathen, but much worse than many heathen, much more savage and blood thirsty, for the Chippewas, none of whom are baptized, are much more humane and kindly disposed towards their fellow men and are much easier to get along with."

The ice being broken by the preaching of his first sermon Zeisberger was invited by a Frenchman to make use of his house on the following Sunday and here he preached to a fine number, mostly prisoners of war. On Sunday, July 14th, he preached in the open air, for want of another place, and a great many white people came and were attentive. This ended the visit of the Moravians at this time, for before the end of the week they were at their new home near the site of the present City of Mt. Clemens. At this place they remained for several years, but eventually sold out their farms and improvements and left Michigan. One party repaired to the old home in Northern Ohio and the other formed a Moravian town on the River Thames, in Canada. While they remained in Michigan, they were frequent visitors in Detroit and sometimes performed religious services at the place. Besides the "Narrative" of Heckenwelder (Philadelphia 1820) and the "Diary of Zeisberger" (Cincinnati 1885) and the various printed biographies of these two men, there are a number of original documents in the possession of the Burton Historical Collection, composed by the teachers. One of these papers of particular interest, is signed by Zeisberger, Heckenwelder, William Edwards, George Youngman, Gottlob Senseman and Michael Young, is printed in the Collections of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society Vol. XXX, page 61. Many of the letters have been printed in the "Manuscripts from the Burton Historical Collection."

There was probably no persons ever better informed regarding the local history of Detroit than the late Judge James V. Campbell. In examining the

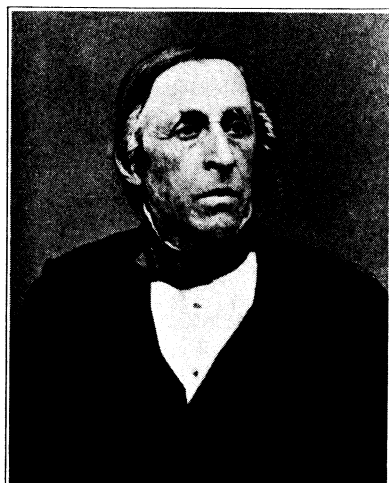
manuscripts left by Judge Campbell there was found, among them, a paper entitled "Church Beginnings in Michigan." The following is an extract from this paper: "It is not known that any church of England clergyman was ever permanently stationed in Detroit, or elsewhere in what is now Michigan. The only reference to such a person during the British domination is in the marriage in 1770 of Dr. George Christian Anthon, acting post surgeon, who was the father of the distinguished brothers, John, Henry and Charles Anthon, so eminent in their professions in New York. His marriage was solemnized by Chaplain Turring, of the British Army, a part of whose regiment (the Fifty-fifth) was stationed in Detroit. It is not known that he made any long stay in Detroit, and it is not likely that he did so as no other clerical act is recorded. On the contrary there are repeated instances of such action by laymen during the whole British occupation. The British articles of war provided for the performance of chaplain functions by various military officers. Marriages were celebrated by the commanding officer, and he probably officiated at funerals, which were not registered as marriages were. These religious functions were also delegated to the local judge, who generally held a notarial office. The celebrated jurist, John Anthon, was baptised by Thomas Williams (great grandfather of Rev. (now Bishop) G. Mott Williams of Marquette) who was justice, notary and King's receiver. The commanding officer also baptized children on occasions. Day services were conducted for the troops, at which, probably the inhabitants who spoke English attended."

Detroit was in the possession of the British subsequently to the surrender to Maj. Robert Rogers in the fall of 1760. After the Treaty of Paris in 1763 the Province of Quebec was organized but it did not include Detroit.

The lines of the new province were so drawn that Detroit was left in the Indian country and it was the effort of government to discourage, rather than to encourage, the building up of the post as a civil settlement. When the lines of the province were enlarged, in the Quebec Act of 1774, Detroit was included, but at that time the Revolution had broken out and Great Britain had a more serious task on her hands than that of encouraging the building up this frontier post for any other than military purposes. When that war ended in 1783 it was agreed that Michigan should form a part of the United States and although Detroit was occupied by British troops for thirteen years longer, England had lost all interest in its prosperity. No public buildings were erected, no churches, schools or public institutions were established.

While the village was still in British hands the Rev. Dr. Philip Toosey came here and preached for some time and left in 1786. A subscription was raised for his support, but the amounts were never fully paid, and indeed he left here before the term of his engagement was ended. Mr. Toosey subsequently became rector of Quebec and upon the death of the bishop, in 1793, tried to become his successor in office. In this he was not successful and he then accepted the position as commissary of the Bishop of Upper and Lower Canada.

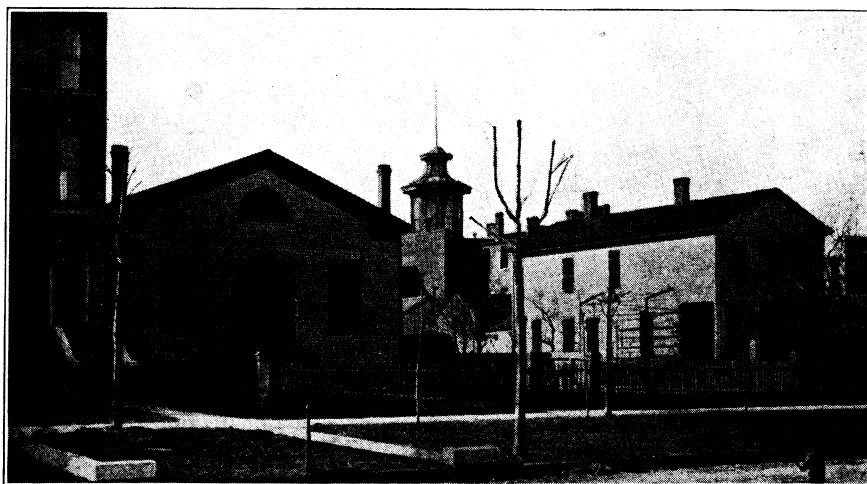
In the fall of 1786 the Rev. George Mitchell, at the request of Alexander McKee, Superintendent of the British Indian department, came to Detroit to engage himself as a resident minister of the place. In order to provide for his support he had a subscription paper drawn up which was passed around among the English speaking inhabitants, and those who favored the enterprise attached their names, followed by the amount each was willing to contribute. This original document, yellow with age, water stained and mouse eaten is



REV. GEORGE DUFFIELD



FIRST PRESBYTERIAN, OR FIRST PROTESTANT, CHURCH AT FARMER AND GRATIOT (SITE OF HUDSON STORE) IN 1874.



OLD SCOTCH PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH AFTER REMOVAL TO WASHINGTON AVENUE ABOUT 1871, WHERE IT WAS USED BY THE CENTRAL CHRISTIAN CHURCH. IT STOOD ON PART OF THE SITE OF THE BOOK BUILDING



in the Burton Collection of the Public Library. The ink shows on its yellow pages as distinctly as if written yesterday. The document bears the names of probably every Protestant who was living here at that time. There are several papers relating to this affair, as follows:

"We, the subscribers, hereby promise to pay unto the Reverend George Mitchell, or his order, the sums annexed to our names respectively, for one year's attendance as clergyman of this District, commencing December 1st. 1786, in quarterly payments:

	Paid		Paid
William Macomb.....£20	£20	David White.....	3.4 2.14
John Askin.....	10 10	Alexander McKenzie....	3.4
James Abbott.....	10 5	Thomas Smith.....	2
William Harffy.....	10 10	Peter Cummings.....	2.10 2.10
John Martin, Sr.....	6.8	Angus McIntosh.....	3.4 3.4
George Meldrum.....	6.8 6.8	John Kinner.....	3 3
John Casety.....	6.8 6.8	William Groesbeck.....	3 3
John McPherson.....	4	Sharp & Wallace.....	6 6
George Lyons.....	5 4	Thomas Jones.....	3
John Dodomead.....	5 5	Robert Stevens.....	2
Thomas Dugan.....	4	William Forsith.....	6
Jonathan Shieffelin.....	4	Jno. Wheaton.....	3
William McNeill.....	4	James Allary.....	3.4 3.4
James Douglas.....	4 4	George Jacob.....	3.4
——— Urquhart.....	4 4	John Urquhart.....	3.4
Thomas McCrear.....	4 4	James May.....	3.4
William Scott.....	4	Alexr. Saunders.....	3.4
Thomas Smith.....	4 4	William St. Clair.....	3.4 3.4
James Donaldson.....	4 4	Henry Ford.....	3.4 3.4
John Welsh.....	3	Thomas Reynolds.....	2 2
Nathan William.....	5 5	Matthew Dolson.....	3.4 Per
Leith & Shepard.....	10 10		Order
William Park.....	5 5	Thomas Cox.....	2.10 1.15
Daniel McKillip.....	4 2	M. Phelan.....	2 2
Martin Theophilus Meyers	2 2	William Bruce.....	1.10
Joseph Forsyth.....	5 5	Robert Dowler.....	1.14
Alexander Harrow.....	10 10	——— McAlpin.....	.10
John Laughton.....	5 5	——— McGormick.....	3 Per
James Fraser.....	3.4 3.4		Order

"English inhabitants who have never been applied to or have not subscribed to the maintenance of a ministry.

Commodore Grant Paid £5.

Captain McKee

Major McGregor Paid £5.

Captain Caldwell

Captain Elliott,

Mr. Sparkman,

Mr. Cornwall,

Mr. Cook,

Isaac Dolson,

James McIntosh,

Mr. Hand,

Mr. George Forsyth,

Mr. Christie,

Mr. Girty,

Captain Anderson,

Mr. Lyttle,

Mr. Harsen,

Mr. Graverod,

“Collection of the last half year beginning December 1st, 1787 and ending June 1st, 1788.

Paid		Paid	
“Robert Gouie . . . . .	£1.12	Mr. Fraser . . . . .	£16
Doctor Harffy . . . . .	2	Mr. McIntosh . . . . .	1”

“To William M’Combe Esq. and Messrs. John Askin, James Abbot and George Meldrum.

“Gentlemen—

“At a meeting of the Inhabitants of this Place held at the Council House upon the 1st day of June last, by the Subscription Paper which I proposed, and which was then read, I mentioned your Names as the Gentlemen whom I wished to Act as Vestrymen and superintend the Business of the Congregation. We have not been able to bring Church Matters to that Order and regularity which I could have wished. Various Causes have no doubt contributed to prevent it. The necessary avocations of Business both public and private, the uncertainty which still remains respecting this Post, and other Circumstances render the Situation of a resident Clergyman here very precarious and his Subsistence uncertain. If any thing has been wanting on my Part, it is from you that I should receive Information. I conceive that the taking Subscriptions and collecting money does not properly fall to my Part, but should rather be done by some person appointed by you, or whatever method you should think most advisable. I have taken the liberty to inclose you the Subscription List for last year, and the Ballances due as nearly as I can make them out at present.

“There are several of the English Inhabitants about the Fort who I believe would have subscribed but have never been applied to, whether you think proper to make any application still to such, I submit to your Judgment. I am as you may conceive involved in some small debts, particularly to Mr. Robertson to whom I have been under particular obligations, and to Sergt. Brown for Provisions, and a few others which I could wish to be able to discharge nearly as soon as possible.

“As to any future Subscription, I propose none at present more than for Six months as I propose to go down to Montreal, and from thence to Quebec, about the beginning of June next, or about the time that the first Shipping may be expected from England.

“An appointment from the Society, if the application has been forwarded & delivered, I have no doubt will take Place. That together with some appointment for the Garrison if it could be obtained, with some Subscription from the Inhabitants, might be very sufficient for the Support of a Clergyman to reside at this Place. Otherwise I do not see that the Inhabitants alone can support one without distressing themselves. I have likewise inclosed my proposals for Six months in which you may do as you think proper. I have the Honour to be with Respect

Gentlemen

“Your most obed<sup>t</sup> and  
very humble Servant

“GEORGE MITCHELL.”

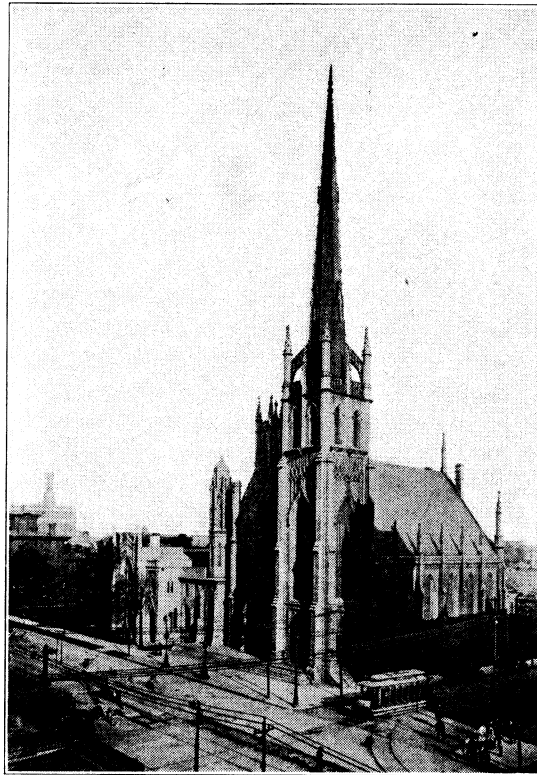
Detroit Dec<sup>r</sup> 8th- 1787

“William M’Combe Esq<sup>r</sup> & Messrs. John Askin & George Meldrum.

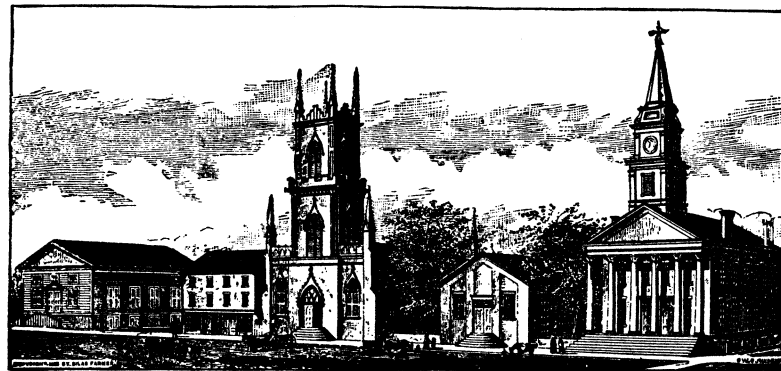
“Gentlemen:

“As I wish to leave this Place now as soon as possible, I must take the





FORT STREET PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH



VIEW OF CHURCHES ON EAST SIDE OF WOODWARD AVENUE, IN  
1849

(From left to right): M. E. Church (Congress Street intervenes) Old Burchard Building, St. Paul Episcopal Church, Sessions Room, First Presbyterian Church (Larned Street intervenes).



Liberty to trouble you again to try what can be done in the way of Collection. A few Ballances still remain upon the original List herewith Sent, and it is probable that some of them, even now, may not have Cash. If I can get Credit with any of the Gentlemen with whom I have dealings in Town, Mr. Robertson, Mr. Meldrum, or Mr. Shepherd, it will answer my Purpose in that way as well as Money towards discharging my debts. I suppose most of the original Subscribers will continue the same in proportion for the last half year as at first, but some are gone, and some others in no great way of making money, who probably cannot afford it.

“But there are a considerable number of English Inhabitants who have never yet, as far as I know, been applied to, some of whose names I have annexed and from these something might be expected.

“There are several of the Inhabitants with whom I have small acco<sup>ts</sup> for necessities of which I have not the particulars, with any one who mentions this Circumstance I will settle myself. There should be some allowance for the money I have advanced to the Drumers, &c. I will discount that to the Band.

“I wish to be ready to go at farthest by the beginning of June ag<sup>t</sup> which time the present half year will be fully expired, and your Endeavours to enable me to discharge my acco<sup>ts</sup> in Town and to raise some overplus for my Journey will much oblige.

“Gentlemen,

“your most obedient and  
very humble Servant,

“GEORGE MITCHELL.”

“Detroit May 14, 1788.”

“Quebec July 31st, 1788.

“Dear Sir

“I take the Liberty to acquaint you from this Place that before I can get my business done regularly I must either go to London or Halifax to wait upon the Bishop there, and probably to both. I had an introduction to Head Quarters from Sir John Johnson who seemed to be disposed to serve me, and assisted me with a little money. I had likewise an Introduction to Maj<sup>r</sup> Beckwith to his Lordships principal Aidducamp, but unfortunately he had left this to proceed with his Lordship to the Upper Country. I believe as far as Niagara before I arrived, of course I had to send by papers by Major Mathews, who you know had not formerly been my Friend, whether he was or was not at this time I do not know, however he informed me that he read my Papers to his Lordship, and that his Lordship was sorry he had not time then to have some Conversation with myself, there being so many Gentlemen attending about business, that could not be deferred, which I believe was really the Case, it being the last day of his Lordships stay at this Place. I do not expect to stay here untill he returns but shall leave my business with his Secretary Mr. Motts who I have reason to believe, at least I have his Promise that he will do what he can, when his Lordship returns, and what Reccommendations he thinks proper to give will be forwarded to London.

“I wrote you before that I had seen Mr. Alexander Ellis at Montreal who took no more trouble about the Packet sent to his House last summer than to send it by a Porter to St. James Square where the Bishop of London lives, and never enquired more about the matter. It was very unfriendly indeed, I think he might have done more for the Inhabitants of Detroit as he has had considerable

Connections there, if he would not upon my Account. If you have received my Letter I wrote you from Montreal you will see, he even refused paying the Subscription of his Brother James Ellis untill he should hear from Detroit. "I went to see Doct<sup>r</sup> Toosey yesterday and mentioned the Matter to him, who is of opinion that altho' it was Subscribed to him, and while he was there, it was not to him as a Man but as a Clergyman of the Place, and as he did not return and I did the duty was a debt of Honor which ought to be paid to me, altho not perhaps recoverable by Compulsion.

"If I remember right yourself and Mr. Askin were of the same opinion. If you will be kind enough to take the trouble I believe Mr. Askin has the original Paper, you can look at the Preamble which is short but I do not perfectly remember it, and can easily know if it was meant to Doct<sup>r</sup> Toosey only, or to any other Clergyman who might do the duty. You know that I had been expected there before Doct<sup>r</sup> Toosey came, and a few lines from yourself & M<sup>r</sup> Askin or either, will easily settle the business, it may be directed to M<sup>r</sup> Ellis or Tho<sup>s</sup> Forsyth but Inclosed to M<sup>r</sup> David Ross attorney at Montreal whom I spoke to, not as a Lawyer but a Friend. If I should live to get to London and take up the application of last year, to the Bishop or the Society I am told it will be of service to have something of the Nature of the inclosed in Case it should be lost, or even to Strengthen it, a few Names will be sufficient, and I will beg of you to take the trouble, it may come inclosed to me to be left at the Quebec Coffee house London and the sooner after this comes to hand the better. If I shall succeed in the Application I shall return in the Spring by the way of New York. I must beg your Pardon for all this trouble and have the Honor to be w<sup>h</sup> Respect.

"D<sup>r</sup> Sir your most obed<sup>t</sup> and very hum Serv<sup>t</sup>.,

"GEORGE MITCHELL."

"William Macombe Esq<sup>r</sup>."

"Not to trouble you with my small affairs I have sent a Power of Attorney to Mess<sup>r</sup> Leith and Shepherd where I left my furniture. My Horse left upon the Island you may keep at what price you may think him worth yourself if the Indians have not made free with him.

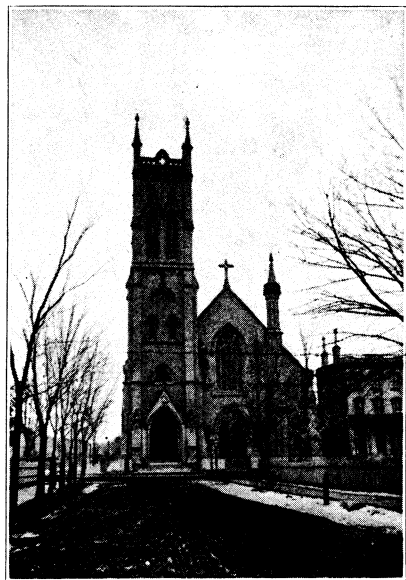
"With my best Respects to Mr<sup>s</sup> Macombe wishing she may have recovered again the use of her Knee I am &c.

"GEORGE MITCHELL."

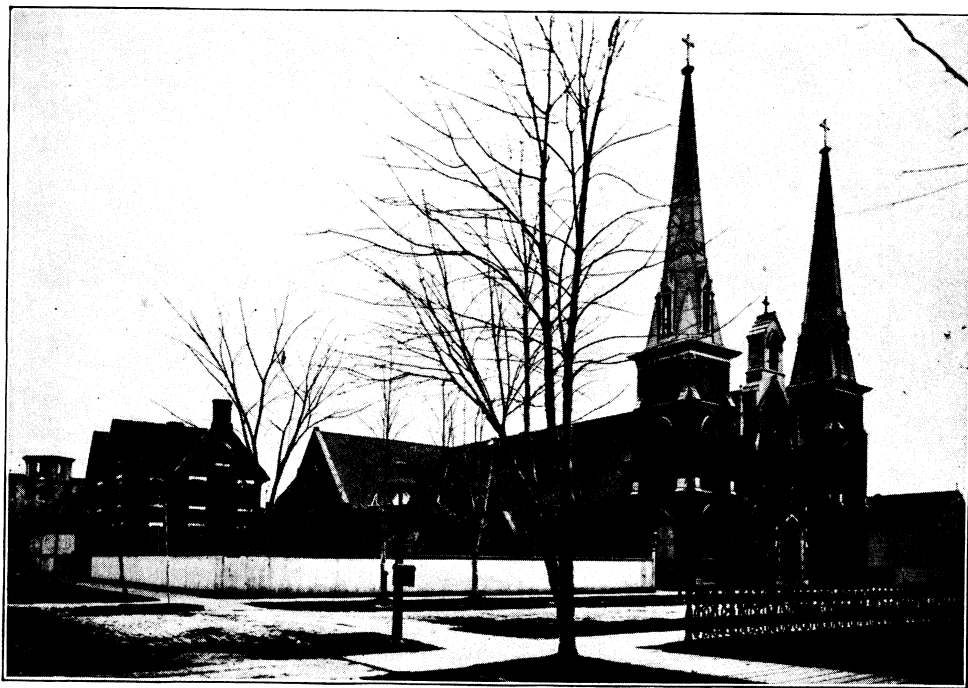
"William Macombe Esq<sup>r</sup> Detroit.

"To President of the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge in foreign Parts &c. &c.

"The Rev<sup>d</sup> George Mitchell having come to this Place in the Month of November 1786 in Consequence of an Invitation by Letters from Alexander McKee Esq<sup>r</sup> Superintendent of the Indian Department here, and at the Request of some of the principal Inhabitants of this Place, as a Clergyman of the Church of England, and with some Expectations from Government besides the Voluntary Subscriptions of the Inhabitants, has continued here for upwards of eighteen Months, viz. untill the 1<sup>st</sup> of June last, and has regularly and punctually discharged his duty as Clergyman during the aforesaid Period. But the English Inhabitants of this Place being but few in Number, and from the State of the Indian Commerce at present, being much upon the decline, find themselves unable to support a Resident Clergyman here, without some assistance from the Society, or some appointment from Government for that purpose.



ST. JOHN'S PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH, WOODWARD AVENUE AND HIGH STREET, IN 1881.



CATHEDRAL OF SS. PETER AND PAUL (FORMERLY ST. PATRICK'S) IN 1880. CORNER OF ADELAIDE AND JOHN R.



"We would still be very desirous according to our Abilities to contribute if the Society of which your Grace is President shall think proper to grant him an Appointment for this Place, or to any other Clergyman of Character and Abilities whom the Society may think proper to appoint.

"Whereas the time of attendance of the Rev<sup>d</sup> George Mitchell as Clergyman at this Place, for last year is now fully expired. We the Subscribers do hereby promise to pay or Cause to be paid unto the said George Mitchell, or unto some Person appointed to Collect the same, the Sums annexed to our Names respectively for Six months Attendance only to Commence Dec<sup>r</sup> 1<sup>st</sup> 1787 and to end June 1<sup>st</sup> 1788. To which Payments we bind ourselves our Heirs, Executors or Administrators, Witness our Hands."

(no signatures)

Mr. Mitchell was not entirely successful in making collection of the subscriptions for his support, nor were the vestrymen, William Macomb, John Askin, James Abbott and George Meldrum more successful, and Mr. Mitchell felt that the burden of his support was too great to be borne by the few Protestants here, so he left at the expiration of eighteen months, in June 1788. He proposed to go to Halifax and London to see the bishop and to call upon the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge in Foreign Parts, and to obtain some assistance in keeping him at Detroit.

The meetings of Mr. Mitchell were held in the council house in Detroit. This building in 1887-8 was a large log structure situated near the river bank. It was located a short distance west of the present Shelby Street in what is now Woodbridge Street. The late J. B. Waterfall said that the council house was not burned in the fire of 1805, but was moved back from the river and was long known as the Cass House. It has been undertaken to prove the building to have been erected by Cadillac for the Indian Quarant Sols.

The next preacher that we know visited Detroit—or rather Sandwich, as he never lived in Detroit, but came here occasionally to preach, was the Rev. Richard Pollard. Mr. Pollard first came to Detroit, which was then considered as a part of Upper Canada, in the summer of 1792, as sheriff of the Western District, having been appointed to that office in May of that year. His tastes ran rather to the ministry than to the shrievalty and in a few years he resolved to give up his office and study for the ministry. In 1802 he went down to Montreal and was ordained. When he set out upon his return to Detroit in April of that year, he bore with him many letters and parcels entrusted to him by people in Montreal for their Detroit friends. One of the letters which Mr. Pollard brought with him, might have caused some uneasiness if he had been aware of its contents. The following is an extract from it:

"This letter goes by our friend Pollard who has been so fortunate as to procure the gown, and may make a tolerable parson—Anything for an honest livelihood.

"'Honor and shame from no condition rise;  
Act well your part, there all the honor lies,'  
As a great poet says."

So long as Detroit remained under British jurisdiction it could hardly be expected that there would be any other minister here than one from the established church. The transfer from British to American rule in 1796 brought in a new people, mostly protestants and nearly all New Englanders. The era was marked by political discussion and troubles to so great an extent that

church matters were seldom referred to. It is said that the people occasionally met for religious services and that Dr. William McDowell Scott acted as lay reader in the absence of any ordained minister.

The recognized hierarchy of the Episcopal Church in Detroit begins with Pollard and includes Welton and Cadle.

Recognition of others, like Mitchell and Toosey who are named above, has not been made, though they may be in the future, as facts regarding these men are brought forward. We have already spoken of Pollard.

Alanson W. Welton was born in Connecticut in 1788. He was educated in the Episcopal Academy at Cheshire and ordained by Bishop John H. Hobart. He had charge of a church in Canandaigua, New York, in 1815. On coming to Detroit in the latter part of 1821 he found the building erected by the First Protestant Society to be without an occupant and he was invited to take possession and minister to the wants of a mixed congregation of all protestant denominations.

The first minister in this church was the Reverend John Monteith. Monteith left Detroit in July, 1821, and in December of that year the Rev. Mr. Barrows, a Presbyterian, of New York City, was invited to the place. Mr. Barrows declined the call and then Mr. Welton came.

During the remainder of his short life—for he died in September, 1822, at the early age of 34 years—Mr. Welton kept the charge of the First Church. It was during his time that efforts were made to organize an Episcopal Church. The society was organized in 1824. It was incorporated in 1825 under the name of the "Rector, Wardens and Vestrymen of St. Paul's Church in the City of Detroit." Its first officers were Samuel Perkins and Levi Brown, wardens; John Biddle, James Abbott, Henry Chipman, Andrew G. Whitney, John L. Whiting, John Garland, Jonathan Kearsley, and Jeremiah Moors, vestrymen. The first rector was the Rev. Richard F. Cadle.

For a time they were permitted to occupy the Indian Council House on the Sundays it was not occupied for other religious purposes. It is said that occasionally they had the use of some hall or building within the fort grounds. The Society laid claim to a portion of the English burying ground—that is the land on the east side of Woodward avenue between Larned and Congress streets. This land had been conveyed to the First Protestant Society, and the Episcopal Society claimed that the grant was intended for their use as well as for other protestant societies.

About the middle of this block, and fronting on Woodward Avenue, was the church of the First Protestant Society. An agreement was reached that the northerly sixty feet of the tract should be conveyed to the Episcopal Society and that, in consideration therefor, this society should pay for the removal of the church building to the corner of Larned Street, one hundred and seventeen feet.

This was in 1827 and the corner stone of the new Episcopal Church was laid August 10th of that year. The Rt. Rev. Bishop John H. Hobart visited Detroit at that time and laid the stone. This was the first visit of a protestant bishop to the City and was quite a notable event. To add to the celebrity of the occasion, it happened that the Episcopal bishop of Quebec was on a visit to Sandwich and Bishop Hobart accepted his invitation to join him in holding services at that place. While we find no record of a return visit, it



is not improbable that the Bishop of Quebec came over to Detroit and was also present at the laying of the corner stone here.

At this time the work on the new territorial capitol building had so far progressed that church services were in that building.

Again, a year later, on August 24, 1828, Bishop Hobart came and consecrated the new church and again a notable event occurred by the meeting here of Bishop Hobart and the Rev. Eleazer Williams.

Mr. Williams, at that time, was a missionary among the Indians at Green Bay but had not then achieved the notoriety that afterwards put his name in the mouth of everyone, when it was claimed that he was the Lost Dauphin of France—the heir to the throne, Louis XVII.

St. Paul's church was on the east side of Woodward Avenue, sixty feet below Congress Street. The store of Mathew W. Birchard was on the corner of Congress Street. As originally built the church was not very good looking, but it was subsequently enlarged and rebuilt and became quite an imposing structure for the time. It was of brick and had a tower 115 feet high. A new site was bought in 1851 on the northeast corner of Congress and Shelby. The old building on Woodward Avenue was destroyed. As a part of its destruction a rope was fastened around the steeple and a crowd of men and boys tugged until the steeple toppled over into Woodward Avenue. The new stone church of St. Paul's served its purpose until recently and on its destruction some of the stones were used to construct a church on the eastern boulevard. The Church Society removed to the cathedral on Woodward Avenue. Rev. Richard F. Cadle was rector from 1825 to 1836.

The Right Rev. Samuel Allan McCoskry, bishop of the diocese from 1836 to 1878 was rector of St. Paul's from 1836 to 1863. Horace Hills, Jr., was assistant in 1846. The second St. Paul's church on the corner of Shelby and Congress Streets was erected in 1851. The corner stone was laid August 13th of that year.

In the year 1800, David Bacon, father of the late Dr. Leonard Bacon of Yale University, came to Detroit. David Bacon was the son of Joseph Bacon of Stoughton, Massachusetts, and his wife, Abigail Holmes of Woodstock. David was born at Woodstock in 1771 and was baptized the 15th of September of that year. He studied to prepare himself for the ministry and for teaching school, and taught a school in Washington County, New York, in 1798. In 1800 he was chosen by the "Association of Pastors" of Connecticut to do missionary work among the Indian tribes west and south of Lake Erie. He left Hartford on this expedition on the 8th of August, 1800, and arrived in Detroit on the 11th day of the following month. He did not at first intend to stay in Detroit, but started for Mackinac, being somewhat assisted by Mr. John Askin and Jonathan Schieffelin, Indian agent of Detroit. He was becalmed in Lake St. Clair and while there his interpreter, Bernardus Harsen, son of the then owner of Harsen's Island, Jacobus Harsen, persuaded him to remain with the Indians in the neighborhood.

After remaining there some time he came to Detroit and in December he returned to Hartford. On the 24th of December, 1800, he married Alice Parks at Lebanon. She was the daughter of Elijah Parks, and was born at Bethlehem, Connecticut, in February, 1783.

David Bacon was ordained as a Congregational minister and was appointed to continue the missionary work begun by him the previous year. In February,

1801, he set out on his westward way accompanied by his wife and her brother, Beaumont Parks, and reached Detroit on the ninth day of May following.

Mr. Bacon had arranged, on his departure from Detroit in the fall of 1800, to open a school there the next year, and found the proprietors of the school awaiting his return.

School began May 25, and a few weeks later Mrs. Bacon opened a school for girls. The spare time of Mr. Bacon was occupied in studying the Indian language and in preparing a sermon for the ensuing Sunday, for he preached every Sunday except the first one.

In one of his letters he says that for Sunday service "We made use of the court house, which is very convenient for the purpose. Four or five of my hearers are men of liberal education."

An extract from one of the letters of Beaumont Parks shows the situation of Detroit at this time. He writes that Detroit was the largest and most important city west of Albany. The Indian traders were men of great wealth and highly cultivated minds. "The inhabitants were English, Scotch, Irish and French, all of whom hated the Yankees most cordially." There was not an American in the place except the officers and soldiers of the garrison, which was composed of a regiment of infantry and one company of artillery.

"The city was enclosed by cedar pickets about twelve feet high and six inches in diameter and so close together that one could not see through. On each side were strong gates which were closed at night and a sentinel placed at each. No Indians were permitted to come in after sun down, or to remain over night."

Mr. Bacon's school was well attended at first and on occasions it became necessary to have Beaumont Parks assist. The children were from the principal families, but the fact that Bacon was a Yankee militated against him.

There were four or five priests of the Roman Catholic church, all classical men, and Mr. Parks thought that the influence of these priests controlled the feeling of even those who were not catholics and prejudiced them against Mr. Bacon.

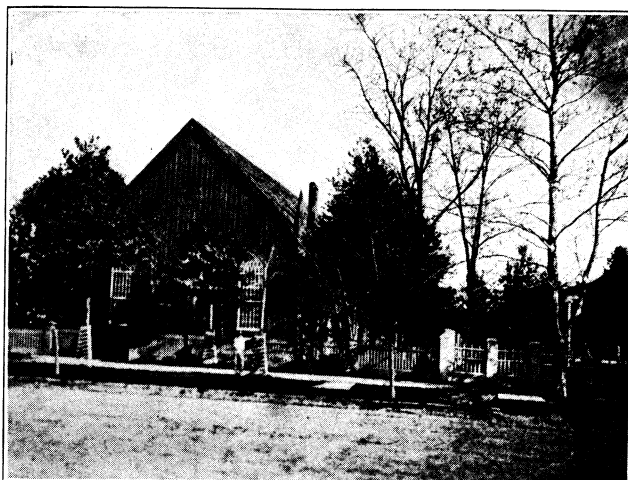
Although Mr. Bacon continued to teach and preach during the following summer and fall, his school gradually became smaller and his sermons drew diminishing audiences. His wife fell ill and was obliged to give up her teaching. He was discourgaed, and made preparations to leave Detroit for his work among the Indians as early as possible in the year 1802.

His son Leonard was born in Detroit on the 19th of February, 1802, and a short time afterwards David Bacon went first to the Indians on the Maumee and a year later, on the 11th of February, 1803, we find him and his wife and son at Mackinac.

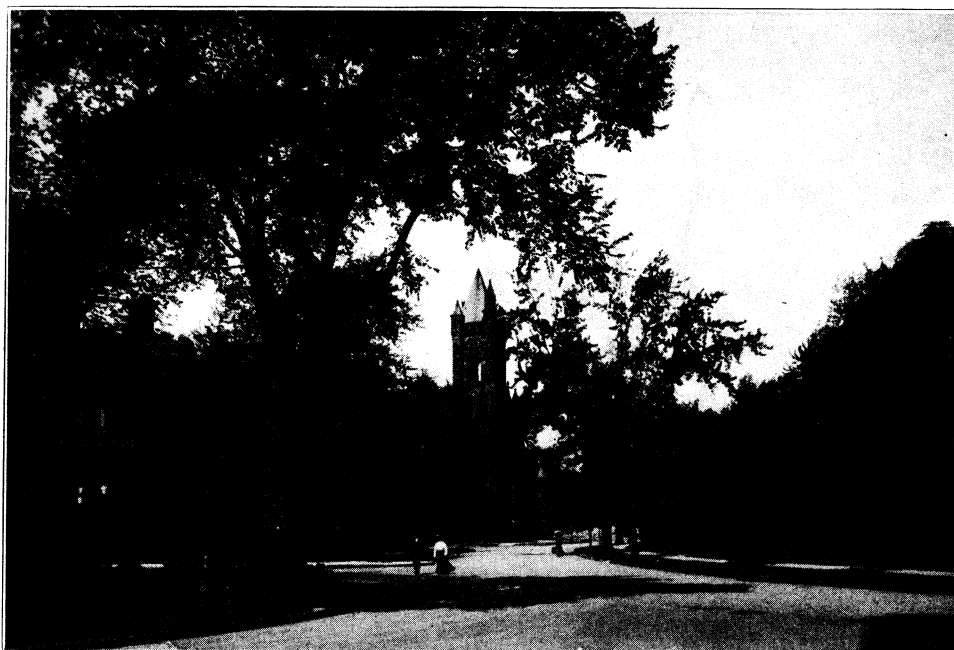
The first daughter, Sarah Dunham Bacon, was born at Mackinac on the 4th of July, 1804, and within less than a month from that time the family returned to Detroit and in a short time started for Cleveland, which place they reached about the middle of October.

The subsequent events of Mr. Bacon's life are of little interest as connected with Detroit.

He founded the Village of Tallmadge, Ohio, in a settlement to which only Congregationalists or Presbyterians were to be admitted. He died at Hartford, Connecticut, on the 27th of August, 1817. His name is best known to history as the father of the Reverend Leonard Bacon.



ORIGINAL CHRIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH, JEFFERSON  
AVENUE, IN 1860



CHURCH OF OUR FATHER (SITE OF TULLER HOTEL). MICHIGAN CONSERVATORY  
OF MUSIC (SITE OF STATLER HOTEL)



Rev. Elijah Pilcher, in his History of Protestantism in Michigan says that a Methodist minister named Freeman, from Canada, preached in Detroit in 1804, and that the Rev. Nathan Bangs, also a Methodist, preached in the same year.

Bangs was disappointed in the reception he met with, and as the town of Detroit was utterly destroyed by fire in the June following Mr. Bangs' departure, he was inclined to believe the fire to be a visitation upon the people for their unrighteous lives.

Mr. Pilcher says that during the next five years no efforts were made to protestantize the place. In this statement there is some error, though it is not believed that any protestant minister visited the place during this period.

It is beyond my ability to do justice to the courage and devotion of the first Methodist preachers who visited our shores and spent years of hard work with so little appreciable good to result during their lives.

It is barely possible that one of the principles of church management, the circuit rider, was taken from the Moravians. John Wesley, on his visit to America, fell into close connection with some of the Moravians and he says that one of them converted him. His early church organization he termed the "United Society," borrowing the name, possibly, from the Moravian "Unitas Fratres."

In England it became necessary to send preachers out among the people to gather them into places where they might listen to the preaching of the Gospel, for there were many to hear and only few to preach. This method of evangelization was carried to the new world and worked admirably for a long time. It worked well as long as villages and settlements were poor and members of the church were so few that they could not give steady employment and support to a minister.

No one can read the unpublished journal of Rev. William Case, the first itinerant minister to visit Detroit, without wondering at the stamina and the force of character that could induce this young man to devote himself to the great hardships that fell in his way.

His first charge, which he retained for several years, but which was changed each year, was as a circuit rider in Canada. He may have visited Detroit in 1806, for he relates in his journal that he was at Sandwich and that he met Robert Abbott, but whether at Detroit or Sandwich he does not state.

Traveling through the sparsely settled country, he gave notice at each dwelling he passed that he would preach at some designated place a few days later. At the appointed time the people had gathered to hear him. Perhaps only a few attended. He was not discouraged. He said to himself, as he said to them, "Where two or three are gathered in My Name, there am I in their midst," and it is not hard to believe that this sentiment buoyed him up and encouraged him on many occasions.

Mr. Case was assigned to the Detroit district in 1809. He certainly met here the people who organized the first Methodist society, Robert Abbott, Betsey (Audrain) Abbott, his wife, William McCarty, Maria C. (Audrain) McCarty, his wife, William Stacy, Betsey Stacy, his wife, and Sarah McComb, (widow of Godfroy Corbus).

The two Audrain ladies were daughters of Pierre Audrain and had been brought up as Catholics but had evidently been converted through the energies of their husbands.

In 1810 Rev. Ninian Holmes succeeded Mr. Case and it is said that these persons formed the first Methodist church during his time. The parties all lived in the River Rouge district and there the society first took root.

The Methodist church edifice was not erected there until 1817 probably, for it was in that year that they bought a piece of land of the Sargeant family and put up a log church. There is a line of circuit riders to fill in these years. Rev. Silas Hopkins, Rev. George W. Densmore, Rev. Joseph Hickox, Rev. Joseph Mitchell, Rev. Gideon Lainey, Rev. Alpheus Davis, Rev. Truman Dixon, Rev. John P. Kent, Rev. Platt B. Morey and perhaps others. The Rev. Joseph Badger has been mentioned as preaching at Detroit. There are two references to him in the letters of Governor Hull.

He is referred to in Hull's letter of 13 July, 1806, and the Governor in his letter of 10 June, 1808, says that the Rev. Mr. Badger cheats the Indians.

Rev. Joseph Badger was a missionary sent by the Connecticut Missionary Society to the Connecticut Western Reserve, in Ohio. He must have served in that capacity for several years for he was at Buffalo among the Indians as early as 1801.

One of the results of the great fire of 1805 was the enlargement of the city's limits and the platting of a much larger territory than the village originally covered. The governor and judges, the legislative body, was given authority by the general government to divide up this new territory and donate it to the citizens of the former village. The Roman Catholic Church of Ste. Anne held land in the old town before the fire. A part of this land had been taken for public use in the opening of Jefferson Avenue. The governor and judges in 1806 passed the following resolution.

"Resolved: that the Roman Catholic Church be built on the center of the little Military square, having one hundred and twenty feet vacant on every side; that the ground of section number one adjacent to the burying ground fronting on east and west Avenue and two hundred feet wide, and running two hundred feet deep, and bounded on the three other sides by three streets, and also one acre more in an adjacent section between No. one and the Court House Circus," be conveyed to said Church.

East and West Avenue is the present Cadillac Square

(Notice that the record of the resolution is imperfect and incomplete.)

This land was not conveyed to the church at that time because the church was not incorporated and was not legally able to hold property. In April, 1807, a law was passed for the incorporation of religious societies. This was drawn up with particular reference to Catholic societies and "The Catholic, Apostolic and Roman Church of St. Anne of Detroit" was formed under it, within a week after its passage.

At the same time a movement was started among the Protestants to form another society. It is at this time impossible to determine how these people chose the particular denomination under which they were to organize, but the society chosen was that of the Presbyterian Church. On April 24, 1807, only twelve days after the organization of the Catholic Church, the Protestants drew up and signed the following petition: "To His Excellency, The Governor and The Honorable The Judges of the Territory of Michigan.—

"The Petitions of the Subscribers respectfully Sheweth: That they are desirous of having a Presbyterian Church established in this City and to effect that and to enable them to fulfill their desires, they pray that your honours

please to grant them a lot or any other parcel of ground on which to erect the said church, and as in duty bound your petitioners will ever pray.—  
 “City of Detroit 24th April 1807.

“Wm. Scott,  
 John Mearrs,  
 P. Hanks,  
 Benj. Chittenden,  
 Chs. —— (illegible)  
 Joseph Watson,  
 Aaron Greeley,  
 Go. Hoffman,  
 Geo. McDougall,  
 Calvin Munson,  
 George Johnston,  
 George Huff,  
 B. Woodworth,  
 Joseph Emerson,  
 Solomon Townsend,  
 Spenser Russell,  
 Elijah Haswell,  
 Abram W. Geel,

Thomas McClure,  
 George Smart,  
 Gasper Martin,  
 E. Brush,  
 Ab. Hull,  
 William Brown,  
 Wm. Flanagan,  
 James Anderson,  
 Wm. Watson,  
 Samuel Graham,  
 John Baldwin,  
 Augustin Longon,  
 Daniel McNeil,  
 Peter E. Visger,  
 Robert Sanders,  
 Jesse Beasley,  
 John Gentle,  
 Adam Gentle.”

The petition was referred to Judge Griffin as a committee of one for investigation. The report of the committee is not given in full in the official proceedings, but the original document, in the handwriting of that judge, reads as follows:

“The Committee to whom was referred the petition of a number of gentlemen inhabitants of the Town of Detroit praying for the grant of a lot or any other parcel of ground to erect a Presbyterian Church, reports that as in the opinion of the Committee the fund placed at the disposal of the Governor and Judges is for particular specified purposes, no grant of a lot or any other parcel of ground to erect a Presbyterian Church is within the power of the Governor and Judges, or compatible either with the letter or spirit of the Act of Congress of the 21st April, 1806. April 27, 1807.”

And so the petition was denied. There was probably some reason unmentioned here, for refusing the request. A grant had already been made to the Catholic Church and there was no valid reason why the protestants should not be as liberally dealt with. Possibly the legislature thought that the religious societies should be divided into two great classes, Protestants and Catholics. If that was the case a grant of property for general purposes of Protestant Churches would have been given. This is exactly what occurred in later years.

The idea of organizing a Church society was not abandoned, but little was accomplished along that line for some years.

The War of 1812 and the subsequent destitution of the people prevented the expenditure of money for anything save the barest necessities of life.

John Montieth in 1816 (June 6) was commissioned by the Board of Missions of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of the U. S. “to this field” and soon began his labors in Detroit. A meeting was held August 5, 1816, in Detroit by all those of a Protestant faith, to form a society.

In the city the council house on the corner of Jefferson Avenue and Randolph Street was frequently used for holding religious services, and here John Montieth preached his first sermon in 1816.

In 1817 a Society was formed in Detroit, called "The First Evangelic Society of Detroit." This was subsequently called the "First Protestant Society of Detroit." Mr. Monteith was the preacher and had much to do in forming the society. The form was practically along the lines of the Presbyterian Church, but so liberal that no one could be denied admittance who was a protestant.

It was this feature of the organization of that society and of the one that followed it in 1821, under the name of the "First Protestant Society of Detroit" that gave it a solid standing in the city. In all probability if this society had borne the name of Presbyterian it would not have succeeded in obtaining a land grant from the governor and judges.

The English, or Protestant, burying ground occupied a portion of Woodward Avenue and the land east of that Avenue between Larned and Congress Streets. In 1819 the governor and judges passed a resolution giving this land "to the Trustees of the Protestant Religious Society of Detroit, by their legal designation, for the use of said society, exclusive of the street and alleys therein." This grant evaded the scruple of Judge Griffin, by mentioning the grantee as a Protestant Church and not a Presbyterian Church. The Church Society was now legally organized and set about the erection of the building on the east side of Woodward Avenue a short distance (117 Feet) north of Larned Street.

The formal grant of this land was made by the Governor and Judges to the "Trustees of the First Protestant Society of Detroit" December 9th, 1825. This society thus became the owner of the entire Woodward Avenue frontage between Larned Street and a line drawn parallel to Congress Street about 60 feet south of that street.

John Montieth was the first regular Presbyterian minister. He was also the first president and one of the two professors in the University, then lately organized under the name of "The Cathelopistemiad or University of Michigan." Religious meetings were sometimes held in the upper story of the University building which was erected on the west side of Bates Street directly in the rear of the church building.

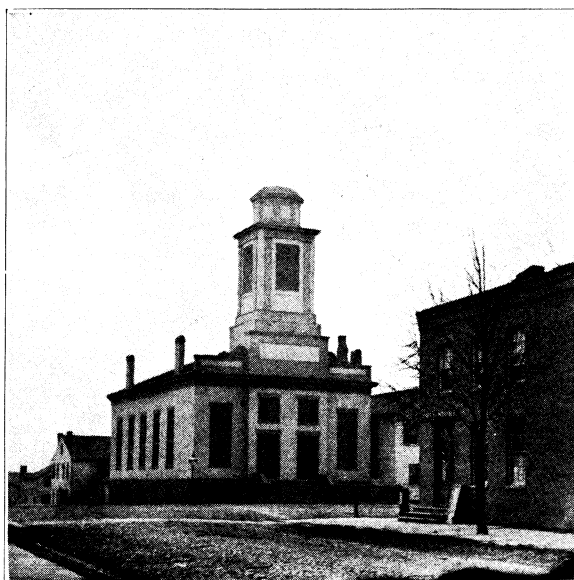
Mr. Montieth's co-professor was the Rev. Gabriel Richard, the Catholic priest of Ste. Anne's Church. Father Richard was noted for his erudition and liberality in religion. Not only his parishioners, but the entire community of Detroit were his friends. He first came to Detroit as a priest in 1798 and remained until his death in the cholera season of 1832. His charge was the French Catholic portion of the community, but he occasionally preached to the Protestants in the council house, when specially invited to do so. He was a true Catholic in every sense of the word and was above sectarianism.

The church of the First Protestant Society was in 1825 moved south 117 feet as was mentioned above and was then located on the corner of Woodward Avenue and Larned Street.

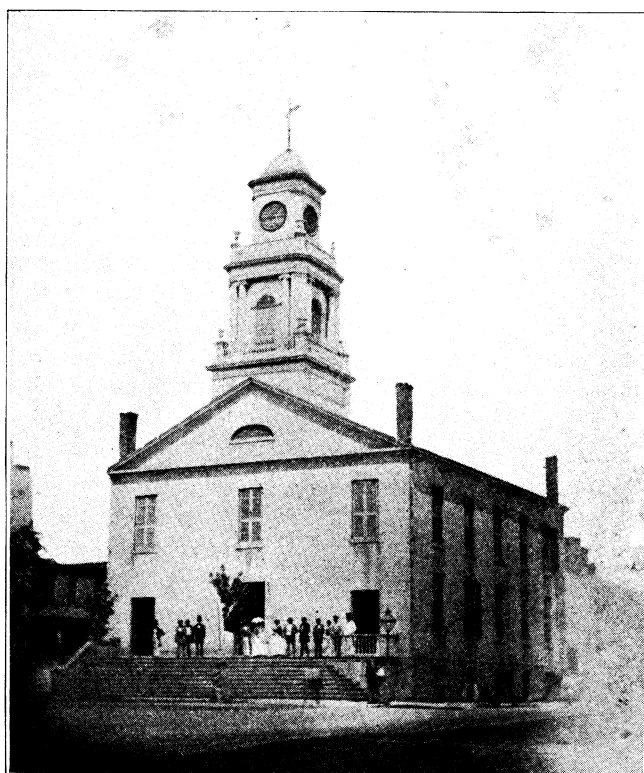
In 1825 new articles of faith of this church were adopted to fully conform to the Presbyterian doctrines and form of government. Of this re-organized church the Rev. Noah M. Wells was the first pastor.

The first church building, above described, was subsequently moved to





FIRST CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH, SOUTHWEST  
CORNER JEFFERSON AND BEAUBIEN, 1857



FIRST BRICK BUILDING OF THE FIRST BAPTIST  
CHURCH, NORTHWEST CORNER FORT AND GRIS-  
WOLD STREETS IN 1858  
Erected in 1834



Michigan Grand Avenue (Cadillac Square) and was used as a hospital, and in 1833 it passed into the hands of the Catholic Church and was called Holy Trinity Church or the Irish Church. In August, 1849, it was removed to the corner of Porter and Sixth streets. The building was 100 feet by 50 feet in size and was surmounted by a cupola.

Where the wooden building had stood on Woodward Avenue, at the corner of Larned Street, the Presbyterians erected a new brick church 100 feet long by 60 feet in width with a steeple 130 feet in height. It was burned to the ground January 10, 1854. Fortunately, however, the society had been making preparations for a new building, which was located where the Hudson store now stands, on the northwest corner of Farmer Street and Gratiot Avenue. Its pastor was the Rev. George Duffield, one of the best known and most influential ministers that ever preached in Detroit, and who served the church for over thirty years.

The Second Presbyterian Church, erected in 1849 stood on the corner of Lafayette and Wayne streets. This was a frame building 71 feet long and 41 feet wide.

This church society was organized February 21, 1849, and incorporated in the following March. Many of the twenty-six original members were from the First Church. The names of the twenty-six were, Samuel Zug, Annie S. Zug, his wife, Sylvester Larned and Helen L. Larned, his wife, Samuel P. Wilcox and Louisa Wilcox, his wife, Thomas Rowland and Catherine Rowland, his wife, William Gilbert and Elizabeth, his wife, Mrs. Sarah L. Harmon, Robert Beattie, Mrs. Charlotte Thompson, Miss Catherine A. Fisher (afterwards Mrs. William Walker), Miss Delia Mather (later Mrs. Edwin Jerome, Sr.), Mrs. Elizabeth Weir and her two daughters Mary J. Weir and Cherry Weir, Mrs. E. Kellogg, William Haworth, Marion Rutherford, David O. Penfield and Sarah Penfield, his wife, John J. Briscoe and Mary Briscoe, his wife, and Mrs. Margaret Stewart.

The first trustees were Alexander McFarren, Samuel Zug, David O. Penfield, Sylvester Larned and John J. Briscoe.

The first meetings of this Church Society were held in the Capitol Union School. The new church building was in process of erection during the year 1849 and was completed and dedicated April 7, 1850. Rev. R. R. Kellogg was the first pastor.

The Scotch Presbyterian Church was on the northeast corner of Bates and Farmer streets. The building was 71 feet deep and 41 feet wide. This society was officially called the Central Presbyterian Church. It was organized in 1842. The Rev. David Inglis was pastor in 1846 and the Rev. John McLellan was the pastor in 1849. The church building was subsequently purchased by Colin Campbell and Thomas Linn and moved to a lot on the west side of Washington Avenue, a few doors north of State Street. The owners presented the building to the Central Christian Church and it was occupied by that society for many years. The building was later used as an automobile garage. It was torn down for the erection of the Book Building.

There was a Congregational Church on the southwest corner of Jefferson and Beaubien streets, built of brick, 45 feet wide by 75 feet deep. This was the property of "The First Congregational Church and Society" which was organized December 28, 1844. The building was dedicated August 30, 1846. The first trustees were Charles G. Hammond, Francis Raymond, Israel Coe,

Elisha Taylor and Lyman Baldwin. The name of the corporation was the "First Congregational Society of Detroit." The Rev. H. L. Hammond was the minister in charge in 1846. In 1849 the Rev. Harvey D. Kitchel was the pastor and he remained in charge of the Congregation until 1864. In 1863 the church building was sold to the First Christian Church and was occupied by that society until it moved to the building on Washington Avenue. The building on Jefferson Avenue was subsequently used as a livery stable, carriage repository and for general business purposes. It suffered from fire and the cupola was taken off. Subsequently it was razed and the lot used for business purposes.

The Second Congregational, or Free Church, was organized under the name of the Second Congregational Society of Detroit, January 24, 1851. The trustees were James Raymond, Norris Day, James Parker, William Blaes and David B. Chamberlin. The Society was not successful and never had a church building.

The "Wardens and Vestrymen of Trinity Church" (Protestant Episcopal) was organized June 25, 1838, at the Capitol building, and Ezra Williams and Thomas B. Clark were elected wardens, and Douglass Houghton, Henry G. Hubbard, William N. Carpenter, Charles J. B. Bissell, Allen Smith, Jr., Morton L. Cardell and Harmon DeGraff were vestrymen. A few days later the same men were elected officers and Peter E. DeMill was added as vestryman. The name of the corporation was changed to the "Rector, Wardens and Vestrymen of Trinity Church of the City of Detroit."

Christ Church (Protestant Episcopal), on the south side of Jefferson Avenue, between Hastings and Rivard streets, was a frame building 72 feet deep by 42 feet wide and was in 1849 but four years old. It was in the quiet residential part of the city.

The Society was organized in 1845 and the first officers were Charles C. Trowbridge and James A. Hicks, wardens; Alpheus S. Williams, Alexander Goodell, Alexander H. Adams, William N. Carpenter, William S. Lee, J. Nicholson Elbert and Henry N. Walker, vestrymen.

The Rev. William N. Lyster was the first rector and he was succeeded by the Rev. Charles Aldis in 1849.

The Mariner's Church in process of erection, was completed in December, 1849. It is of stone and is still standing, on the northwest corner of Woodward Avenue and Woodbridge Street. At the time it was erected it was in the very business heart of the city. The entire property as well as the stores in the rear of the church are the gift of Mrs. Julia A. Anderson and her sister, Miss Charlotte A. Taylor, and in 1849 stores were erected on the Griswold Street end. The Rev. Horace Hill, Jr., was the first rector and he continued in that position until 1856.

The Methodists were very early in the field in Michigan, as missionaries, and had a small church building erected on the River Rouge as early as 1817. There were many of the denomination in the city at that date and they took advantage of the visit of every circuit rider who came to the place to hold services. Their first Articles of Association as a corporation are dated in 1822 and it is from that date that we may consider them as a legal organization. The name chosen by the Society was "The First Methodist Episcopal Society of the City of Detroit." A copy of the Articles of Association is printed in Pilcher's History of Protestantism in Michigan.

Following the example of the other religious societies, the Methodists applied to the Governor and Judges for a site for a church and in 1823 they obtained a donation of lots on the southeast corner of Farrar (Library Avenue) Street and Gratiot Avenue. The conveyances ran to Robert Abbott, Philip Warren, Jerry Dean, Robert P. Lewis, James Kapple, John Ramsay, John Farmer, Benjamin F. H. Witherell and Israel Noble, as trustees.

The building erected upon the lots belonging to the church was torn down in 1911. At the time of its destruction it was not in the same shape and condition as when used for church purposes. The church was too far from the residences of the members to be patronized at any time of the year except in the most pleasant weather. The result of the slim attendance was to force the congregation to select a new site and they sold the old one to John McGuire in 1843. In 1836 the younger Judge Witherell (Benjamin Franklin Hawkins Witherell) took the title to the lot on the northeast corner of Woodward Avenue and Congress Street for the church, and a new meeting house was erected on it. The Society had some equities in the lot several years before the deed was made to Witherell. In 1843 this building was formally dedicated. At that time the Rev. Elijah Crane was the pastor in charge. In 1846 the church was the charge of the Rev. John A. Baughman and in 1849 it was presided over by the Rev. Samuel D. Simonds. A school was sometimes held in the basement of the building.

There was a house on the rear end of the Presbyterian Church lot, on Larned Street, that belonged to the City of Detroit. The building had formerly been in the cantonment and had been moved from that location. In 1833 the Methodist Society filed a petition with the common council for the removal of this building, called the council room, to their lot on Congress Street. On June 5, 1833, the council granted the petition by the following resolution:

“Resolved that the Common Council accede to the proposition and that a Committee, to consist of Aldermen Palmer and Howard, be appointed to contract for and superintend the removal of the building as soon as practicable, and to have the same, after such removal, fitted up and prepared for the transaction of business.”

The council room was used for holding religious services for more than a year, when the church was completed. Mr. William Phelps writes that this building, which he terms the “Council House,” was donated by the church to Father Straws and the colored Methodists, becoming the nucleus of the First African M. E. Church, on Lafayette Street (Champlain Street).

The Methodist Society retained the lot on the corner of Woodward Avenue and Congress Street until March 22, 1849, when they sold it to John Copeland, removing the building at that time. The church building had for a long time been too small to accommodate the congregation and the society in 1848 purchased the lot at the southwest corner of Woodward Avenue and State Street, then the residence of John Roberts. Here they erected a large building, 54 feet front by 80 feet deep, two stories high. The first floor, on a level with the street, was for the Sunday School and business meetings and the audience room was above. The building was of brick and stuccoed and colored to imitate granite. It was subsequently changed both outwardly and inwardly and sold to Colin Campbell and converted into St. Andrew’s hall. The walls remained intact until the march of business compelled its destruction to make way for

the present building now occupied by the Siegel store. The basement of this church was first used for services on April 8, 1849.

The Lafayette Street Methodist Episcopal Church was organized May 1, 1849, and the Rev. James Shaw, presiding elder, appointed Ensign P. Warden, George W. Meyer, Richard Mapstone, Chauncey C. Nicolas, L. P. Kneeland, George L. Bates and William Scott, trustees. The first pastor was the Rev. Joseph J. Perry. They occupied the building that had formerly been located at the northeast corner of Woodward Avenue and Congress Street and which had been moved to the northeast corner of Fourth and Lafayette streets.

On the south side of Lafayette (later Champlain) Street, between Brush and Beaubien streets, on lot 118 of the Lambert Beaubien farm, the colored people of the Methodist Church erected a brick building 40 feet front by 50 feet deep in 1845. (Champlain Street was in 1914 renamed Lafayette Avenue east.)

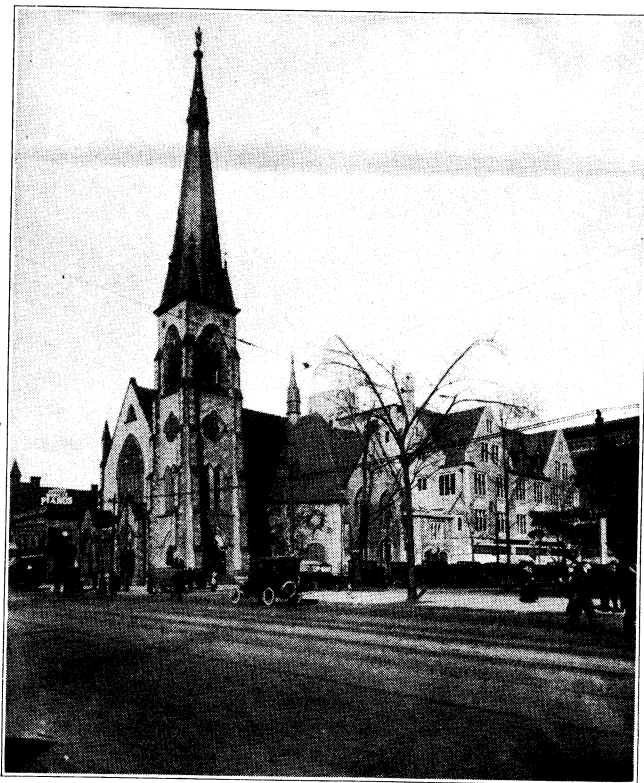
The church was organized July 30, 1849, and the following trustees were elected: Gurdon Ockrey, Edward Harberd, Rosaloo E. Wortham, Anthony Walker, William Jones, Benjamin D. Butler, William Miller and William Harnson. Rev. Abel Hart was pastor in 1854.

The First German Reformed (Methodist) Church, a plain brick building, was situated at the corner of Croghan (Monroe) and Beaubien streets. The land (lot 137) was not owned by the society until 1851.

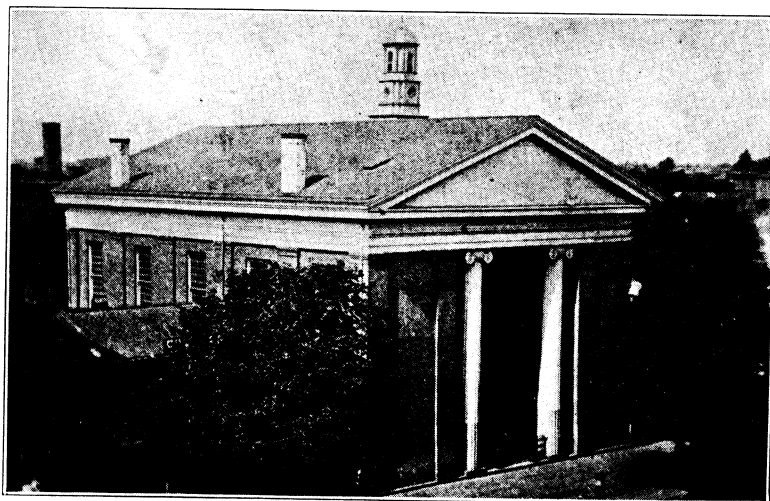
The society was incorporated May 22, 1847, and Frederick Greevel, William W. Howland, Bernhard Eggeman, Joseph Powell and John Bock, were the first trustees. The name of the organization was the "Trustees of the First German Methodist Episcopal Church." The Rev. John M. Hartman was the minister at that time. The Rev. Charles Helwig was the pastor in 1849 and the Rev. John A. Klein was there in 1854.

On the northwest corner of Griswold and Fort streets stood the First Baptist Church. This land is a part of the old military reservation, and is included in the site occupied by Fort Lernoult, afterwards called Fort Shelby. In 1826 all of the reservation, excepting some small tracts, was given to the city. The Baptist society had not been established when the other denominations received donations from the city or territory and they now petitioned for a lot for their use. This was granted and the location above described was given to them. At first a small frame building satisfied their needs, but this was subsequently moved off and a large brick building erected. This was torn down in 1859 and the next building was put up. The building which was standing in 1849 was 50 feet wide by 70 feet deep and was crowned by a magnificent dome 100 feet in height. (The building erected in 1859 was destroyed in 1913 to make way for the Dime Bank Building.)

The First Baptist Church of Detroit was organized in 1827 and the Rev. Henry Davis was the first pastor. The most active business man connected with the new church was Francis P. Browning. Mr. Browning was one of the foremost merchants of the City until the time of his death from cholera in 1834 and he was always an active worker in the cause of the church. The corner stone of the church was laid in 1833. Some familiar names are found in connection with the history of this church before 1849, both among the members and the pastors. Rollin C. Smith was a deacon in 1839. The Rev. Andrew Ten Brook, well known in later years as librarian in the University of Michigan,



CENTRAL METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH



FIRST METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH, SOUTHWEST CORNER  
WOODWARD AND STATE, IN 1860, AFTERWARD ST.  
ANDREW'S HALL





was the pastor in 1841, and in 1844 the Rev. James Inglis, a brother of Dr. Richard Inglis, was in charge.

From 1847 to 1852 the Rev. Samuel Haskell was the minister in charge. The writer hereof wishes to attest his appreciation of the example and services of Mr. Haskell. As a young man at the University town, whither Dr. Haskell removed after he left Detroit, he frequently came in contact with the doctor, as many other students did. The kindly attention and fatherly devotion that Mr. Haskell gave to all the boys and young men of the University, were recognized and appreciated. It is pleasant now to look back over forty-six years and remember how he appeared to us, always with a pleasant smile, a hearty handshake and an inquiry after our welfare. He won the boys' hearts completely and his church was always well filled at every service during the college year. There was a school kept for a time in the basement of this church and Mrs. Mary Shaw was "schoolmistress" in 1837.

The Second Baptist Church and Congregation (Colored) held a meeting at the Meeting House on Fort Street on a lot owned by George French, on the Beaubien farm, between Beaubien and St. Antoine streets, March 18, 1839, and organized the society under the name of the "Trustees of the Second Baptist Church of the City of Detroit." The trustees first elected were George French, Jacob Brown, Richard Evans, Madison L. Lightfoot, Robert Allen, Daniel Buchman, William Brown, William Nash and Samuel Robinson. The church building was totally destroyed by fire Monday morning, June 26, 1854.

The German Lutheran Church, called St. John's Church, on the southeast corner of Monroe Avenue and Farmer Street, was of wood, 35 feet by 50 feet. It remained in this place until 1852 when it was removed to give place to a large brick building erected by the same congregation. The Rev. Frederick Herrimann was in charge in 1849.

The new brick church was dedicated January 9, 1853. At that time the congregation was served by the Rev. Charles Haass.

The record of this church society is somewhat complicated. The First Dutch Protestant Society purchased the church premises, lot 54 in section six of the city, January 30, 1836, for forty dollars. The trustees of the society at that time were George Miller, William Presser and William Arnheim. The deed was made just at the time when Michigan was ceasing to be a territory and claiming to be entitled to statehood. It was executed as an act of the territory and not of the state. It is signed by John Horner as acting governor and by Judges Solomon Sibley, George Morell and Ross Wilkins.

In 1852 the trustees were Jacob Hack, Bernhard Conrad and Christopher Ludwig.

In some unofficial—or unrecorded—manner, the society was reorganized and changed its name to the First German Protestant St. John's Church.

In 1866 the trustees were Christian Stellberger, William Myll, Henry Hack, Frederick Dorman, John Gutekunst, John Bornman, John Hornbogen, Jacob Nebehauer and August Niebling.

The official name of the church had not been changed when the church premises were sold to George H. Gies, May 27, 1873, for \$25,000. The property still belonged to the First Dutch Protestant Society and the trustees were Friederick Rollbrihler, Conrad Stiebling, Otto Dasso, Christian Kolb, John Blum and Johann Heinrich Steinhedser.

In 1878 the lot was sold on foreclosure of a mortgage to Valentine Hilsendegen.

The defendant in the foreclosure suit was the First German Evangelical Protestant St. John's Congregation, and the trustees were Helmuth Roepke, Raindrus Paul, Peter Moll, Henry Miller and John Breitmeier.

November 18, 1845, "The Trustees of the German Evangelical Lutheran St. Mathews Congregation of the City of Detroit" was organized. This congregation was then worshipping under the ministrations of the Rev. John Frederick Winkler. The first trustees were Jacob Ziegler, Philip Thurwachter and Wilhelm Arnheim.

"The First Congregational Unitarian Society in the City of Detroit" was not organized until October 6, 1850. On that day the Unitarians met at Odd Fellows Hall on Woodward Avenue and chose the following persons trustees of their new organization: U. Tracy Howe, Jeremiah Moors, Silas A. Bagg, Charles Merrill, Josiah Snow, William Wiley, Samuel Pitts, Charles Jackson and Henry P. Marsh.

The Society subsequently erected the church on the northwest corner of Shelby Street and Lafayette Boulevard. This building was later occupied as the "Folly Theatre." It was destroyed and the "Recreation Building" put up in its place.

Jeremiah Moors was from New Hampshire, where he was born in 1793. He died July 6, 1854, at the age of sixty-one years. He was the father of Henry C. Moors.

Silas A. Bagg was born in Lanesbury, Massachusetts, August 1, 1801, and died in Detroit June 20, 1860, at the age of fifty-eight years. He was editor of the Free Press at one time.

Charles Merrill was born at Falmouth, Maine, January 3, 1792, and died in Detroit, December 28, 1872, at the age of eighty years, eleven months and twenty-five days. His wife, Frances Pitts Merrill, was born in Boston, Massachusetts, September 30, 1815, and died April 2, 1871. Their only daughter, Elizabeth, was the wife of the late Senator Thomas W. Palmer.

William Wiley was born in Massachusetts and died in Detroit, November 13, 1888, at the age of seventy-five years, seven months and thirteen days.

Samuel Pitts, born at Fort Preble, Portland Harbor, Maine, died in Detroit, April 28, 1868, at the age of fifty-eight years. His wife, Sarah Merrill Pitts, was also born in Maine, Vassalboro, December 15, 1813, and died in Detroit, December 17, 1896, at the age of eighty-three years.

Charles Jackson was born in Roxbury, Massachusetts. After coming to Detroit he was engaged extensively in contract work both for private concerns and for the City. He married the widow of Samuel Dyson. The only child of this marriage was Ann who married (1) Leonard Watkins and (2) Jonathan Thompson. Mr. Jackson died August 10, 1869, at the age of seventy-six years, seven months and two days.

#### MIGRATION OF CHURCHES

A very interesting topic concerning the church history of Detroit is that relative to the migration of churches. If one were to take a blank map of the city, showing just the streets and blocks, and mark thereon the locations of the churches which have ceased to exist we would have a map much checkered by marks of holy places abandoned. Especially is this true in the downtown district, within the mile circle.

The first two churches were built and owned by Cadillac. As stated before,

the first Church of Ste. Anne was dedicated on the 26th day of July, 1701. It was located on what is now Jefferson Avenue, a short distance west of the present Griswold Street. In the old town, the east and west street was Ste. Anne Street, but it was only from ten to twenty feet wide. A small plat of ground was reserved around the church building for burial purposes. This church was burned in 1703. The next church, bearing the same name of Ste. Anne, was probably built in what is now Griswold Street, a short distance east of the first church. We judge of its location by the statement made by the priest that after Cadillac left Detroit in 1710, the new commandant divided the village in two parts and built a new picket line. The portion of the village excluded by the new palisade was destroyed to prevent the building from falling into the hands of the Indians, with whom we were then at war. So the church was destroyed in order to protect the remainder of the village. The third church of Ste. Anne was located on or very near the site of the first church. This, after a time fell into decay and was renewed by the fourth church on the same site. In 1797 and 1798 the church was so old and dilapidated that it was proposed to remove it and build a new one. Gabriel Richard, the priest, was on missionary work at Mackinac and other places in the north, but he returned, at the request of his parishioners, and solicited sufficient money, labor and materials to patch up the old building and it served its purpose until it was destroyed, with the rest of the buildings in the village, in that memorable fire of June 11, 1805. Here the fourth church disappeared, and the village with it. All of these church buildings were of logs. The usual method of building in the village was to drive small trees or stakes into the earth. These stakes were like the palisades around the village. They extended above the ground far enough to make a respectable height, and then a cover or roof was placed over them. The churches, however, were always built "log on log." That is the logs were laid horizontally, one upon another with mortised corners.

Around the church site on Ste. Anne Street (Jefferson Avenue) were the remains of all the Catholics who had died in the place for nearly one hundred years. In 1796 or 1797, the commandant of the garrison permitted the church trustees to select another site for burials and the spot chosen was between the present Bates and Randolph streets, south of Cadillac Square. After the fire of 1805, the trustees asked for an additional grant of land on which to erect a new church. The grant was not at once made, but subsequently the lands between Larned, Randolph and Bates streets and Cadillac Square were given to the Catholic Church, which was then organized as a corporation under the name of the "Catholic Apostolic and Roman Church of Ste. Anne." Congress Street was not then laid out as at present.

In 1808, one of the members of the church, Francois Paul Malcher, sold to certain trustees, for the use of a Catholic Church, his farm lying along the streets later opened as Field, Townsend and Baldwin. Some buildings were on the farm and one was transformed into a church. There was no church in the village. Trouble arose between the new church on the east side (cote du nord est) and the priest, and the quarrel increased until in 1817, the church was interdicted and closed up. Meanwhile Father Richard with the very able assistance of John R. Williams, was gathering money and property from every available source to proceed with the building of a church on Larned Street. Williams was then a member of the Catholic Church, but he left it a few years later and died without its pale in 1856.

So successful were the solicitors for church funds that the actual construction of the new building was begun and the cornerstone was laid June 9, 1818. Bishop Flaget from Bardstown, Kentucky, conducted the ceremonies and on the same day removed the interdict from the church on the Malcher Farm. (See chapter on "The Lost Title.")

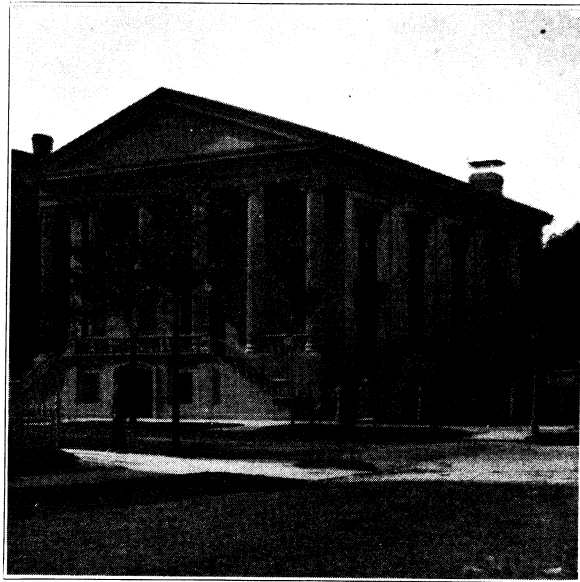
The new Ste. Anne Church was of stone. It was located on the north side of Larned Street, a short distance east of Bates Street. It remained the French Church of the City until the site was purchased by the late Governor Bagley and then the edifice was removed, in part to form the new church of Ste. Anne on Nineteenth Street, and in part to form the church of St. Joachim. Thus, after nearly 180 years, the Church of Ste. Anne has migrated from the heart of the City.

It seemed to have been the idea of many of the early citizens that it was a part of the duty of government to give to each church a location in the city. Notwithstanding the provision that church and state should not be united, and the further provision that education, schools and libraries should be encouraged, we find that our governor and judges made donations of church sites but entirely neglected to establish any public schools. To be sure they undertook to found a university, but it was of such a freakish nature that it had but a feeble existence for a few years and died of malnutrition.

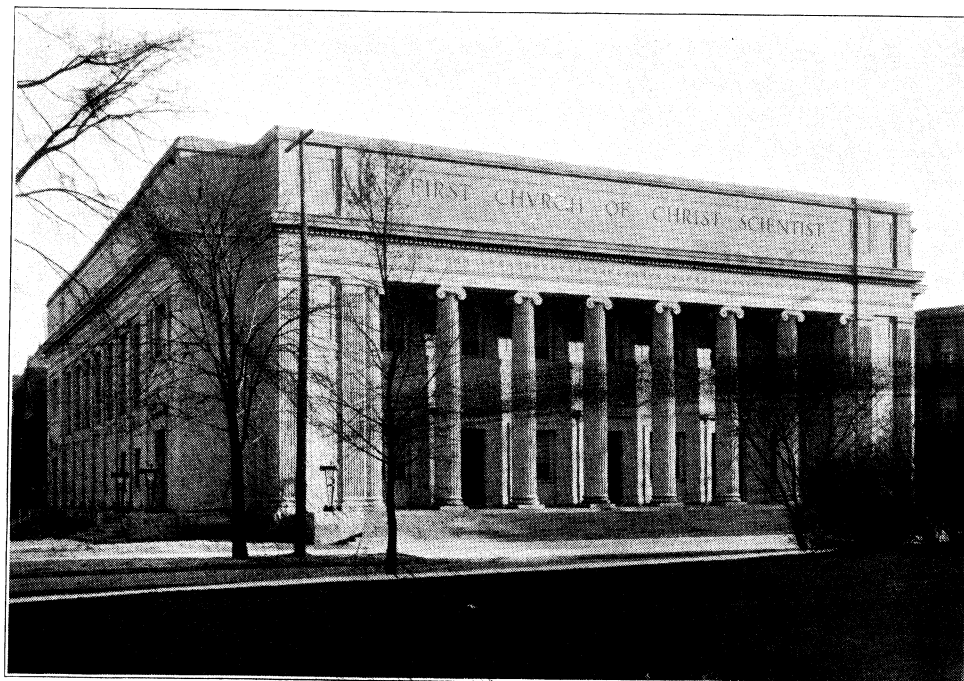
The Presbyterian denomination made a very early application for a donation of land for church purposes, but the application was denied. After a time, however, the Protestants, irrespective of denomination, made another application, and this time there was granted to the First Protestant Society the land lying on the east side of Woodward Avenue, extending from Larned Street on the south, to within sixty feet of Congress Street. This land had for many years, even as far back as 1760, been used in part as an English burying ground. A space was found among the graves to locate the first Protestant church. This was built by the First Protestant Society, that being the official name of the organization now generally called the First Presbyterian church. Their building was not located exactly on the corner of Woodward Avenue and Larned streets, but was subsequently moved to the corner and a session room built on its old site.

There were a number of Unitarians in Detroit who wanted a church of their own. They purchased the lot on the northwest corner of Cadillac Square (then called Michigan Grand Avenue) and Bates Street and intended to purchase the old Presbyterian church and move it to that locality. Something occurred to prevent this work and they sold the lot to Bishop Résé. Résé was the first Catholic bishop of the Detroit diocese. Résé bought the old Presbyterian Church and had it moved to the site above mentioned. The work of removal was done by Rev. Martin Kundig and he was, later on, placed in charge of the church. The funds raised for the establishment of this new church were largely the contributions of Irish citizens. It was provided in the deed of the land to the bishop that church services should be conducted in the English language. There is no doubt the contributors would have said "in the Irish language" if they could have had their way. Before the church was ready for occupancy the Asiatic cholera visited Detroit on its westward way and left its trail of desolation, death and despair.

Father Kundig tore out the seats recently arranged in the church, and converted the building into a hospital wherein he, in person, with such assistants



FIRST UNITARIAN CHURCH, AFTERWARD PHIL-  
HARMONIC HALL, NORTHWEST CORNER  
LAFAYETTE AND SHELBY



FIRST CHURCH OF CHRIST, SCIENTIST



as he could get, attended to the dead and the dying, until the colder weather of the fall of 1834 drove off the dreaded disease. The next year, 1835, this building was consecrated as Trinity Church and continued to be used as the Irish Catholic Church, until its removal in 1849. The person who undertook the work of removing the building was Father John Farnan, sometimes called the Renegade Priest. He died before the work was finished. The building was removed to the corner of Sixth and Porter streets and remained there in use for many years as Trinity Church.

In the meantime two other Catholic Churches had been erected in the downtown district. The church of Saints Peter and Paul is still standing, but is no longer under the jurisdiction of the bishop of this diocese, as it has been transferred to the Jesuits (Society of Jesus). The other church is that of St. Mary's. Here, in the early years of the church, was much trouble and several law suits between the members of the congregation and the bishop (Lefevre). At one time a corporation was organized to manage church affairs, but the bishop contested their rights to the property and the courts sustained him. In order to avoid further trouble and rid himself of an unruly congregation, he transferred his rights to another organization, The Redemptorists.

#### PROTESTANT CHURCHES

The oldest Protestant church building still standing in the downtown district, is the Mariners' Church on the northwest corner of Woodward Avenue and Woodbridge Street. The site was formerly owned by Mrs. John Anderson and her sister, Miss Taylor. There was a building on the lot that was destroyed by the fire of January 1, 1842, which swept off every building in that block. When the owner of the lot, Mrs. Anderson, died in 1842, it was found that she had provided in her will that a church should be erected on the lot for the use of sailors. So the land in perpetuity must continue to be used for that purpose. The stone building on the land was completed in 1849 and the ground floor was first used, in part, for the post office and in part by the private bank of William A. Butler. Above the first floor is the portion of the building used for church services and here each Sunday a sermon is preached to, practically, empty benches. The late Rev. Paul Zeigler had charge of the church for many years.

Two blocks further up the Avenue we again come to the corner of Larned Street and the Church of the First Protestant Society. After the church building had been sold to Bishop Résé, another and larger building was erected in its place. This remained the home of the Presbyterians until January 10, 1854, when it was destroyed by fire. Fortunately for the Society, they had been for some time making preparations for a new church. The new building is the one that was located where the Hudson Store now stands, on the northwest corner of Farmer Street and Gratiot Avenue. The Rev. George Duffield was pastor of the Presbyterian Church at the time of the fire and the new church was so nearly completed that but little inconvenience was experienced. We have already seen that the deed of conveyance to the First Protestant Society included nearly all of the Woodward Avenue frontage between Larned and Congress streets. The deed was made to this Society because there were but few members of any Protestant society in the city, but as the population increased, other religious societies began to seek donations for church sites.

The Episcopalians asked that the Presbyterians divide the lands on Wood-

ward Avenue with them. After some parley, this was done and St. Paul's Episcopal Church was erected on the east side of Woodward Avenue, sixty feet south of Congress Street. A handsome building was erected and used for many years. A new site was chosen as business demanded the removal of the church. The new site was on the northeast corner of Congress and Shelby streets. It was bought in 1851. When this stone church was completed the old building on Woodward Avenue was destroyed. As a part of its destruction a rope was fastened around the steeple and a crowd of men and boys tugged on the rope until the steeple toppled over into Woodward Avenue. The new stone church of St. Paul's served its purpose until recently, and on its destruction some of the stones were used to construct a church on the Eastern Boulevard. The church society removed to the Cathedral on Woodward Avenue.

The Methodist Church had more buildings in the old town, than any other denomination. The first building was on the southeast corner of Farrar Street (Library Avenue) and Gratiot Avenue. The building was too far out of town to be useful and it was soon abandoned for church purposes, though the building stood for many years. At one time it was the largest theater in the city, but in later years it served for residences, small shop keepers, saloons, and a few years ago it was torn down and the site occupied by the store of Goldberg Brothers. It is now occupied by Crowley, Milner and Company. The Rev. Elias Pattee sometimes preached in this church. He was a faithful expounder of Methodism. When the weather was favorable his calls to the ungodly could be heard far out over the surrounding prairie. When it was found that the Farrar Street Methodist Church was not useful, the Methodists bought the lot on the northeast corner of Woodward Avenue and Congress Street and put up a simple building in which services were held until 1849. It is related that the late Rev. John B. Baughman preached here for some time. He was endowed with a great voice for exhortation and when he got excited in his discourse, the doors being open in the summer time, every sinner up and down Woodward Avenue for several blocks, heard his call to repentance. This church building was, in 1849, moved down to Fort Street and Lafayette Avenue, to a new resting place where it was used for religious purposes for that neighborhood.

The next Methodist Church was quite an extensive affair built on the southwest corner of Woodward Avenue and State Street. The lot had been formerly the dwelling place of John Roberts. There was a small cottage on it. The church, which took its place, was used until the new Central Methodist Church was ready for use and then the societies united. The building on State Street was sold to Colin Campbell and converted into St. Andrews Hall. It was used for stores and hall purposes until replaced by the present structure, occupied by Mr. B. Siegel.

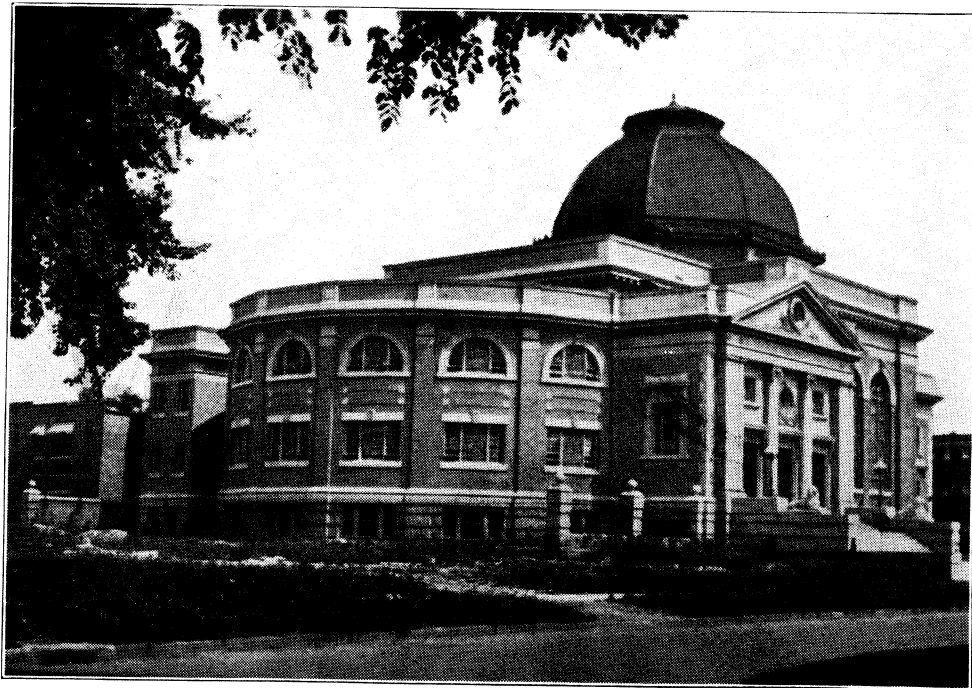
The next Methodist Church was located on the northeast corner of Randolph and Congress streets, the site of the county building. Some of the occupants of the pulpit were men well known in business affairs such as the Rev. George Taylor, Major William Phelps (of Phelps Brace and Company) and the Rev. Francis Blades, so well and favorably known in later years as our city comptroller. The church building was destroyed by fire and a new building on the lot was used as a dance hall and brothel.

The first Baptist Church site was a donation from the city to the Baptist Society in 1828. It was located on the northwest corner of Griswold and Fort streets. There were three churches erected in succession on this lot. The





TEMPLE BETH EL



CONGREGATION SHAAREY ZEDEK, DETROIT



last one remained until replaced by the Dime Bank Building. In connection with this church Society, it has passed from the recollection of most people that another Baptist Church was built on the northeast corner of Park Boulevard and Duffield Street in 1870. It existed but a few years when the congregation abandoned it and the First Baptist Church took the property and disposed of it. In 1872 the First Society had moved from Griswold Street to the new building on the northwest corner of Temple and Cass avenues.

The church that is now known as St. Aloysius on Washington Boulevard, was built by the Westminster Presbyterians. When the Society felt the call to move further north, they disposed of the building to Mr. Levi L. Barbour and he sold it to the Catholic bishop in 1873.

Nearly across the street, on the west side of Washington Boulevard was a small church building owned and occupied by the Central Christian Church. This stood on the southern end of the Book Building site, next to the Catholic bishop's residence. This edifice was not built on Washington Avenue, but was moved there about 1871 from the northeast corner of Farmer and Bates streets. It was built on the corner of the two last mentioned streets as a Scotch Presbyterian Church and was so occupied until the present building was erected on that corner. The Society of the Scotch Presbyterian church at different times occupied the two buildings on that site until the lot was recently sold to Conrad Smith. He converted the building into a theatre. The present building was erected in 1871.

The lot at the southeast corner of Monroe Avenue and Farrar Street (Library Avenue) was in 1836 conveyed by John S. Horner, acting Governor of Michigan Territory to the First Dutch Protestant Society. This is the only conveyance of land in Michigan made by Mr. Horner, who claimed to be acting governor of the Territory and is one of the very few evidences we have that he acted in that capacity on this side of Lake Michigan. On this lot there have probably been two church buildings, the latter of which was called St. John's Church but has been transferred from the Dutch Society to a German Congregation. After this congregation ceased to use it, the building was used for some years as a music hall with attendant dancing and drinking. The building was torn down and the present Hilsendegen building covers the site.

On the site of the present post office was located the second Presbyterian Church in 1849. The building was necessarily destroyed to make way for the Federal building.

Nearly across the street from the post office was the First Congregational Church, the building now occupied by the Detroit Journal, on the south side of Fort Street. The site was purchased by the Church Society from Thomas C. Sheldon in 1863 and the erection of the church begun that year. The first building of the First Congregational church was located on the southwest corner of Jefferson Avenue and Beaubien Street. The Society bought the land of David Cooper in 1845 and although the title of the property passed out of the church society by foreclosure in 1860, the building continued to be used for religious purposes. John Owen became the owner in 1860. Alonzo Rolfe leased it and used it for a carriage store room and livery in 1871.

The Lafayette Street Baptist Church purchased the land on Lafayette Boulevard now occupied by the Masonic Temple, in 1867, and occupied it until the transfer to William H. Brearley for the Masons, in 1886.

## CHAPTER LI

### THE STORY OF A TITLE—A LOST DEED

Being the Story of the Church, or Malcher, Farm

BY CLARENCE M. BURTON

There is no more romantic occupation than that of examining titles to real estate. The titles of no two farms along the river front of Wayne County are the same, and the story of every farm combines the romances of the lives of many families for the two centuries of occupation by the white man. The Indians never claimed private ownership in these lands, but individual ownership by white men extends back to the time of Cadillac. The first settlers were the French farmers, and they brought with them from their homes across the water, the idea of the Frenchman's "water lot," and introduced it here. The "Ribbon farm" was a tract of land with a frontage of several arpents or French acres, upon a stream of water and extending in the rear as far as government would permit. Upon the Detroit River these farms were usually two, three or more arpents wide, and extended from forty to sixty arpents in depth. An arpent was a French measure of 192.75 feet, being a little less than an English acre. There were many of these concessions or grants made by the French government and the commandants, but only a very few were made under the English rule. The French government controlled the country until 1760 and the British had possession from that date until 1796. Thereafter the Americans owned and disposed of the lands or confirmed the previous grants made by France and England.

About the year 1780, when it was thought likely that the Revolutionary war would end by the transfer of this part of the country to the new United States, many of the people living in and around Detroit, obtained grants of lands from the Indian tribes. There was no validity to any of these transfers, but on many occasions persons took the Indian deeds and entered into possession of lands under them and were in the actual possession, with title uncontested, at the time of the coming of Gen. Anthony Wayne with the American army in 1796.

Soon after the Americans took possession of the country an agitation was begun to settle the land titles. Acts of Congress were passed at various times, the general object of which was to quiet the titles in the proper parties and to give land owners assurances that they would not be disturbed in their possessions. Commissioners were appointed by Congress to sit as a court in Detroit, to whom evidences of possession and ownership were presented. Awards were made by the commissioners and, where no appeals were taken, grants or patents were issued to the proper parties. These patents were based upon the actual possession of the soil ante-dating the coming of the Americans and were, there-

fore, more in the nature of confirmations than of conveyances, (Corby vs. Thompson, Vol. 196, page 706, Michigan Reports).

(As it is expected that this paper will be read by lawyers and others engaged in examining titles and transferring land, references will be made to the public records and to Supreme Court reports so that they will readily understand.)

Among these grants was one located on the Detroit River a short distance east of the Grand Boulevard. It has a frontage on the river of five arpents (about 963 feet) and extends northward about three miles. A more definite description will be given later. This farm is now generally known as the "Church" farm or private land claim number sixteen. It is also sometimes referred to as the "Malcher" farm and as the "Public" farm.

Charles Chene purchased a portion of the land from the French government and obtained a patent for it dated July 14, 1734. This portion was 4 arpents in width by 80 arpents in depth.

Charles Chene was the son of Pierre St. Onge dit Chene and his wife, Louisa Jeane Bailly. He was born at Montreal March 11, 1694, and married at Detroit, January 18, 1722, Catherine Sauvage. The family name Chene is sometimes spelled Chesne. Pierre and Charles Chene were ancestors of the family bearing that name and owners of the Chene farm at Chene street, Detroit. In 1762, Charles Chene sold the farm to Guillaume Bernard (or St. Bernard).

Gabriel Casse dit St. Aubin was the owner of the land lying next east of the Charles Chene farm. He sold to Guillaume St. Bernard a strip one arpent wide off the west side of his farm, October 8, 1771, for 1200 livres (eighty pounds). (Liber "A," page 184.) On this land was a house of which St. Aubin retained the right of possession during his life. St. Aubin sold the remainder of his farm to Antoine Moras, January 11, 1775 (Liber "A," page 288), and the latter was in possession of it when Malcher applied for a patent for his farm.

Guillaume (William) St. Bernard was the son of Alexander St. Bernard and his wife, Catherine Girard. Guillaume was born in Ambasa, France in 1717, came to America and married at Detroit, January 10, 1754 Marie Josephite Campau, the daughter of Antoine Campau and his wife Angelique Peltier dit Antaya. Marie, at the time of her marriage was less than fourteen years of age. St. Bernard and his wife lived on the farm for many years. He died there and was buried from old Ste. Anne's Church 17, August, 1797. He was a soldier in the garrison at Detroit as early as 1746. He was popular and was well known in the village, and in the old records he is frequently referred to as Sieur St. Bernard, the first name being omitted. He was a slave owner in later times and the names of his slaves were Jeanne, a panise (Indian slave) and Marie, Jacques, Angelique, another Marie, Anne and Hiore, negroes. His widow, Marie, moved across the river into Canada and was buried from the church of the Assumption (Sandwich) July 1, 1800. She lived with her daughter, Marie Angelique Bertrand.

The purchase price of the farm was not fully paid at the time of the death of Guillaume St. Bernard, and his son, Hippolite, paid the balance of the debt to Chene and assumed ownership of the place. This was done with the consent of the other members of the St. Bernard family, though no formal transfer to Hippolite was ever recorded.

The widow of St. Bernard having an estate in the farm, under the Coutume de Paris, bequeathed her interest to her son, Hippolite, by her will dated May 12, 1800. This will, which was never presented for probate in Michigan, was

drawn up in Canada, under the old French law and was subsequently recorded in Wayne County, June 15, 1801, in liber 1 of Deeds on page 465.

Testatrix was sick in bed at the time of making the will and died a few weeks later. A condition of the bequest was that Hippolite should pay all debts of the succession to the amount of 6,835 livres.

There were many children born to Guillaume and Marie St. Bernard, and Hippolite was not the oldest of the family. The children were:

Antoine St. Bernard, born April 25, 1756, and died August 9, 1756.

Guillaume St. Bernard, born October 2, 1757.

Joseph St. Bernard, born June 21, 1759.

Marie Josephte St. Bernard, born May 3, 1761 (married Jacques Meloche, July 11, 1784).

Alexander St. Bernard, born March 1, 1763—at the time Pontiac was besieging Detroit.

Louis St. Bernard, born July 16, 1764.

Jeane St. Bernard, born March 29, 1766. Married Charles Barrileau dit La Marche, March 6, 1783.

Francois St. Bernard, born December 19, 1767.

Hippolite St. Bernard, born August 4, 1769, married Marie Madeline Campau, January 28, 1799. Marie was the daughter of Simon Campau and his wife, Veronique Bourdeau and was born August 17, 1770. Marie died May 26, 1802.

Charles St. Bernard, born May 23, 1773.

Antoine St. Bernard, born June 17, 1774.

Marie Angelique St. Bernard, born February 11, 1776. She married Francois Bertrand and lived in Sandwich.

Dorothea St. Bernard, born August 15, 1777.

Felicite St. Bernard, born September 3, 1779.

The next transfer of the property was made by Hippolite St. Bernard to Francois Paul Melcher (or Malcher), June 15, 1802. This deed is recorded in liber A on page 276, United States Land Records. It was transcribed in French. The consideration paid by Malcher was \$1,666.00 equal to 10,000 livres, and the land is described in the deed as follows: A parcel of land or farm four arpents in front by eighty in depth, lying on the margin of the River Detroit, in the district of Hamtramck, Wayne County, bounded west, southwest by the lands of Antoine Boyer, east, northeast by a farm belonging to the grantor herein, which farm or parcel of land will be included in the present sale. Also another parcel or farm adjoining the parcel last described and sold, west, southwest and east, northeast of Antoine Morass, being one arpent in front by forty in depth, situated on the north side of the River Detroit.

When Malcher purchased the property he did not pay the entire purchase price but gave St. Bernard an agreement which is recorded in liber 9 on page 164, in substance as follows:

“On June 15, 1802, Francois Paul Malcher, Merchant, acknowledges by these presents, that he has in his hands 5,000 livres, currency of Quebec, equal to \$833.33 in money of the United States, belonging to Hippolite St. Bernard.

“The said sum of 5,000 livres is part of 10,000 livres stipulated in a contract of sale passed this day by the said Hippolite St. Bernard to said Francois Paul Malcher for the value of two farms, with personal property thereon. Said sum is to remain in the hands of said Malcher as security against all demands and

legitimate claims on the said farms on the part of the creditors and heirs of the late widow St. Bernard, the said Hippolite being charged with the payment of the debts of his late mother, also with the portion or share of each of his brothers and sisters in consideration of the sale that his mother made to him of the said farms and also as a guaranty against the claims and pretensions of the children of said Hippolite when they become of age. When that time arrives said Hippolite is to pay all of said claims and thereupon the said Malcher is to pay said sum of 5,000 livres with interest thereon at six per cent."

Hippolite St. Bernard and his wife, Marie Magdelain Campau had but two children. Hippolite, who was born March 10, 1800, and Veronique, who was born June 29, 1801, and died May 24, 1804. Mention of these children is made here to show that Hippolite's wife was not in any way related to Malcher, and it was not on account of relationship that the condition was inserted in the Malcher deed to the trustees for the payment of 113 pounds hereinafter mentioned. Hippolite was the only child born of this marriage who lived to majority.

In 1806 the general government appointed George Hoffman, who was the Register of the land office at Detroit, and Frederick Bates, who was one of the judges of the Territorial Supreme Court and receiver of public moneys, commissioners to examine and report on the land titles in the neighborhood of Detroit. The commissioners made an extensive examination and reported that there were but six good titles in the country. The Malcher title was one of the six. Another of the six titles was that of the adjacent St. Aubin farm. The meaning of this report was that the six parcels mentioned traced their titles from grants legally made by French officials.

At this time Congress made no confirmations of any titles, but in 1807, new commissioners were appointed with larger powers than those intrusted to the first commissioners. The new commissioners were Stanley Griswold, Peter Audrain and James Abbott.

On July 7, 1807, Malcher appeared before the commissioners and again proved his title to the satisfaction of the board. He claimed and was allowed the entire parcel, five arpents wide by eighty arpents in depth. He was directed to have a survey of the parcel made and he was confirmed in its ownership.

This survey was not made until January 4, 1810, when it was certified by Aaron Greeley, the government surveyor.

In 1810 a certificate was issued by the Register as follows:

"Land Office, Detroit, 15 January, 1810.

"It is hereby certified that pursuant to an Act of Congress, passed the 3rd March, 1807, entitled "An act regulating the grants of land in the Territory of Michigan," Francis Paul Malcher on the fifteenth day of January, instant, entered with the Register of the Land Office, at Detroit, a certificate of the Commissioners appointed by virtue of the act above mentioned confirming his Claim to a certain Tract of Land containing by the return of the Surveyor three hundred forty seven acres and 12-100 of an acre, situate on River Detroit, and bounded as follows: Beginning at a post standing on the border of the Detroit River between this tract and a tract confirmed to the widow and heirs of Antoine Boyer, deceased; thence north twenty-nine degrees, west two hundred and thirty-eight chains, fifty-seven links to a post; thence north fifty-nine degrees, east fourteen chains, fifty-five links to a post, the southwest corner of a tract confirmed to the widow and heirs of Antoine Moras, deceased; thence south twenty-nine degrees, east two hundred thirty-eight chains, fifty-seven links

to a post standing on the border of Detroit River; thence along the border of said river south fifty-nine degrees, west fourteen chains, fifty-five links to the place of beginning.

"Now Therefore, Be It Known, that on presentation of this certificate to the Secretary of the Treasury, the said Francis Paul Malcher shall be entitled to receive a patent for the tract above described.

"PETER AUDRAIN,  
Reg. L. O. Detroit.

"Compared with Commissioners Report.

T. T. MOORE."

When this certificate was sent to Washington as the basis for a patent, the Secretary of the Treasury, Albert Gallatin, declined to issue it. He had been informed of the transactions of Malcher, and the notes of his investigation are endorsed on the papers, as follows:

"I do not understand how a patent is to be issued upon the enclosed documents. For altho the life annuity of Malcher has ceased, the payment to be made to the son of St. Bernard when he becomes of age, seems still to remain a lien.

"The payment to H. St. Bernard being made a condition of the sale and it being moreover stated that this very land is by another act mortgaged for the said payment, a patent cannot issue till after proof of payment to said St. Bernard or to his guardian authorized by the local law to receive in his behalf and to release the land from the pledge.

"A. G.  
[ALBERT GALLATIN]"

"Waiting to hear from Mr. Audrain.

Wrote 4th, August, 1812."

At the time this was written Detroit was in the midst of the war with England and it is probable that the letter to Audrian was never delivered. The matter was dropped for some years.

#### MR. MALCHER A CATHOLIC

Mr. Malcher was a devoted Catholic and as a popular church man, his services were frequently required at baptisms, marriages and burials in the semi-official character of sponsor, friend and witness. The Catholic Church, until 1805 was situated in the village of Detroit nearly on the corner of Jefferson Avenue and Griswold Street, and located on what was then called Ste. Anne Street.

Mr. Malcher was the owner of pew No. 19 in the little church, for which he paid the annual rental of 28 livres. He was one of the arbitrators in the great law suit of the LaSalle Brothers. He lived on his farm and was partly engaged in farming, though he also followed the trade of silversmith; that is of making trinkets of silver or silver alloy, and selling or trading them to the Indians.

Very little is known about him. He was a Frenchman, born about 1751. After coming to America he lived for a time in New York State. He came to Detroit before 1792 for we find his name, as a silversmith, in an old account book dated in that year. At the time of his death and for a great many years thereafter it was supposed that he was an unmarried man, but papers have recently been found that give the name of his wife and a little information regarding



her. His wife's maiden name was Rosalie Lapan. While still a girl she had been carried away a captive by the Indians and kept a prisoner for some time but was set at liberty in Detroit before 1791. Moving from Detroit to New York State, she met and married Malcher in that year. They lived together for some time but after several years Malcher treated his wife very ill and finally left her without any means of support, and destitute of every necessity of life, telling her that she would never see him again.

After having suffered every want, she was taken and supported for sometime by her neighbors, and not hearing from her husband, ultimately went through the ceremony of marrying a man named Dedier Gervez (or Gevrez). They moved to Marietta, Ohio, and were living there in 1811. They ascertained that Malcher had died at Detroit, leaving a large estate and on November 8, 1811, they wrote to Detroit, inquiring about it.

#### STE. ANNE'S CHURCH BURNS

In 1805 occurred the fire that destroyed the little village of Detroit, and with it the church edifice. After the church was burned religious services were held in a building in Springwells on the land called the LaSalle farm, now called the Loranger farm, (located nearly at the foot of the present Twentieth street, Detroit). This was some miles from the Malcher property. Services were also sometimes held in some old buildings, referred to in the French records as "hangars" or sheds, located near the foot of the present Woodward Avenue. These hangars constituted part of the old British shipyard, and belonged to George Meldrum. The purchase of the hangars by the church was made October 27, 1805. They were unfitted for proper religious services. The entire situation was unsatisfactory to all of the members of the church. The rector of Ste. Anne was the Rev. Gabriel Richard, who had been in the church in Detroit for some years. He was appointed to the position of vicar general, October 23, 1797. Efforts were also made (in 1805) to build a new church, and application was made to the Governor and Judges for a donation of land on which to locate it. The site chosen was where the church was subsequently located on the northerly side of Larned Street, between Bates and Randolph Streets. These streets were not opened at that time. Two acres of land at this location had been granted to the Catholics for burial purposes some time before this.

The location for a new church was not satisfactory to the people living on the east side who wanted a church in their neighborhood. The agitation for an eastern church commenced soon after the fire of 1805.

Malcher did not live in the village, and was not a sufferer by the fire. He lived on his farm which was still occupied by Hippolite St. Bernard. Malcher had indicated a willingness to dispose of his farm if proper arrangements could be made to care for himself for the remainder of his life. The matter having been called to the attention of Father Richard, the latter undertook to acquire the property. Although Richard was looked upon as a capable priest, energetic and enthusiastic in his church work, very little confidence was reposed in him as a financier. That they did not like Richard was not to be wondered at for he had characteristics much like those of Archbishop Neale, of whom it was said, "In his transactions with the foolish world, he was too candid to be agreeable." This peculiarity of Mr. Richard got him into trouble many times during

his life, and on at least two and possibly on more than two occasions, it got him into jail.

There was then, and there always has been in our country, a contest between the hierarchy of the Catholic Church and its parishioners over the ownership and control of church property. The perpetual query as to who owns and who controls the edifice and physical property of the church was not new in 1805 and has not yet been satisfactorily settled.

In obtaining a conveyance of the property from Mr. Malcher it became necessary to enter into a contract to support him for the remainder of his life. He was willing to devote his property for the purpose of the new church, but he wanted, also, to protect himself. The conditions are set forth in the contract which is in French and is liberally translated as follows:

“Territory of Michigan,  
District of Detroit,

“We, the undersigned inhabitants living on the northeast side (*cote du nord est*) in the district of Detroit, territory of Michigan, between the farm of the Beaubien family and including the farms of Cajet Tremble’ at Pointe Guinelet, authorize Messrs. Louis Beaufait and Joseph Cerre dit St. Jean, to purchase the farm of Paul Malcher situate in the said *cote du nord est* in the said district and territory, with all of its improvements, agricultural implements and animals at the lowest price that will be possible and upon such conditions as they may judge convenient, and we each promise to approve such bargain as they can make with said Malcher.

“And we agree, for ourselves and our heirs to pay each year during the natural life of Francois Paul Malcher, our proportion of the annuity which will be paid to said Malcher, such proportion not to exceed five dollars (piastres) and not to be less than two dollars each year, the amount to be determined by three citizens, under oath, who will be appointed by said Beaufait and St. Jean.

“We consent that said Beaufait and St. Jean shall have entire charge of the management and of the revenue of the church which will be built on the farm of said Malcher, and make such arrangements as they deem proper with the priest who will officiate in said church, and will receive each year from each of us the proportion which will be allotted to each to pay of the said annuity, for which they hold themselves responsible and for the payment of which they have hypothecated all of their property, real and personal. We consent and agree that the said Beaufait and St. Jean shall have exclusive charge of the revenues and the management of the said church during the natural life of the said Malcher and after that there will be one or more trustees, according to the custom of the country, and the said Beaufait and St. Jean will have authority to make with Mr. Richard such bargain as they may deem reasonable, even to selling to him the said farm, or of transferring to him the bargain that they have made with the said Malcher. Signed by:

“Louis Moran,	Pierre Laderouts,	J. B. Marsac,
Louis Beaufait,	Jacques Marsac,	J. B. Rivard,
Charles Moran,	Robert Marsac,	Edouard Saulnier,
Charles Gouin,	Antoine L’Esperance,	Jean Tremble,
Claude Gouin,	Thomas Tremble,	Etienne Allard,
Anselm Petit,	Theodore Tremble,	Reni Marsac,

Charles Peltier,	Louis Morin,	Michel Duprat,
Gabriel Chene,	Pierre Griffard,	Julien Campau,
Benoit Chapoton,	Pierre Yax,	Henri Moras,
Maurice Moran,	Theodore Eller (Ellaire)	Henri St. Bernard,
Charles N. Gouin,	Louis Griffard,	Charles Poupard,
Felix Peltier,	Francis Thibault,	James Abbott,
George Meldrum,	Louis Tremble,	Antoine Rivard,
Theodore Chapoton,	Cecile Tremble,	Simon Rivard,
Cecile Boyer,	Francois Freton,	Simon Maillet,
Antoine Chapoton,	Antoine Reneau,	Francois St. Aubin.
Victor Moras,	Charles Rivard,	Edouard Dubois,
Victoire Moras,	Michel Patenude,	J. B. Couchois,
Jacques St. Aubin,	Therese Grant,	Thomas Watson,
Jean Campau,	Joseph Resume,	Francois Frerot,
Charles Chauvin,	Jean Grant,	John Meldrum,
Michel Yax,	J. B. Chauvin,	Charles Robison,
Theodore Laderoute,	Laurant Griffard,	Joseph Cerre dit St. Jean,
Louis D. Gagnier,	Francois Tremble,	Pierre Duchene,
Francois Sugar,	Louis Reneau,	Jacques Allard (pere)
Pierre Rivard,	Julien Freton,	Jacques Allard (fils)
Francois Rivard,	Gab. Reneau,	Nic. Rivard,
Theodore Moran,	Ste. Sauffin,	Simon Yax,
Pierre Chene,	Joseph Yax,	Toussaint Chene.”
J. B. Duprat.		

The agreement is not dated, but it was drawn up before April 5, 1808, for on that day Malcher executed a deed of the farm to Louis Beaufait, Joseph Cerre dit St. Jean, Benoit Chapoton, Charles Rivard and Francois Rivard. These men all lived upon the east side and were interested in having their church on that side of the village. They were all farmers of good standing.

## DEED TO THE TRUSTEES

“The year 1808, the 5th day of April, there was present Francois Paul Malcher of the district of Detroit and territory of Michigan, who acknowledges to have sold, ceded and transferred for the present and forever, promising to make a good title and to guarantee against all troubles, dues, debts, mortgages and all claims generally whatsoever, to Messrs. Louis Beaufait, Joseph Cerre dit St. Jean, Benoit Chapoton, Charles Rivard and Francois Rivard, representatives and agents of the inhabitants of the northeast side in the said district of Detroit and territory of Michigan, by these presents accepting vendees, for themselves and for the said inhabitants, their heirs and assigns, a farm or plantation seized and situated at the said northeast side and on which the said Malcher is living at this time, consisting of five arpents in width by 80 arpents in depth, but from which 5 arpents of the front is excepted, these arpents in front being occupied by Isidore Morin, bounded in front by the River Detroit, and in rear by lands not conceded; on the east northeast by the farm of the late Antoine Moras, and on the west, southwest, by the farm of the late Antoine Boyer, together with the betterments, buildings, orchard, gardens and all the agricultural utensils, and all the animals at present on the said farm, according to a

list annexed to these presents and signed by Messrs. Malcher, Beufait and St. Jean, and which forms a part of the present sale, as the said farm is found in all its parts, surroundings and appurtenances, which the said purchasers acknowledge that they know and with which they are satisfied.

“This sale, transfer and release is so made upon the following considerations:

“The said Louis Beufait, Joseph Cerre dit St. Jean, Benoit Chapoton, Charles Rivard and Francois Rivard promise and agree to pay annually to the said Malcher during his natural life, the sum of one hundred pounds, New York currency, equal to two hundred and fifty dollars legal money of the United States of America, payable each year on the fifth day of April, and moreover to pay to the son of Hipolite St. Bernard, when he shall arrive at the age of majority, the sum of one hundred and thirteen pounds, more or less, with legal interest to be computed from the date of these presents, according to the obligation which has been made by the said Malcher and which the said Malcher agreed to pay and discharge.

“The said Louis Beufait, Joseph Cerre dit St. Jean, Benoit Chapoton, Charles Rivard and Francois Rivard, have signed, sealed and delivered to the said Malcher, a special obligation including a mortgage on the said farm, and on all of their goods, real and personal to secure the payments at the time above mentioned.

“By reason of which the said Malcher has hereby transferred and by these presents transports to the said Louis Beufait, Joseph Cerre dit St. Jean, Benoit Chapoton, Charles Rivard and Francois Rivard, their heirs and assigns, all and every right of property, names, reasons, actions and all other rights which he has or can have in the said farm, its betterments, buildings, animals and agricultural implements above mentioned, surrendering and giving up, for their benefit, willingly and purposely that they may take full possession and seizin of all that belongs to them by virtue of these presents.

“Made and passed at Detroit in the office of the clerk of the Supreme Court, and the said Malcher has signed and sealed in presence of the witnesses after the same was read, the day and year above aforesaid.

“Signed, sealed and delivered in presence of:

Robert Abbott,  
James Griswold.

“Francois Paul Malcher (seal).

“Acknowledged by Francois Paul Malcher, 5, April. 1808 before Peter Audrain, J. P. D. D. (L. S.)”

TRANSLATION OF THE MORTGAGE MADE BY THE TRUSTEES.

Liber 2, page 179.

“We, the undersigned inhabitants of the Cote du Nord Est in the district of Detroit and Territory of Michigan, acknowledge that we owe and promise to pay to Francois Paul Malcher, a rental for life in the sum of one hundred pounds, New York currency, equal to two hundred and fifty dollars, legal money of the United States of America, which we engage ourselves and our obligees, jointly and severally to pay to him each year, to commence the first payment the fifth day of next April.

“And to secure such payment, we pledge and mortgage the farm which he has sold to us by contract passed this day and moreover all our goods, real and personal, in faith of which we have signed this obligation after having the

same read in the presence of witnesses at Detroit, the fifth day of April, 1808.  
Signed, sealed and delivered,

“Robert Abbott,  
James F. Griswold.

Louis Beufait, (seal)  
Joseph Cerre, (seal)  
Benoit Chapoton, (seal)  
Francois Rivard, (seal)

“Acknowledged by all of the above and by Charles Rivard, 5, April, 1808 before Peter Audrain, J. P. D. D.”

In the acknowledgment Joseph Cerre is called Joseph Cerre dit St. Jean.

Some parts of the story of this farm have been written in former years. Mr. Richard R. Elliott wrote an article that appeared in the Sunday News, August 23, 1891 in which he made some statements from tradition that are not corroborated by the records.

An examination of the deed will throw some light on the situation. It was evidently drawn up by some one who was familiar with the situation, but who did not remember that there were citizens in the “cote du nord est” other than those belonging to the Catholic Church. If the deed stood alone it might be construed that every person, Catholic or Protestant, living on the east side of the village, that is east of the present St. Antoine Street, had an interest in the property. All of the signers of the agreement were members of the Catholic Church, excepting James Abbott. He joined in it either from the good will he bore his neighbors, or from business reasons.

The agreement being read in connection with the deed, indicates, limits and directs the trust. A church was to be built on the land; a priest was to be selected to officiate in it; the subscribers were to pay the annuity to Malcher and to maintain the church. After the death of Malcher the church was to be governed by trustees as other churches were governed. Beufait and St. Jean were empowered to sell the land to Father Richard, or to make such other disposition of it as they saw fit.

In the agreement it is stated that Beufait and St. Jean had pledged all of their individual property to secure the carrying out of the terms of the contract with Malcher. Either Malcher was not satisfied with the security of the two trustees, or the trustees felt that the responsibility was too great for them to bear alone, for the deed was so written that there were five trustees instead of the two whose names were contained in the agreement. In no other respect does the deed change the agreement.

One of the conditions in the deed was that 113 pounds should be paid to the son of Hippolite St. Bernard when he became twenty-one years of age. Mr. Elliott in his article, said that young St. Bernard was a grandson of Malcher. This cannot be a fact. Malcher was a married man at the time of his death, although that fact was not known to Detroit people. So far as the records show, he never had any children. He was not an old resident of Detroit, but probably came here in 1791 or 1792. He cultivated his own farm, though St. Bernard might have lived on the farm with him. St. Bernard was a single man at the time of the deed to Malcher, his wife having died a few months earlier. The inventory of personal property owned by Malcher at the time of his death indicates that he was a watch repairer, jeweler and dealer in trinkets suitable to the trade with the natives.

Among other things he had “An eight day clock claimed by James May,” 79 watch glasses; 1220 ear bobs; 30 concave brooches, 138 ear wheels; four

snuff boxes containing a variety of trinkets claimed by and delivered to Walk-in-the-Water, an Indian chief, and a great quantity of stuff of like nature. When Malcher bought the farm of Hippolite St. Bernard in 1802, the title was not considered perfect. Hippolite was only one of the many children of Guillaume St. Bernard. It was customary among the French Canadians for one of the children, when there were several in the family, to take the home farm and to pay the debts of the parents and to pay each of the other children a proportionate share of the value of the patrimony. This was not required by law, but the law prohibited the division of an estate into small lots and it necessarily followed that the inheritance must be retained by one member of the family to the exclusion of the others and the only proper way was to have the one who took the homestead pay the other children their shares in other property. So it was that Hippolite took the estate and held it until 1802 and sold it a few months after his wife died, to Malcher. The question being raised as to the title, Malcher paid only half of the purchase price and gave the mortgage above recited, for the balance.

There was a provision of the French law (the *Coutume de Paris*) that children had an interest in the property of their parents. That is, that a man owning property could not dispose of it without the consent of his children, or at least, he could not dispose of it to their detriment. One of the conditions of the Malcher mortgage was that Hippolite St. Bernard was to protect the title of this property against the claims of the children of Hippolite when they became of age. It was to provide for the performance of this condition that Malcher, in his deed, provided that £113 should be paid to the son of Hippolite St. Bernard.

Malcher died October 16, 1810. The terms of the agreement and of the deed had been fulfilled so far as the annuity to be paid to Malcher, and the title was completely vested in the trustees, subject to the payment to the son of Hippolite. They were making use of the property according to the trust agreements they had made.

Mr. Elliott, who was familiar with this property many years ago, described it as it was at the time Malcher conveyed it to the trustees. His description was written in 1891 as follows: "One of the most desirable old home-steads on the banks of the Detroit about a century ago, was that of Francois Paul Malcher. Its location has since been covered by fine residences; its eastern line joined the grounds of the Wesson mansion. The lawn in front sloped gradually to the water's edge and across the narrow channel loomed up the dark and thickly grown forest of the *Ile Aux Cochons*. (Belle Isle.)

"The old farm house was sheltered from the northern winds by a grove of lofty French *poiriers* and an orchard of large *pommiers*, many of which bore the luscious, crimson flesh, Norman apples, so agreeable to the taste, and from which the famous cider of ancient days was annually made."

It is hardly possible that the Malcher buildings were of any considerable importance. There were two buildings of logs. One was fitted up for church purposes and the other was used as a presbytery at a later period. One of these buildings was on the premises when Malcher bought the farm and the other was erected in 1803 while Detroit was in the Territory of Indiana. The two buildings were adjacent to each other or connected together. The contract for the erection of the building in 1803 gives dimensions, cost and details

that can best be understood by a copy of the building agreement, which, translated, is as follows:

TRANSLATION OF CONTRACT FOR THE BUILDING ON THE FARM

“Articles of agreement made and passed at Detroit, in the County of Wayne, and Territory of Indiana the first day of August in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and three, between Francois Paul Malcher, silver merchant, residing at Detroit, of the one part and Ignace Moras, master builder, residing in the district of Hamtramck, in the said County of Wayne, of the other part, as follows, To Wit:

“The said Ignace Moras for the considerations hereinafter named agrees and binds himself, for himself, his executors, administrators and assigns, to build upon the farm of the said Malcher, in the above-mentioned district of Hamtramck, within the space of two months counting from the date hereof, in good workmanship, perfect in completion and finish, and to furnish at his own expense and risk all the materials, whatsoever generally necessary to complete a house of pine, of two stories “logs on logs” (literally, “Pieces sur pieces”) of the following dimensions—To Wit:

“The inner dimensions of the house must be 20 feet front by 30 feet deep, English measure, and 12 feet high from the foundation: a cellar of 6 feet depth will be excavated similar to that of the house on the farm of the late Col. Hamtramck. This cellar is to be enclosed with cedar piles to prevent the earth from caving in, with an outside stairway to enter the cellar, and the necessary doors: there is to be a foundation of stone and lime of a foot at least above the ground, upon which will be placed the first timber-piece of oak—the rest of pine: the chimney is to be double—the foundation of stone and lime and the rest of good, merchantable brick: the first floor of said house will have one large room 20 feet square and two small rooms on the garden side of 10 feet each: there will be four windows in the large room and one in each small room, each window to have 24 panes of glass: a flooring on the lower floor of undressed wood, but the ceiling of dressed wood: the upper story is to be divided in two parts, half for a granary, and the other half for a room with the chimney, with two windows of 24 panes of glass each; there will be a boarded ceiling to this room and the height between floor and ceiling will be 7 feet; the house is to be roofed with shingles nailed on; there are to be 8 doors of which two shall be panelled and the others plain, but strong and substantial: six shutters for the big room and the two small ones on the lower floor, and two for the upper rooms, with the necessary catches to fasten them on the inside during the night, and to hold them open during the day; the whole building to be boarded without and plastered inside all except the ceilings: there is to be a corridor six feet wide running the whole depth between the old house and the new, the roof of which will be an extension from the new house: in this corridor there will be a good and substantial staircase to the upper room and to the granary; there will be two good, strong doors at each end of the said corridor, with large strong locks with copper handles and a strong bolt on each, such as is commonly in use for street doors: from the corridor there is to be made an entrance door to the old house, this door to be made and fitted with lock, etc., a portico at the front of 20 feet length by 4 feet depth, with a shingled roof.

“Finally, the said Ignace Moras binds himself to complete the said house and to hand it over not later than the first of October next to the said Francois

Paul Malcher, and the latter will have the right of examination before acceptance of the said house, by workmen capable of judging if the said house is complete and sufficiently worthy of acceptance.

“And the said Francois Paul Malcher, for and in consideration of the work above mentioned binds and engages himself to pay, or cause to be paid, to the said Ignace Moras, his executors, administrators or assigns, the sum of five hundred piastres or dollars, in the manner following, To Wit—two hundred piastres in money and three hundred piastres in merchandise at current prices.

“And for the perfect fulfillment of the different articles of the above, the said Francois Paul Malcher and the said Ignace Moras bind themselves by these presents, their executors, administrators and assigns, each in favor of the other, to the penal sum of three hundred piastres or dollars, legal money of the United States, and the parties have signed and sealed in presence of witnesses—that is to say, the said Francois Paul Malcher has signed and sealed, and the said Ignace Moras having declared himself unable to sign has made his ordinary mark and attached his seal, after the reading of these presents in presence of witnesses, on the day, month, and year as above mentioned,

“Sealed and delivered F-	Ignace Moras (SEAL)
in presence of . F-	F. P. Malcher (SEAL)”
Peter Audrain Prothy. F-	

#### TROUBLES BEGIN

An entry in the records of Ste. Anne's Church shows the next step taken in the matter. It is as follows: “The twenty-third day of the month of June, 1808, the old and new trustees having assembled, Mr. Joseph Serre in the name of the inhabitants of the northeast side (cote du nord est) moved that the parish be separated and that the ornaments and other church properties be divided. The majority were of opinion that there should be no separation.”

This is the first intimation of the quarrel that extended through many years, between factions of the church. The people of the northeast side maintained church services in the little building they had on the church farm, and the people of the village, who had no church buildings, put up with such accommodations as they could obtain in the village and with the better buildings that were on the La Salle property.

#### RELIGIOUS CORPORATIONS IN MICHIGAN

The governor and judges of Michigan Territory, being the legislative body of the territory, on April 3, 1807, passed an act concerning religious societies.

This act, in its first section, provided for the incorporation of religious societies in general. The trustees of any religious society had the power to “acquire, hold and lien property, real and personal (slaves excepted) in trust for the use and benefit of the society.” All church property was to be taxed the same as other property.

Section 2 related particularly to Catholic Churches and is as follows:

“And be it enacted that the members of the church usually denominated Catholic, Apostolic and Roman within the Territory of Michigan may convene and adopt such regulations for the management of their estate and temporalities as shall seem advisable to a majority, and shall choose such person or persons as they may think proper, who shall assume the style, name and title by which they are to be designated and shall certify the same under their hands to the



clerk of the Supreme Court who shall record the same and thereupon the said person or persons, his and their successors shall be a body politic and corporate by the name and description so assumed, for carrying into execution such regulations as may have been or may at any time be adopted, as aforesaid; and for giving effect to the provisions of this act the said body politic shall be immediately seized and possessed of all the present property, estate and temporalities of the said church, and which shall from thenceforth be under the sole control and management of the said corporation, and their successors, subject to taxation as aforesaid."

At the time this act was passed the Catholic Church had no real property that belonged to the organization. The title to the premises occupied for burial purposes was not vested in the church or in any individual, but was a mere license to occupy. The old church site and burial grounds belonged to the city or to Gabriel Richard in person. The only object in having the above law enacted was to obtain the title to the Church farm and to place it in such a situation that the congregation and not the priest or bishop could control it.

A convention of the inhabitants of the parish was called on April 12, 1807 and the "Catholic, Apostolic and Roman Church of Ste. Anne of Detroit" was organized. It was re-organized April 28, 1816. This corporation still exists as its franchise was perpetual.

The original articles of incorporation were signed by the following members of the parish:

Chabert Joncaire,	Henri Berthelet,
Pierre Desnoyers,	Charles Poupard,
Joseph Beaubien,	Antoine Cecile,
Etienne Dubois,	Gabriel Godfroy,
Presque Cote,	Francois Frerot,
Alexis Cerait,	Joseph Cote,
Dominique La Brosse,	Jacques Pelletier.
Francois Gamelin,	Gabriel Richard (pretre cure).

The document was then recorded by the clerk of the Supreme Court in Volume 2, on page 149 and entered at full length in the records of Ste. Anne's Church.

The Ste. Anne Church corporation was in existence at the time the Malcher deed was executed, and if it had been the intention of the east side people to convey the farm to the church, it could have been accomplished by a deed directly to the corporation. But that was not their intention. They desired a separate church to be established on the Malcher farm, to be managed by the trustees appointed in the deed. This was the plan expressed in the deed, and they had, at this time, no affiliation with the church in the village.

The church on the Malcher farm was called "La chapelle du nord est." Farmer says that the first church was of logs and that it was consecrated May 10, 1809. Bishop Plessis says it was nothing but a barn with ceiling and windows, with an entrance at one end and a small sanctuary at the other. A register was begun November 29, 1810 by Father Richard and was continued at intervals, until 1838.

The quarrel between the factions was not so serious that official notice of it was taken for some years. There are frequent references in the church records of the period, to attempts to reconcile them, and in 1808, the priest was sent to

Baltimore to see the bishop and, by laying the matter directly before him, to get his assistance in settling the difficulties. Richard started for Baltimore the 29th of November, 1808 and did not return until the 24th of the following July. When he returned he brought with him the printing press and type with which the first paper published in Detroit, the "Michigan Essay" was printed.

Although the bishop agreed with the contentions of Mr. Richard regarding the chapel and farm, he was unable to settle the quarrel as it then existed and affairs had to proceed to a more acute stage.

The trustees of the Church of Ste. Anne held occasional meetings and considered the building of a new church in the village, but all of their plans were fruitless for they could not get money with which to build.

#### WAR OF 1812

Then came the war of 1812 and everything was disrupted and torn to pieces. It is said that the priest Richard was seized by the British as a prisoner of war. If he was taken away he shortly after returned and continued his church work. There was no prolonged interruption in the church records in these years. There were no meetings of the trustees of the church from the 14th of April, 1811, till the 29th day of May, 1814. Joseph Mini was a tenant and occupied the Malcher farm in 1814.

John R. Williams, who at this time was an ardent Catholic and earnest worker, was in Albany and proposed to begin at that place the collection of money to assist in rebuilding the church of Ste. Anne. His offer was in the form of a letter that was laid before the church trustees June 5, 1814. His proposal was gladly received and only inconsequential conditions were attached to its acceptance. It was provided that the new church should be located in the village limits, that is between the farm of Alexander Macomb, (the Cass Farm) and the Brush farm, within a distance of ten arpents (1927.5 feet), from the river.

The work of obtaining contributions was begun in earnest by Mr. Williams and appeals were made in various places in the East for the required assistance. The building of a new church, however, did not heal the breach at Detroit. The factions seemed to separate farther and farther from each other and when a proposal was made to sell the old church site and burial ground on Jefferson Avenue, the climax came.

Bishop Plessis visited Detroit in 1816 and on the first Sunday in July between 150 and 200 persons received the communion at the chapel.

Plessis shortly after returned to Quebec.

Some correspondence, at this time, took place between the bishop of Bardstown and Quebec with Richard regarding the Detroit situation, as follows:

"Detroit, July 18, 1816.

"The Rt. Rev. Bishop of Quebec.

"At Fort George or Kingston.

"My Lord:

"The kindness you have shown me leads me to believe that you will feel interested in the events which have occurred since you left here. In accordance with your advice, St. Anne's corporation advertised the sale of several lots for Wednesday last, the seventeenth of this month. When they were ready to proceed they found on the spot about forty Canadians, for the most

part from the North East shore, who presented to us through an attorney a protest against the sale, signed with nearly one hundred and seventy-five names. We thought it would be more prudent not to go on, especially in the presence of such a large number of persons who seemed to act from anger and officiousness. After some explanation between their lawyer and the corporation, I contented myself by enquiring if they were willing to leave the final decision to Bishop Flaget. One of the prominent men of the North East shore (cote du nord est) answered that this was not necessary. You see, My Lord, how our poor Canadians abuse liberty. Nevertheless, I am writing to-day to the Bishop of Bardstown on the subject.

“The real motive of this opposition is the fear that by the sale of these lots the means would be obtained to build a church, and that the chapel at North East might become useless. Respect for the dead is in my opinion simply a pretext which they made use of in order to obtain signatures, by telling the people that the remains of their ancestors were to be sold. This is false, since one of the conditions of the sale was that the purchasers were not to come into possession of said lots until the bodies should be removed during the month of November, and the first payment would not be made until the seventeenth of December following.

“The protest is now in my hands, and it is evident that a very large number of the signers are persons who are called volontaires, owners of no property, and of whom, moreover, the majority were misled. The principal reason alleged in the protest is that the corporation was not validly nominated. It is easy to judge of the futility of this reason, seeing that the meeting whereat the four trustees or church-wardens were nominated was a meeting which had been duly announced and held according to custom, and that the decided opinion of our governor is that election of the same was legal. He has been so good as to extend the time when we must accept the offer of the triangle whereon to build a church until December the first, and he thinks it well that the decision should be reported to our bishop. When you write to Bishop Flaget please be good enough to tell him what you think of all this.

“As the inhabitants of the North East side lay the blame of the contretemps of the day of Confirmation on the imprudence of those who wrote you that famous letter, they get out of the affair by showing a copy they have preserved thereof, which does not however conform to the original. If you think it would be useful for me to have the original itself, should it not be already destroyed, I shall accept it from you with gratitude. I saw Mr. Marchand the day before yesterday, he was well, and seemed to be indignant at the behavior of my habitants.”

“G. Richard.”

“The Right Rev. Bishop Flaget to Rt. Rev. Bishop Plessis.

St. Thomas [Ky.] September 19, 1816.

“Accept my sincere thanks for all you have done for my flock at Detroit. I very much regret that you did not give a final decision as to the place where the church should be built, for you have as much authority as I have, and a great deal more influence. Poor Mr. Richard, whom you know well, had his work stopped directly after you left. I look for some good results from the letter I am about to write in regard to these new dissensions. I shall do everything I can to visit that country next spring. \* \* \* ”

## DETROIT WAS IN THE BISHOPRIC OF BRADSTOWN

It was at this time that Bishop Flaget prepared a pastoral letter to the Detroit parish. An extract from the letter is printed in the American Catholic Historical Researches, Volume XV, page 103.

The extract is not complete, as it is not dated and does not pretend to be signed. It was probably written in December, 1816. The original was in French.

He states that he has been in the district for more than six months and has thus become conversant with the troubles at Detroit. He says that annexed to every church there should be a farm of not less than 200 acres for the needs of the priests and support of the schools "if any there are."

He refers to parishes formed or to be organized at French Town and on the banks of the Huron and Ecorse Rivers. The parish which will include the River Rouge, will be Ste. Anne's of Detroit.

He will, at a later date, take into consideration the formation of a parish on the North East side, which he designates as "St. Joseph's Church." Two or three other churches are to be established further to the East along the Lake St. Clair. "St. Joseph's Church" was the name he gave to the chapel on the Malcher farm. He pays particular attention to this church, because, when he was unfamiliar with the situation and with the disposition of some of the inhabitants, he made some indiscreet promises. He wishes to carry out those promises and gives orders for the establishment and conduct of the church.

It is surrounded by fine land and he would like to make it into a separate parish, but, by so doing he would injure St. Anne's which is to be the Cathedral Church.

He directs that no tax be levied on the inhabitants of the North East side for the support of Ste. Anne's without the consent of the inhabitants given at a general assembly.

He would like to have all interments made in the cemetery of Ste. Anne's but will not object to a few being made at St. Joseph's.

A priest shall go to St. Joseph's once in each month, if possible, but as there are only a few priests it may not be possible to have this done. If this promise cannot be carried out "the inhabitants of those quarters, generally suspicious, shall have nothing to say."

"St. Joseph's church being but parochial and enclosed within the limits of that of Ste. Anne's, it is Ste. Anne's which is the only parish and St. Joseph's church is tolerated simply to facilitate the exercise of the holy ministry."

If the people of the North east side are not satisfied, and renew their complaints, "we declare, at once, their church closed forever to terminate the scandals that have already lasted too long."

Only five or six have paid their tithes. The others must pay this debt before the next visit of the priest.

It was impossible for Richard to allay the troubles or end the discord between the members who resided in the village and those who were interested on the North east side. The pastoral letter was read to the assembly, but the words of admonition like the advice and threats of the bishop, fell on deaf ears.

Bishop Flaget at this time, was in deeper trouble in his own household at Bradstown where one of his church family, Stephen Badin had obtained title to parcels of land that Flaget claimed belonged to the church. Badin refused,

though even frequently threatened with excommunication, to convey the property to the bishop. He continued to refuse as long as life lasted and carried his continued insubordination beyond his death, by means of his will.

But to return to the Detroit situation.

Some of the people entered into an open quarrel with the priest.

#### THE INTERDICT

Different factions were selfishly working for their own interests without sufficiently considering the universal welfare. Father Christian Dennisen, who was, many years later, pastor of the Catholic Church of St. Charles Borromeo, made an intensive study of the church affairs of the early period. Summing up the results of his investigations, some of the following items are taken from his writings. After the fire of 1805, Richard occupied the hangars at the foot of Woodward Avenue and some buildings on LaSalle farm, for church purposes. In the City of Detroit, there were only thirty-five Catholic families, not enough to warrant the building of a church.

There were more Catholic families on the east side, that is east of the present St. Antoine Street, than there were in the city and on the west side, combined. But the west side and the city were each supplied with religious services and opportunities, while these privileges were entirely lacking for those who lived on the east side. At the beginning in 1808, the chief reason for entertaining the proposal of Mr. Malcher to sell his property to the church was that the purchase would provide a church, or at least religious services to the east side.

Father Richard's constant endeavor was to build a fine church on the site given to Ste. Anne's on Larned Street. The old church site on Jefferson Avenue, surrounded by old French cemetery, was abandoned for useful purposes. There were no buildings on the lot and the cemetery was not cared for.

Joseph Campau, who lived on the south side of Jefferson Avenue nearly opposite the site of the old church, had bought several lots in the neighborhood and desired to have the new church of Ste. Anne built on the old site. Between 1805 and 1818 the matter of greatest local interest to the Catholic community was the building of the new church. Attempts were constantly being made to obtain money to go ahead with this work. Campau just as strenuously objected to it and worked against it, and he had great influence with the French people. Those on the east side felt that if a central church was erected, the chapel on the Malcher farm would be deserted. They asked in vain that a priest be assigned to them. So the bitterness between the factions grew as the time passed. In 1816 or 1817, a stronger agitation than usual came for the disposal of the old church site and the removal of the burials. The city prohibited interments in the old grave yard after 1817. Campau worked hard to prevent the sale of the grounds.

Father Dennisen in describing these events, said: "A large faction headed by the astute and powerful Joseph Campau was determined to have the church rebuilt on the old site, somewhere near the corner of Jefferson Avenue and Griswold Street. Joseph Campau had valuable real estate in that locality and expected the church to enhance the value of his lots. Personally Campau did not care very much to be near a church or in a church, but the sharp speculator would use the church for his material advancement." "To succeed in his plans, Campau took advantage, also, of the site of the cemetery used by the Catholics for a long time and located about in the middle of Jefferson Avenue,

near Griswold Street. He influenced the minds of many of the old French settlers to oppose the removals and strong protests were sent to Father Richard to induce him to refuse the proffered site for church and graveyard and not to remove the bodies from the old cemetery to the new location on Randolph and Larned streets.

"Campau, to hold his followers in line and to dishearten Father Richard, attempted the building of a church near the old site. The foundation was laid and the corner stone was blessed by himself, mockingly, with a bottle of whiskey. At least so says tradition."

A deputation was sent to the bishop, Benoit Joseph Flaget, Bishop of Bardstown, Kentucky, and both sides of the controversy were laid before him. His decision is embodied in the following communication dated at Loretto February 23, 1817. In the church records it follows the resolution of the assembly of the parish.

"This day, the twentieth day of the month of April, of the year one thousand eight hundred and seventeen, the inhabitants of the parish of the Catholic, Apostolic and Roman church of Sainte Anne of Detroit, having met in a general assembly convoked in the usual manner, and presided over by the rector, it is unanimously

"Resolved, 1st—That the said inhabitants of the said parish of the Catholic, Apostolic and Roman church of Sainte Anne of Detroit feel a deep affliction because of the scandalous division which has existed among the members of the said parish of Sainte Anne for many years.

"Resolved, 2nd—That complete submission to the mandamus of His Lordship, the Bishop of Bardstown, dated at Loretto, the twenty-third day of the month of February of this year, one thousand eight hundred and seventeen, and addressed to the members of the Corporation of Sainte Anne of Detroit, and to all Catholics adhering to their cause, is, in their opinion the only means to re-establish peace.

"Resolved, 3rd—That every good Catholic owing obedience to the church and to the Bishop, who is the head pastor of each diocese, all the members of the parish of Sainte Anne of Detroit present in this assembly who have listened attentively to the reading of the said mandamus, accept it unanimously and promise to submit themselves to all the decrees therein contained, and in order that there may be no doubt as to those whom His Lordship designates adherents of the illegitimate and schismatic corporation, it is

"Resolved, 4th—That a double list be made of all those who submit themselves to the mandamus, one to be preceded by the notices inducing the submission and the other in the registers of the parish following this present entry and the said mandamus, which will be inserted there at length.

"Resolved, 5th—That each parishioner having house and home in this parish, and who wishes to continue to be regarded as a true Catholic, having a right to all the privileges and advantages of the Catholic, Apostolic and Roman Church of Sainte Anne of Detroit, shall sign his name to both the above lists in the presence of two persons who will be witnesses of the consent he has given thereto.

"Resolved, 6th—That each parishioner calling himself a Catholic, having house and home in the said parish of Sainte Anne from the River Aux Ecorces to the River Guillonet, who has not conformed with the preceding resolution within forty days from the date of the present assembly, will be considered

as an adherent of the illegitimate and schismatic corporation, and in consequence designated as of the number of those who incur the penalty of the interdict mentioned in the said mandamus, in faith of which have signed hereafter below to the mandamus of His Lordship the Bishop."

Mandamus addressed to the members of the Corporation of Sainte Anne of Detroit, that is to say, Messrs. G. Richard, rector, Gabriel Godfroy, Pierre Desnoyers, Francois Gamelin, Barnaby Campeau, and to all Catholics adhering to their cause.

"Benoit Joseph, by the Grace of God and the favor of the Holy See, to all true Catholics at Detroit, greeting and benediction, Bishop of Bardstown.

"Our Very Dear Brethren,

"Towards the end of last year, the inhabitants of the northeast coast, having made an appeal to us full of pious sentiment, respect and submission to all the reasoning which we have been able to bring to their attention, we sent them a response truly paternal, in which we not only made no reproach to them of their past irregular conduct, though perfectly well known to us, but we assured them that as soon as it would be in our power, we would send them a priest for parochial duty and in course of time we might be able to establish a college on the land which they had bought. After such evidence of our sincere regard for them and of our great desire to restore peace and harmony among them, we had a right to expect that these gentlemen would show us their most active appreciation of it, and by a natural consequence, that they would forget all their former contentions with you and would contribute as before to the success of all your operations, and this no doubt would have been the result of our correspondence with these gentlemen if the fine sentiments which they expressed in their written appeal had been in harmony with those of the heart. But as iniquity is always at variance with itself (*Mentita Est iniquities sibi*) these gentlemen, whom I justly accuse of duplicity, before receiving our reply, renewed their cabals with more animosity than ever, they have carried the spirit of partisanship to a climax, and have fraudulently, and against all the rules of their church, organized a corporation, held meetings, issued decrees, and, shall I say it?—one of the adherents has been insolent enough to raise his hand in threatening violence against your worthy pastor, who, for more than twenty years, has watered with the sweat of his brow this ungrateful land, sacrificing his own comfort and tastes that you might not be left without the ministration of a priest, with no other thing to his reproach than an excess of goodness which I might call weakness, for if, at first, he had been justly harsh with his opponents, your church would be built today and you would be enjoying the blessings of peace with one another.

"A conduct so scandalous is not less opposed to brotherly kindness and order, than it is insulting and derogatory to church dignity. This is why we would be open to censure if we gave any countenance to these works of iniquity, and you would be justified in regarding us as prevaricators of our holy office if we did not raise our voice against such deeds, and if we did not punish in an exemplary manner all those who are the criminal actors. In separating these contaminating sheep from those of the flock who are faithful to us, we are only fulfilling a duty prescribed by Jesus Christ, Himself, for the Divine Saviour tells us that if one member of the body is for us a subject of reproach, however useful or necessary it may be, were it the right eye, we must not hesitate to cast it from us in order to put an end to the reproach and so avoid eternal woe

(St. Matthew, chap. 5, verse 19). Conformably to the doctrine, St. Paul, so remarkable for his brotherly love, who made himself all things to all men if so that he might win all to Jesus Christ, who was the companion of the sick and the infirm, who desired that he might be 'anathema' if only others were saved, this same St. Paul, when told of the great scandal at Corinth, putting aside all mildness, and transported by righteous wrath, wrote that forceful letter to the faithful at Corinth and delivered the body of the offender to Satan that his soul might be saved for the great day of the Lord (1 Corinth, chap. 5, verse 5). Throughout all time the church has conducted itself to the same principles and has inflicted canonical punishment upon those of its children who are rebellious to its voice or who work wickedness.

"Supported by such authority, and after careful deliberation with our council, having in mind the moment when we shall appear before our Sovereign Judge to render account of our administration, we declare and ordain this which follows:

"1st.—The Catholic Church of Sainte Anne is to be built in the center of section No. 1 or upon a lot adjacent or such other lot as shall be approved by the legitimate corporation of Sainte Anne.

"2nd.—The bones which are in the main street of Detroit and in the lots known under the name of the old church and of the old cemetery of Sainte Anne, are to be taken up with respect and buried with religious ceremony in the new cemetery, and it is forbidden to all Catholics to contribute in any way to pave the said street and to make a highway of it before that all the bones have been taken up and removed to the place designated for that purpose.

"3rd.—The legitimate corporation of the Catholic Church of Sainte Anne of Detroit, organized the twenty-eighth day of April, one thousand eight hundred and sixteen is authorized by us, the Bishop of Bardstown, as the chief administrator of all the property of the church, to exchange, sell, alienate, put out to rent any lot or parts of lot belonging to the said Catholic Church of Sainte Anne of Detroit, and to transact all those things which it shall think necessary for the greatest good of the said Catholic Church of Sainte Anne of Detroit, and above all to aid in building the church.

"4th.—Mons. Gabriel Richard, cure of Sainte Anne of Detroit will act according to our present will at the sermon of solemn mass on a certain Sunday or at the feast of Obligation and will give orders in our name to seven chief men (whose names will be announced hereinafter), of the pretended new corporation of Sainte Anne, which should be called the illegitimate and schismatic corporation, to renounce in person or by writing signed by the seven, and in the name of all their adherents, all opposition, whether of present or of future intent, against our present mandamus, or any of its parts, failure of which, the offenders as also any of their adherents, shall be by us interdict, that is to say, deprived of the sacraments of the living, of the aid of any holy office, and if they die without repenting of their wickedness, of the church burial—which interdict shall be in force for the delinquent thirty days after the third denunciation.

"N. B. This interdict being personal, follows them and binds them in any part of the country, nor can anyone be relieved from it except by us or by those whom we have delegated to that effect.

"5th.—Far from sending at any time a priest to do parochial duty at the church of the North East, called Sainte Anne, we cast this interdict upon the



said church and forbid anyone celebrating there any church function under pain of incurring the censure declared by the church upon all such infractions.

“Witness the names of the seven chief men: Messrs. Joseph Campeau, Pierre Chene, Benoit Chapoton, Louis Moran, Charles N. Gouin, Louis St. Aubin, Louis LeDuc.

Given at Loretto the 23rd, February, 1817.”

“Benoit Joseph, Bishop of Bardstown.

“P. S. As regards Mons. Joseph Campeau who has turned into ridicule the august ceremonies of our Holy Church and who has himself made impious and sacrilegious ceremonies upon the foundation stone of the church of Sainte Anne of Detroit, we declare that if he does not humbly ask pardon for his sin, either at parish mass or at a general assembly of the parish, after having been personally requested so to do, we will proclaim against him the sentence of ex-communication.

“As regards the action of him who has dared to present a menacing fist to his cure as exceedingly bold, we exact the same penitence from him that we have required of Mons. Joseph Campeau and we will inflict the same punishment if he refuses.

“Benoit Joseph, Bishop of Bardstown.

“Gabriel Richard, Priest Cure of Sainte Ann.”

(The foregoing letter, with the story of the interdict, is printed in Volume 111 of American Catholic Historical Researches).

Bishop Flaget visited Detroit in the fall of 1817 and remained during the winter working on this matter. During the visit he wrote the following letter to Bishop Plessis:

“(Cote du Nord Est), January 22, 1818.

“Rt. Rev. Octavius Plessis,

“Bishop of Quebec, Canada.

“My Lord:

“At present I am engaged in winning back the inhabitants of the North East shore (Cote du Nord Est). They are a people deeply embittered, suspicious, and extraordinarily susceptible. In general they show me much confidence and at different times have assured me that their hearts were free from all discord; yet, notwithstanding these fair words, I treat them as dangerous men, capable of any kind of excess if one be so unfortunate as to clash with their views. It is in large measure due to these worthy gentlemen that I am passing the winter in Detroit, in order to secure peace, nor surely will my time have been lost should I have the happiness to succeed. Probably before I leave this locality I shall make another excursion into your domain, the people of la riviere la Tranche and those of Malden have besought me to visit them, which I shall undoubtedly do if God preserves me in the good health I am now enjoying.”

Flaget returned home but soon visited Detroit again.

The same year, 1818, witnessed the laying of the corner stone of the new Ste. Anne's Church on June 9th. Bishop Flaget visited Detroit to officiate at the laying of the stone and for the purpose of removing the interdict on the chapel.

The same year, 1818, witnessed the laying of the cornerstone of the new no episcopal residence at that place. He lived at St. Thomas, which was

some distance from Bardstown and was the name given to a tract of land on which was built a little church and the home of Bishop Flaget. The bishop departed from St. Thomas the 15th of May, 1818 for Detroit. He was accompanied by the Fathers Bertrand and Janvier and by two young men who were going to Detroit named Godfroy and Knaggs. They did not go directly to Detroit but visited many places which the bishop notes in his journal. At Monroe (or River Raisin) he was entertained by Col. John Anderson, who, some years previous to this time, had lived in Detroit.

Continuing the narrative from his biography (by Spalding) the writer says: "At ten miles from Detroit ((June 1, 1818) he was met by an escort on horseback, who conducted him into the city in procession with great pomp. On the following day he was called on by Governor Cass and General Macomb, who both paid him the greatest possible attention during his stay. He returned their visit; and the governor promised to extend every aid in his power, both pecuniary and personal, towards the promotion of the missions among the Indians. The first object of the bishops solicitude was to heal the scism in the Church. A difficulty had existed for a long time between a congregation established on the northeast coast, and Mr. Richard, the pastor of Detroit, and the bishop had, more than a year previously, interdicted the church of the disaffected party. His efforts for bringing about a reconciliation were now crowned with complete success. He found the chiefs of the party in good dispositions. The preliminaries of the reconciliation having been satisfactorily adjusted, the bishop determined to render the ceremony of removing the interdict as public and solemn as possible. For this purpose on Tuesday the 9th of June, he was conducted to their church in grand procession. The discharge of cannon announced the approaching ceremony. The music of the regimental band mingled with that of the chanters in the procession."

It was a gala day for the little city and everyone turned out to do honor to the bishop and to the occasion. We can see them now, as they form in procession in Larned Street in front of the future home of their church. Every one enthusiastic as if on a Fourth of July celebration, and yet very few of them comprehending that they were taking part in one of the most impressive ceremonies of the Catholic Church—the removal of an interdict. Slowly they marched down Randolph Street to Atwater Street and thence up that road along the margin of the river, for Jefferson Avenue was not then opened, picking their way in many places where the road was not well graded—past the houses of the Beaubiens and Morans and Gouin and Riopelle Dequindre and Jacques Campau, St. Aubin, Dubois and Chene, across the little bridge that spanned Parent's creek, where, half a century before was fought the disastrous battle of Bloody Run. Meloche's farm was here, but the name of its former owner was forgotten for he had transferred his ownership to his son-in-law, Maurice Moran, and it was now known by the latter's name. Next came the farm recently purchased by John L. Leib and called, by him, "Vis a vis." The farm of George Meldrum came next and then Louis Beaufait, one of the trustees, and lastly Antoine Boyer. Their destination reached, with impressive ceremonies, with tears in the eyes of many, with repentance expressed by all, absolution was granted and the church re-opened. We can well believe that Pierre Chene, Benoit Chapoton, Louis Moran, Charles N. Gouin, Louis St. Aubin and Louis LeDuc had all repented; been taken back into the folds of the church and were happy participants in the celebration. But not Joseph Campau,

for he was unrepentant, contumacious and rebellious. He had been excommunicated, and he never applied to be reconciled.

In the afternoon of the same day, the bishop and his attendants and the crowd returned to the city and with great ceremonies laid the corner stone of the new church of Ste. Anne, which, in time, grew to be a magnificent structure of stone and was the home of that church for many years.

One of the insistent demands of the people of the chapel was that the bishop should furnish them with a priest who could have them as his sole charge and who could be constant in his attendance there. This demand was one of the irritating causes of the quarrel that was just settled by the bishop, and in the settlement he agreed to provide a priest for that church.

During all the years that followed there was never a time that this church had its individual priest. This was probably because a priest could not readily be spared for that purpose. Then again it was looked upon as a chapel and not as an independent church. The records show that it was constantly supplied by one of the priests from Ste. Anne's and the name of Richard or Badin is annexed to nearly every entry.

Flaget was not satisfied with the progress he had made in settling the troubles and again visited Detroit in 1818, whence he wrote the following letter to Bishop Plessis.

“(Cote du Nord Est), February 21, 1819.

“The Rt. Rev. Octavius Plessis,  
Bishop of Quebec, Canada.

“My Lord:

“After having visited the different stations that form the Catholic Church of Detroit, I have reason to believe that the people's inordinate love of social pleasures, evening gatherings and dances, was the cause of their immorality, idleness and extreme poverty. I protested with all possible vehemence against balls in particular. I succeeded, with God's help, in convincing them that all or nearly all of them committed thereat a number of sins, that certainly it was for every one a proximate occasion of sin, and consequently that it was impossible to allow them. Perceiving that my words had made a salutary impression, I publicly forbade balls and reserved to myself absolution of the sin which would be committed by those who should lend their houses for such entertainments, and of any musician who should play at them. Moreover, I forbade the priests to give absolution unless the penitent promised to forego these gatherings. Thus far this peremptory action has succeeded perfectly, and last week a fiddler of my diocese refused an offer made to him of thirty dollars if he would play two nights at a dance at Malden. I am persuaded that the Canadians of your diocese could be led to adopt similar rules by threatening them with the same penalties; thus the law being a general one, its observance would be neither so difficult nor so odious as it is at present, for now those so disposed who no longer have a chance to dance on this side cross over to yours, where they can dance with impunity, to compensate themselves for the deprivation at home. I am accused of strictness, of meddling, etc., in a word, the devil is leaving nothing undone in order to re-enter the kingdom, whence, with God's help, I was fortunate enough to banish him. If you see that these balls can prudently be prohibited in your diocese under the same penalties, please authorize me by letter to announce the fact, and before I leave I shall establish the same rules on both sides of the river.”

The original trustees appointed by Malcher had never parted with the legal title to the farm. These trustees were: Louis Beaufait, who was born in the Detroit district in 1773 and died about 1851. He was one of the justices and judges appointed in Wayne County upon its organization in 1796 and he retained these offices for many years. He also held other important positions and was a member of the first Constitutional Convention in 1835.

Joseph Cerre dit St. Jean who was born January 22, 1752, and died September 24, 1822. His wife, Elizabeth, was a sister of Louis Beaufait. St. Jean was a tailor in the old town before the fire but he subsequently moved to his farm in what was then known as Grosse Pointe.

Benoit Chapoton who was born in Detroit, December 1, 1761 and died March 17, 1828. His farm fronted on the Detroit River adjoining the farm of Maurice Moran.

Charles Rivard was born September 11, 1764 and was a brother of Francois Rivard. He married Archange Saucier and was killed by lightning October 15, 1825. He lived in Grosse Pointe and his farm was a short distance west of the present Country Club.

Francois Rivard was born November 5, 1773, died December 19, 1841. He left a will, the validity of which was questioned. The decision of the Supreme Court is in one of the early Michigan reports and is a leading case. (Volume 2, page 294, Michigan Reports.)

And now again Joseph Campau's name becomes connected with the title. Mr. Campau was the son of Jacques Campau and his wife Catherine Menard. The elder Campau had left several children, all of whom were respectable citizens, honest and industrious people who left good names behind them when they died. Those best known in Detroit were Joseph, Barnabas and Jacques. Louis Campau moved to Grand Rapids.

Joseph Campau was frugal, honest, diligent, and foresighted. He carried on a trade with the Indians for many years and accumulated a large amount of property. He bought real estate all over the territory and state and owned many parcels in the City of Detroit. He was largely interested in lands in the neighborhood of the old Ste. Anne's Church on Jefferson Avenue and it was because he thought the rebuilding of the church on that site would benefit his property that he continually objected to the building of the church on Larned Street. Mr. Campau was born a Catholic and baptised in that church. His wife Adelaide Dequindre was also a member of Ste. Anne's and all of their numerous children were likewise baptised there. Campau himself was outspoken in his political and religious opinions and very early in life took offense at some of the acts of the priests of St. Anne's. He could not endure them and constantly referred to them as "rascals." This dislike led him to leave the church and affiliate with the Masonic order in 1800, some years before he was married. He continued to pay rental for his seat in the Catholic Church for the use of his family, but he had no further connection with it. He continued to have the confidence of his neighbors and his business grew and he prospered.

He not only joined with those who objected to the locating of Ste. Anne Church on Larned Street, but he was the leader in the objectors, made the most noise and created the most disturbance.

When Bishop Flaget in 1817 investigated the troubles he finally excommunicated Campau, as we have seen. With the knowledge of the situation that

the bishop had and of Mr. Campau's history, it seems hardly comprehensible that an edict of excommunication would have been of any avail, either to punish Campau or to aid the church. Campau had not been a member of the church for many years. Deprivation of the rites of the church would not annoy him, because he had not felt the necessity of them for some time. It is possible that the bishop thought to injure him in his business life by forbidding the other members of the church to transact business with him. It would seem that the bishop was mistaken in his estimate of his own powers, if he had this idea.

At the time of Mr. Campau's death in 1863, he was by far the wealthiest man in Michigan. If the edict of the Catholic Church injured his financial success, how wealthy a man he would have been, if the excommunication had not been promulgated!

The edict of excommunication is contained only in the letter written by the bishop and supposed to have been read to the assembled people in 1817. As will be seen, it formed a postscript to that letter and may never have been published at all. It was in no other form made a part of the church record. The priest, Richard, made no entry of the excommunication under his hand other than copying the bishop's letter. No mention of the excommunication was contained in the newspaper account at that time though the celebration of the removal of the interdict was a public event and the celebration of much importance.

There is no more interesting character connected with the history of the Church farm, or with the history of Detroit than Joseph Campau.

Jacques (James) Campau and his wife, Catherine Menard lived upon the east side of the Detroit settlement. They had a large family consisting of ten sons and two daughters.

Joseph Campau was the sixth, in order, and was born February 25, 1769. Robert Ross, in his biography of Mr. Campau, says that he was a six-footer, spare, wrinkled, clean shaven, white haired and dark complexioned. He was educated in Montreal. He spoke and wrote both English and French, though he never lost the French accent in his speaking. His chirography was beautiful, clear and distinct. In 1808 when he was thirty-nine years of age, he married Adelaide Dequindre, who was then twenty years old.

He was a trader with the Indians while still a boy and kept up and increased his business until he had accumulated a fortune and retired from active work in 1837 to spend the remainder of his life in looking after and improving his investments. He was much more than ordinarily successful in his business enterprises. He owned a lot on Ste. Anne Street, where he was living and carrying on business at the time of the fire. His house was destroyed in the fire, but he immediately rebuilt on the same site and this house remained on Jefferson Avenue until a few years since. He lived in it all of the remainder of his life. The church of Ste. Anne was located on Ste. Anne Street very nearly opposite Mr. Campau's house. After the fire Campau purchased many of the lots near his home. He owned both corners of Griswold Street north of Jefferson Avenue and three of the four corners at the intersection of Larned and Griswold streets. This was only a very small part of the vast amount of real estate he owned at the time of his death. He always purchased and leased, but never sold.

He was prominent in political affairs in his younger days and held many

offices that were of importance at that time. He was a trustee of the village at different times. He was assessor, appraiser, over-seer of the poor, inspector of water barrels, city treasurer, and held various other offices. He was captain and major in militia.

#### CAMPAU A MASON

Zion Lodge F. & A. M. was organized in Detroit at a very early date, possibly as early as 1763. In 1800 it was in a flourishing condition and Mr. Campau made an application for membership. The records of this Masonic order show that on August 1, 1800, Joseph Campau was balloted for, "found clear and received the first degree."

On October 6, he was raised to the degree of Master Mason. September 11, 1801 he was Senior Deacon. He was treasurer from June 7, 1802 to June 2, 1804.

At a later date in November, 1855, he and James Abbott were found to be the only living members of Zion Lodge who were members in 1804.

He continued his membership through life, and was buried with Masonic ceremonies July 27, 1863.

A curious matter connected with Mr. Campau and the Masonic order is that Masonic Hall was erected on land that belonged to him and was formerly a portion of the site of Ste. Anne's Church and burial grounds.

Major Campau's sister, Cecile, married Thomas Williams, May 7, 1781. Although the marriage was performed by the military commandant, and did not take place in the church, and Mr. Williams was not a Catholic, the children of this marriage were all baptised in the church and considered themselves as members of it. The only son was John R. Williams. He was a good business man; learned both the English and French languages and was proficient in each. At an early age he became the employe of his uncle, Joseph Campau, and at a later date was his partner in various enterprises.

He liked his uncles, Joseph and Barnabas, very much and followed closely in their footsteps in purchasing and holding real estate in Detroit until he became very wealthy.

He, also, had held many offices of importance in the early Detroit, and when Michigan Territory was permitted to send a delegate to Congress in 1819, he cast his eyes in that direction. In 1823 he gave notice that he would seek the nomination and election, and hoped to have the assistance and the votes of the French population—the Catholic vote of the territory.

Sometime before the election it was understood that Father Gabriel Richard was a candidate for the same office with a similar hope to control the Catholic vote.

Williams fumed considerably. He wrote a broadside in English and French that he scattered over the territory, calling upon the priest to attend to his clerical duties and to leave political offices alone. He threatened to abandon the church if Richard did not abandon his pursuit of the office. Both men were set in their ways and both were defiant. Richard was elected to Congress and Williams left the church.

There can be no doubt that this action on the part of the priest and parishoner had an effect on Mr. Campau. He was very much attached to his nephew and he was very much opposed to Richard. That Williams was very popular in

the city is proved by his having been elected the first mayor of the place in 1824 and his having been repeatedly called to that office afterwards.

In 1824, when these affairs were fresh and the parties had not forgotten the stings of their quarrels, Campau began the work of undermining the church in the ownership of the Church farm—or public farm as it came to be called. The first record we have is a power of attorney from Hippolite St. Bernard to Joseph Campau, dated April 20, 1824, (liber 47 of deeds, page 11). Hippolite had become of age and wanted the money provided for him in the deed to the trustees. He authorized Mr. Campau to take all the steps that were necessary to enforce the payment of the sums due to him. The amount was \$282.50 and interest from April 5, 1808. He sold his interest in the farm, as one of the *cestuis que* trust under the trust deed, at the same time. (Liber 7, page 113.)

It was at this time that attention was again paid to obtaining a patent of the farm from the government.

Peter Audrain, who had been administrator of the estate of Malcher, had died, and the certificate issued by the commissioners to Malcher had been delivered to Campau who was acting for young St. Bernard as well as for himself. He began proceedings to perfect the title, with the following letter:

“Detroit, June 27, 1829.

“Sir: Inclosed you will receive a certificate for a tract of land situate on the border of the Detroit River that was confirmed to Francois Paul Malcher, being the same tract or parcel of land that the said Malcher had previously purchased from the said St. Bernard per deed bearing date on the 15th June, 1802, for the sum of 10,000 livres ancient currency of Quebec, equal in value to \$1,666.66 $\frac{2}{3}$  (then called two lots or farms). And on the same day the said Malcher executed a mortgage of the premises in favour of the said St. Bernard as security for the payment of 5,000 livres or \$833.33 $\frac{1}{3}$  being the one half of the purchase money that remained in said Malcher’s hands, on interest at 6 per cent, until paid. A copy of the mortgage I herewith transmit you.

“Both Malcher and St. Bernard have been dead for several years. Malcher, a native of France, left no heirs, but sold the said tract of land two or three years before his death, and there now remains alive but one legal heir to the estate of St. Bernard—to-wit: a son named Hippolite who is now at the age of majority, and whose right or claim on the said tract of land (by virtue of the mortgage) I have purchased, the mortgage being still in full force.

“I therefore pray and hope it will meet your approbation that a patent issue in favour of the said Francois Paul Malcher, his heirs and assigns, tho subject to the aforesaid mortgage, or claim of young St. Bernard, whose father sold the land to said Malcher. And should you perceive anything wanting or deficient in this my application, I shall ever consider myself under a very great obligation to you for any instructions relating to the course I must pursue in order to obtain the desired end.

“I am Respectfully, Sir

“Your Obedient Servant,

“Joseph Campau.”

“George Graham Esquire, Commissioner of the General Land Office,  
Washington.”

The reply to this letter has not been found, but the substance of it may be inferred from the next letter of Mr. Campau.

“Detroit, October 2, 1829.

“Sir:

“Your letter of the 8th July, last, I have received, and I thank you for the trouble that you have taken. In your letter you stated that Malcher being dead, no valid patent can be issued in his favour, but if I desire it, a patent can, upon the papers now in the General Land Office, be granted in favour of his legal representatives, leaving it to the courts in this quarter to decide upon the titles of the several claimants.

“I will now take the liberty to state to you my reason for requesting in my former letter that the patent might (if possible) issue subject to Malcher’s mortgage in favour of St. Bernard, Senior.

“When Malcher made the entry for the land in question before the Commissioners at Detroit, there was no opposition made to the entry, in order merely to subject the land to the payment of the mortgage that was then in existence, because St. Bernard was then dead (having died suddenly) and leaving no executor to his estate, and his only son, the sole heir, was then a child of two or three years of age, and an orphan who had no friends or relations sufficiently enlightened to interest themselves in his behalf, therefore Malcher’s claim was confirmed unencumbered with the mortgage.

“It will be hard for young St. Bernard to be deprived of his claim and be accountable to me for what I have paid him on said claim, therefore in order that young St. Bernard might with the more facility obtain his claim, I have the liberty to suggest (that if it can be done with propriety, excuse this remark as I am ignorant of the powers with which you are vested, or the customs or forms adopted in the General Land Office) that at least the patent might possibly issue in favour of the legal representatives of Francois Paul Malcher (deceased) and subject to all legal demands against his estate. And if this cannot be done, please forward me the patent in favour of his legal representatives—without such subjection.

“I have the Honour to be with Respect,

“Your most Obedient and Very Humble Servant,

“Joseph Campau.

“George Graham, Esquire, Commissioner of the General Land Office, Washington.”

The deed, a copy of which is in Washington, has this endorsement:

“I certify that Francois Paul Malcher, the above grantor, died on the sixteenth of October last.

“Detroit, 23rd, January, 1811.

“Peter Audrain.”

The patent, or conveyance from the government, was issued to “the legal representatives of Francois Paul Malcher and to their heirs.”

This conveyance is recorded in liber 181 of deeds, on page 543. The legal effect of the conveyance has never been called in question in any judicial proceedings and it has been universally conceded that the title passed by the deed from Malcher to the five trustees above named. There is no condition in the patent making the property subject to the rights of St. Bernard or to the terms of the deed made to the trustees.

The attention of the inhabitants of the *cote du nord Est* was now attracted to the farm and each person claimed an interest in it. At first many deeds were made to Campau.



In 1834 James Abbott, Joseph Campau, and a number of other persons, eighteen in all, began suit (file Q. 156) for the purpose of partitioning the property or of having it sold and the proceeds divided. Alexander D. Fraser was the attorney for the petitioners. The case went by default so far that an order of distribution was entered and commissioners were appointed to make the partition. These commissioners were William Russell, Benjamin F. H. Larned and Anson E. Hathon. They were all citizens of merit of Detroit at that time. Hathon was a surveyor and map maker.

On May 6, 1835, Louis Beaufait, Francois Rivard and Frederick Rèsè made application to the court to be admitted to contest the claim of petitioners, asserting that they were interested in the case and had not been served with process. The case was halted at this place and was never revived.

At this time Antoine Dandurand was in possession of the property. He was ejected at the instance of the two surviving trustees, by a proceeding before a justice of the peace. He attempted to appeal to the Circuit Court June 19, 1834 alleging that he had always been in possession of the property and was the owner by adverse possession. He never perfected his appeal, but joined with others in the suit in chancery. As the bill had been taken as confessed and was likely to go by default. Mr. Campau proposed that the land be divided into eighty parcels. Twenty-four claimants had already asserted their rights and he estimated that there were fifty-six others who would appear.

Of the five original trustees, only two, Francis Rivard and Louis Beaufait were living in 1833.

In 1832 Gabriel Richard died, never having received a deed of the property from the trustees.

In 1833 Frederick Rèsè was in Detroit as vicar general of the diocese of Cincinnati, which included Detroit.

On the 22nd day of April, 1833, the surviving trustees conveyed the farm to Rèsè. In the deed he is termed "Very Reverend Frederick Rèsè, Vicar General of the diocese of Cincinnati, State of Ohio, and the Territory of Michigan and north west." There are evidences in this deed that the scrivener was not a lawyer, or at least that he was not a skilled lawyer nor a careful one. The deed is entirely in the hand writing of one person, probably the Rev. F. V. Badin. The form is not one usually employed at that time, and might have been copied from a deed still more ancient. There are several erasures and words written over them without leaving enough of the original writing to disclose what was first written. The deed is not sealed and bears but one witness and no acknowledgement.

There are so many peculiarities of the deed that the best way to explain it is to give it entire.

#### THE UNRECORDED DEED THAT WAS LOST

"This Indenture made the twenty second day of April in the year of our Lord, eighteen hundred and thirty three between Lewis Beufait and Francois Rivard of the one part, and the very Rev. Frederick Rèsè, vicar general of the Diocese of Cincinnati, State of Ohio and the territory of Michigan and Northwest, of the other part.

"Witnessed that the said Lewis Beaufait and Francois Rivard for and in consideration of the sum of one Dollar of lawful money of the United States of America to them by the said very Rev. Frederic Rèsè in hand well and truly

paid, the receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged have granted, bargained and sold, and by these presents do grant, bargain and sell unto the said very Rev. Frederic Rèsè and his heirs assigns but in trust for religious and literary purposes, the farm of F. P. Malcher, deceased, which farm the said Lewis Beufait and Francois Rivard were authorized to sell, and convey to the Rector of St. Ann of Detroit for the use of said purposes. The farm being situated on the northwest shore, called in French *la cote du Nord Est.*, the dimensions of which are as follows, to wit: five acres in front and eighty acres in length or depth (of which one acre is to be excepted as occupied by Isidore Morin) the above land or farm extends on one side in front to the Detroit River and on the other two sides it is bordered by the land of the deceased Anthony Boyer and by that of the deceased Anthony Morass, including the Orchyard, fences and the buildings constructed thereupon as also all the trees, woods, underwoods, commons and common of pasture, ways, watercourses, profits and appurtenances whatever to the said farm belonging or in any wise appertaining, to have and to hold the said farm or land of F. P. Malcher and all and singular other premises above mentioned and every part and parcel thereof with the appurtenances, unto the said Rev. Mr. Frederic Rèsè, Vicar-general, and his heirs forever but in trust always and for the use of the said religious and literary purposes and the said Lewis Beufait and Francois Rivard for themselves and heirs, the said farm of F. P. Malcher and premises and every part thereof against them and their heirs and against all acts of omission or commission, by them or either of them done or suffered whensoever to the said Rev. Frederic Rèsè, vicar general and his successors in the spiritual jurisdiction of the Catholic Church of Michigan shall and will warrant and forever defend by these presents.

“And we the said Lewis Beufait and Francois Rivard do further covenant to and with the said Rev. Frederick Rèsè and all and singular, his successors in the spiritual jurisdiction of said Catholic Church that we and each of us shall and will at all reasonable times hereafter upon the demand of the said very Rev. Frederic Rèsè, and his successors in the spiritual jurisdiction of said church, at the expense of said Rèsè or his successors as aforesaid, sign, seal, execute, deliver to said Rèsè (or his successor or successors as the case may be) to and for the uses and upon the trusts aforesaid any and all further conveyance or conveyances, of and for said described premises.

“In witness we hereof we have hereto set our hands and seals etc.,

“Signed, sealed and delivered in the presence of

“Louis Beufait

“Francois Rivard”

The words “by and all and” on the 8th and 40th lines interlined, and the words “aforesaid, sign, seal, execute and deliver to said Rèsè” written on an erasure.

This deed was obtained by Rèsè while at Detroit before his election as bishop, but was mislaid or lost, unrecorded. Its existence was only known a short time since.

#### COLLEGE OF ST. PHILIP NERI ON THE MALCHER FARM

The old building that had been used as a church or chapel on the front of the farm, was being repaired by Reverend Martin Kundig when it was blown down, February 24, 1834.

Rèsè, taking an interest in education and desiring to carry out the terms of

the trust deed, erected two new buildings. A small one for the church or chapel, and a large one for a school or college. The College of St. Phillip Neri was opened in the fall of 1836.

The names of only a few of the teachers can be ascertained now, such as Fathers Vandepuel, Lawrence Killroy, John DeBruyn, Thomas Cullen and Maxwell and among the scholars are Lambert Beaubien, Junior, John and George Schwarz, the sons of General John E. Schwarz, J. C. Devereaux Williams, Thomas Campau, Charles Chauvin, Christopher Moras, Cleophus Moras, Henry Campau and Alexander Macomb Campau, J. Barnabas Campau, William Godfroy, John McDonald, Daniel McDonald, Albert M. Thomas, J. B. Cicotte, Michael B. Kean, George Cooper, David Stuart. On April 16, 1839 the College of St. Phillip was incorporated under a special Act of the Legislature.

Both the school and the church flourished for a time, but in the fall of 1838, the college building was struck by lightning and burned to the ground. The church register stops with the burning of the college and was never revived.

(Shea says that the college was burned in 1842, but he is wrong).

There was no longer any need of a church on the east side because the church of Ste. Anne, large, elegant and commodious, had been completed for some years. No additional church accommodation was needed and gradually the congregation of the northeast side had returned to the city church. The chapel "cote du nord est" was abandoned for religious purposes and fell into decay. It was finally burned July 13, 1861.

In 1841 Peter Paul Lefevre was sent to Detroit as bishop coadjutor. Lefevre was bishop of Zela *in partibus infidelium* in Africa. He was never bishop of Detroit, though he remained here several years. He could not become the bishop of this diocese so long as Rèsè was living. His appointment was a great surprise to his brother bishops. Elliott said that Lefevre was the only priest who would accept the succession after the disappearance of Rèsè.

Although Lefevre took actual possession of the church farm and leased it to tenants, he never made any improvements on it, or used it for any purposes contemplated by the trust deed further than the establishment of St. Anthony's Church in 1885, and the orphans asylum which was a failure.

The deeds that Mr. Campau had obtained and placed on record and the suit begun by Abbott, Campau and others, were public records and were sufficient to inform persons familiar with these records, that the title to the property was questionable. (See *Thorn vs Foley*, Vol. 137, Michigan Reports, page 649).

Every Frenchman who lived on the northeast side thought that he owned a share in the farm, and many of them were anxious to realize on their claims. Mr. Campau bought out many of the claimants, but in 1854, other parties took an interest in the work. It is said that David McGibbon, a young attorney, was the leader in this attempt to buy the rights of the inhabitants.

Other names appear as frequent purchasers. The one obtaining the greatest number of deeds was Frederick W. Backus, but we also find William P. Moore, Addison Mandell, Jacob M. Howard, Halmor H. Emmons, William Gray, Eben N. Willcox, William B. Wesson, Nelson P. Stewart, John Owen, Eber B. Ward and many other prominent citizens, nearly all of them lawyers, taking an interest in the farm and title. Backus conveyed all of his interests to Moore in 1854. The continued agitation frightened the bishop and he felt called upon to do something to protect the church. He entered into an agreement with these claimants to settle the controversies by dividing the property. He filed

a bill in the court of chancery, February 24, 1857 (file No. 905) in which he stated that he was a bishop of the Catholic Church and was administrator of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Detroit. Regarding the purchase of the Malcher farm, he stated that the original negotiations were held by Gabriel Richard and Mr. Malcher, but that Malcher was not satisfied with the security he could obtain from Richard for the payment of the annuity. Thereupon negotiations were dropped and the Catholic inhabitants of the northeast side entered into a new agreement and appointed Louis Beaufait and Joseph Cerre dit St. Jean to represent them and to act as trustees. At a later date the three other trustees were added to the two first selected and thereupon the deed was made to the five trustees.

At the time this bill was filed all of the trustees were dead, and the defendants in the action were William P. Moore, James Abbott, Victor Moras and Louis L. Beaufait. Beaufait was a son of the trustee, Louis Beaufait. It will be noticed that Moore is the only defendant of all of those who had purchased contesting titles.

The deed from the trustees to Rèsè had been lost and none of the parties to the suit knew that it had ever existed.

The bill of complaint now on file in the office of the county clerk, contains a paragraph that was inserted in it when it was first drawn up, but was expunged or struck out before the bill was filed. The portion so struck out reads as follows:

“And your orators further show that about the year 1830, said Malcher being then deceased, in pursuance of the trust and the intention of the donors, a deed of conveyance of the said farm was executed by the three survivors of the said trustees, the grantees of said Malcher, to the Bishop of said Roman Catholic Church, who was then the administrator of the church property in said diocese and through whom your orator has received the legal estate in said premises. That ever since the year 1830, your orator and his predecessor in the administration of the church property in said diocese, has held the peaceable, sole, notorious and exclusive possession and control of the said premises, claiming at all times to hold the same by virtue of conveyance to them of the legal estate vested at one time in said trustees, and also of the equitable estate under the original trust and intentions of the donors.”

The lawyers who drew up the bill supposed that the trustees had conveyed the land to some person, but were unable to find any proof of that claim.

In place of the erased portion the bishop asserted that he had been in possession of the property under a deed that had been executed and lost.

He asked that the court enter a decree that he was the owner of the farm in fee, in trust for the use of the Roman Catholic Church.

If Bishop Lefevre had reason to believe that the trustees had made a deed of the property, he knew that such a deed was made to Frederick Rèsè (either personally or as a priest, or as bishop). He knew that Rèsè was still living and that he (Rèsè) was the proper party to bring an action to quiet the title against these claimants. There were reasons for not making it known to the people of Detroit that Rèsè still lived.

There was a good deal of testimony taken in the suit, and it was all taken in behalf of the complainant. The defense offered no evidence, excepting the public records, and did not cross examine the witnesses. It was alleged in the bill that “where property is thus (as in this case) purchased, given or donated

for the use and benefit of the Roman Catholic church, it is and must be, according to the rules, canons, discipline and immemorial usage of the said church, in the exclusive control and possession and right of disposition of the Bishop or the superior ecclesiastic of such church, resident in and who is administrator of the affairs and property of such church in the locality or diocese."

In making this statement the bishop failed to recognize the church corporation of Ste. Anne, which, by the action of the statute and the act of the members of that church, took the place of the bishop.

In the submitted testimony there was abundant evidence that the intention of the parties in taking the Malcher property was that it should be used for the benefit of the church and that the trustees had, personally, no interest in it, except to protect themselves for the obligation they had undertaken to pay Mr. Malcher his annuity and the mortgage of St. Bernard. The old building on the front of the farm was used for church purposes as long as it lasted and until it was blown down. No new buildings were erected until 1834, because the church had no funds that could be used for such a purpose. Bishop Rèsè built a school house near the river, but it could only have been used for a short time for one of the witnesses said it was burned about 1834.

James V. Campbell (afterwards Judge and Chief Justice of the Supreme Court) acted as solicitor for the defendant Abbott and Messrs. Howard and Mandell appeared for defendant Moore. The interests of complainant were confided to Wilcox and Gray.

The testimony of the various witnesses gives a little of the history of the farm, the people and Malcher.

Mr. Abbott stated that he was born in Detroit June 1, 1776 and resided there until 1797, when he went to Fort Wayne and resided at that place in the winter, but spent his summers in Detroit until 1803 or 1804, when he returned and resided permanently in Detroit. He married Sarah Whistler, daughter of John Whistler, at Chicago, in November, 1804. At the time this case was on trial he was 81 years of age and he died in the following year. After 1835 he resided in a fine brick residence facing Griswold Street, near Fort Street, where the Hammond Building is now located.

He said that in 1807 and 1808 there was not a Protestant on the *cote du nord est*, except himself. At that time he lived on the east side of Randolph Street between Larned and Congress streets.

Victor Moras said that Malcher died in Springwells about 1810. Regarding the buildings on the farm he said, "At once, after Malcher died, a building on the front of the farm was converted into a church and service was had there until it was blown down. A new church was then erected which still (in 1857) stands on the front part of said farm. In this church services were had for several years and until about 1840 when they were discontinued for the reason that the inhabitants could be accommodated at St. Anne's church in Detroit."

Louis Beaufait, who was born in 1811, knew something about the Rèsè deed from conversations of his father Louis Beaufait, who was one of the trustees. He said that after Bishop Rèsè came to Detroit, he heard his father and Francois Rivard (the other surviving trustee) in discussing the matter say that "they had arranged to give up said farm to the exclusive possession and control of said bishop." Beaufait fixed the date of this conversation as in 1834, by saying that he was married in 1835 and the conversation alluded to occurred about a year before his marriage.

It appeared from the papers submitted by Mr. William P. Moore that he claimed title to the property through conveyances from the heirs of the five trustees. In later years it was claimed that all of the inhabitants of the north-east side had an interest in the farm, but Mr. Moore claimed that only those were interested who were mentioned in the trust deed; that is, the trustees and their descendants.

The suit was thoroughly planned before the bill was filed and it was undertaken for the purpose of taking advantage of the bishop's predicament, to get hold of the property.

The lawyers wanted the matter hurried through the court.

The bill of complaint was filed February 24, 1857. No subpoena was ever served on any of the defendants, but they voluntarily appeared and put in their answers.

Moore entered his appearance March 1, 1857 and the other three defendants entered an appearance and filed disclaimers on the 14th of April.

Moore filed an answer April 17, 1857 claiming title to the land through his recorded deeds.

On the morning of the 18th of May, 1857, William Gray, one of the lawyers in the case, wrote as follows to Halmor H. Emmons, another of the lawyers:

"We suppose, doubtless, we will get a decree today. H. (Jacob M. Howard), is fierce as a goose with one eye to have the deeds all passed and delivered tomorrow. It is important that you be here and that we, together, see that all is rightly done."

Later in the same day the final decree was entered, without anything more than formal proofs being presented, uncontested.

The decree (liber 70, page 456 of deeds) finds that Lefevre is the lawful and equitable owner of the premises and the defendants have no interest in the farm.

The rights of the bishop are only limited as follows: He has full power and authority to sell and dispose of all of said premises "save such portions as in his judgment are needed and best adapted for the site and grounds of a church and school house or asylum."

It took the parties two days more to draw up and execute the papers for the partition. The papers are dated May 20, 1857.

The case of Lefevre vs Moore was the last one tried before Judge Samuel T. Douglass, and the final decree was signed by the new Judge, Benjamin F. H. Witherell. William P. Moore, Jacob M. Howard and Addison Mandell conveyed their rights to Bishop Lefevre. The bishop then conveyed all of the farm south of Gratiot Avenue to William B. Wesson and Jacob M. Howard, save only a small parcel of about 27 acres used for burial purposes. Thus was the church despoiled of a great estate. The intention of Malcher and of the trustees that this property should be used for literary and religious purposes was not carried into effect. Only a small part of this big farm remained to the church. The lower part, by far the most valuable, was divided among a great number of persons who participated in the affair in some way. These men were not all lawyers, though many of the leading lawyers of Detroit at that time had a hand in it. Mr. Elliott estimated that the church lost more than a million dollars by this action.

The matter of the title to the Malcher farm was, in later years, submitted to Judge Halmor H. Emmons for examination. Judge Emmons wrote an opinion from which only a few words will be given here. "Peter Paul Lefevre is not

a bona fide purchaser. He paid no consideration. His only claim is as bishop of the diocese, and those to whom he sold claim title under him as such bishop. They are charged with the same notice as he is. The chancery case shows that the bishop has no individual right in the property. The order allowing him to sell is *exparte* and void. If his bill is true the bishop of this diocese is but the trustee of the Catholic inhabitants of the "northeast coast."

## HOUSE OF CORRECTION

In 1857 the city limits were so extended that the size of the place was nearly doubled. It was deemed necessary to have a city penitentiary or work house to provide for the increasing number of convicts from the Recorder's Court, then newly established. The mayor, Oliver M. Hyde, on November 9th, called the attention of the Common Council to the state of affairs and asked that a site for a House of Correction be purchased.

A citizens meeting was also called to vote on the necessary bond issue. It was at first contemplated to have an alms house built in connection with the house of correction and the proposed bond issue was for the purpose of the two institutions. A committee had already been appointed to investigate the matter.

This committee was composed of Aldermen Edward Doyle, George Niles, Stephen Martin, Bradley H. Thompson, and William C. Duncan. In their report November 19, 1857, they earnestly recommended the purchase of the western portion of the Malcher farm, fronting 576 feet on the river and extending to the Mack Road. The property had been offered to the city by Willcox and Gray for \$60,000.00, but they voluntarily reduced the price to \$50,000.00, for the 96 acres. There were other locations offered for the same purpose. Of these other parcels the most notable were those of Captain Eber B. Ward of his homestead on the corner of Fort and Nineteenth streets, extending to the Central Railroad, containing 23 acres for \$35,000 (now occupied in part by the present church of Ste. Anne) and another and very interesting offer, was that of Thomas Palmer and son (Thomas Palmer and Thomas W. Palmer) of land on the corner of Woodward Avenue and the Six Mile Road, at the rate of \$75.00 per acre. The Palmers owned a large quantity of land at this place and the offer was for a quarter section of land, 160 acres. The interesting part about this offer is that the land now forms part of Palmer Park, and that a part of the same tract, but much further from the city, was recently (1920) acquired by the city by condemnation proceedings at the rate of \$12,000.00 per acre.

The purchase of the Malcher property was not pushed rapidly in the council and Jacob M. Howard, who was part owner of the farm, withdrew the parcel from consideration by the Council, December 4, 1857.

In his letter of withdrawal, Senator Howard said that he considered the price at which the land had been offered to the city (\$50,000.00) much below the value of the parcel.

Other proceedings were taken by the city in the way of voting on the bond issue and asking proposals for sites, but nothing further was done with the Malcher farm.

Bishop Lefevre undertook to make use of the portion of the farm he still retained, to carry out the original plan of the trustees, and the terms of the decree. The college of St. Philip was destroyed and the idea of using the property for educational purposes was abandoned. There has never since been

any attempt to use the property for religious purposes other than to permit an orphan asylum to be placed on the land and the educational and religious departments that go with such an institution and a church north of Gratiot Avenue called Saint Anthony's Church, established in 1855, and the school connected with the church, established in 1887. The idea of a great college was forever abandoned.

In 1867 Bishop Lefevre claiming to own the portion north of Gratiot Avenue, sold it to twelve trustees, being two each from the six Catholic churches, represented as follows:

Cathedral of Saints Peter and Paul, represented by James R. Elliott and Neil Flattery.

Sainte Anne's represented by Oliver Bellair and Alexander Chapoton.

Holy Trinity represented by William Buchanan and Jeremiah Calnon.

Saint Patrick represented by Edward Brennan and Michael B. Kean.

Saint Vincent de Paul represented by Bernard J. Dolan and John Maloy.

Our Lady of Help represented by Henry W. Deare and Jeremiah Dwyer.

They were incorporated under the name of Saint Anthony's Male Orphan Asylum, January 23rd, 1867. The name of the corporation was changed to "Brothers of Charity of Saint Vincent de Paul" by the Legislature 1st April, 1887.

The plan for the management of the asylum was not satisfactory, and after trying it for a short time the trustees returned the property to Bishop Borgess, after the death of Bishop Lefevre, and surrendered the management of the institution to his direction. The boys were then removed to another asylum at Monroe.

#### THAT PART OF THE FARM SOUTH OF GRATIOT AVENUE

That part of the farm lying southerly of the Fort Gratiot road (excepting the cemetery on the west side) was conveyed to Moses W. Field as early as 1868 and much of it was divided into dwelling lots and placed upon the market.

The cemetery, so called, was more of a reservation for cemetery uses than an actual burial ground. It contained only a few burials and, as it was not necessary or useful for that purpose, it was vacated and the property was sold to Mr. Charles Schwartz and is now covered with dwelling houses.

All of these sales grew out of the decree in the case of Bishop Lefevre above mentioned. The titles were based upon the supposition that the decree settled all controversies. One can readily see that Lefevre's claim could not stand a careful scrutiny. So far as was known at that time, the legal title still remained in the trustees. If it passed from the trustees by virtue of the trust, it would have gone either to the bishop (Rèsè) or to the corporation of the church of Saint Anne. It could not have passed to Lefevre, for he was not bishop of Detroit, nor could it have passed to any one as successor to Rèsè for he was still alive. Peter Paul Lefevre, Bishop of Zela, coadjutor of Frederick Rèsè, bishop of Detroit, died March 4, 1869.

Bishop Frederick Rèsè died in Germany, December 29, 1871. He left a will which he made in Detroit, May 14, 1837 (file 6670). He gave all of his property to his vicar general Rev. Vincent Badin and Rev. Johannes De Bruyn, in trust to convey the same to his successor in the office of Bishop of Detroit.

Both of the devisees died before he did, and the Circuit Court in Chancery appointed Peter Hennaert, trustee to carry out the terms of the trust. (See file



4181 Chancery.) The trustee conveyed all of the property to Caspar H. Borgess October 18, 1872. (See deed liber 163, page 14.)

#### BISHOP RESE'S DEATH

The death of Bishop Rèsè was first brought to the attention of the Detroit public by an article published in the Chicago Post, reprinted with some comments and headlines in the Detroit Tribune, February 22, 1872, as follows:

"The Late Bishop Rèsè,  
"Ground Work for a Romance,  
"A Mysterious Disappearance."

"News recently reached this city that Bishop Rèsè of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Detroit, died at Hildesheim, Germany, on December 29th, aged eighty-five years.

"There has ever been a mystery about the removal of this liberal minded man, who, though relieved of his charge, and whose sacerdotal functions were delegated to Rt. Rev. P. P. Lefevre, retained the title to the day of his death, which event now confers the full powers upon Bishop Borgess."

Speaking of the mysterious disappearance of Bishop Rèsè, a writer in the Chicago Post, who seems to be well posted, says:

"One day he was summoned to Rome by an authority he did not feel at liberty to despise. He went to Rome and never returned. For months and years did his neighbors and friends, and the flock of his charge look and long for his appearance, but they were never to see him more. For a long time a deep mystery seemed to enshroud him, and various were the surmises as to his probable fate. Some thought him a prisoner in close confinement at Rome, and some even thought he had been more foully dealt with. The cry of 'Where is Bishop Rèsè?' was raised by papers and reiterated by the people, until the dignataries of the church felt constrained to throw some light upon the question to appease curiosity or allay suspicion. It transpired at last that the bishop was in constrained retirement at or near Rome—a sort of state prisoner under the holy care and benignant control of that seat of influence and power. There he might utter liberal sentiments, provided he thought it expedient so to do.

"Subsequently, as age wore on, he enjoyed large freedom and he was permitted to retire to Hildesheim, Hanover, Germany, where he died on the 29th of December last at the age of eighty-five years."

"He has regained his freedom."

#### SETTLEMENT OF THE CONTROVERSY

The settlement between Lefevre and the lawyers was only a partial settlement, for there were many claimants who were not involved in the controversy at this time.

The descendants of the old French inhabitants of the northeast side began to appear and lay claims to a share of the property. Bishop Borgess was now the Bishop of Detroit, for both Rèsè and Lefevre were dead, and he was the uncontested occupant of the office. The new claimants began to annoy him. They were poor (most of them) and had little money to employ lawyers to enforce what they deemed to be their rights.

Ever since 1857 they had been trying in various ways to obtain something out of the property. They called public meetings, contributed small sums to

have investigations made and agitated the matters through the newspapers. There was no end to the trouble they caused themselves and tried to cause others.

Of course all of this agitation was not on one side, for efforts were being made to straighten the title as well as to entangle it. A persistent search was made in every available place to ascertain if it was not possible that the trustees had conveyed the land during their lives.

In an old newspaper was found a notice, signed by Richard, offering the property for sale. This was an indication that the property had been turned over to him by the trustees. There was every evidence, however, that the trustees and others interested in the premises had very little confidence in the business ability of the priest. There was not much to lead an investigator to hunt through his papers. The private papers of the trustees, so far as they could be found, were searched without success.

Finally, however, after years of search, the old deed was found. A copy of this deed has been given above and there is no necessity for again describing it.

#### BISHOP BORGESS

Caspar Henry Borgess was born in Hanover, Germany, August 1, 1824. He was educated in America, ordained a priest December 8, 1847, and spent most of his time until 1870 in Cincinnati.

He was consecrated Bishop of Calydon, April 24, 1870, and came to Detroit as administrator to this diocese and as successor in that office to Bishop Lefevre. At that time he was not bishop of Detroit, but was coadjutor to Bishop Rèsè who was still living. It was not until after the death of Rèsè, which occurred December 29, 1871, that Borgess became the titular bishop of Detroit.

Bishop Caspar H. Borgess resigned his office April 16, 1888, and John S. Foley was appointed bishop in his place.

As Borgess had become the owner of the legal title to the farm through the unrecorded deed to Rèsè and the latter's will and the deed of the trustee to Borgess above mentioned, it still remained in his name at the time of his death, excepting the portion north of the Gratiot Road and the cemetery land.

Bishop Borgess died May 3, 1890, leaving a will which was duly admitted to probate June 3, 1890. (See Probate File 15869.)

The will is recorded in liber 155 on page 455, Probate Records. In this will the bishop did not specifically dispose of this property, that is the portion south of the Gratiot Road, and it is included in the residue of his estate which he gave in equal shares to The House of the Good Shepherd, The House of Providence, The Little Sisters of the Poor, St. Vincent's Female Orphan Asylum, and St. Francis' Male Orphan Asylum, of Monroe. It has been strongly intimated that the bishop was mentally incompetent at the time his will was made.

#### MORE LAW SUITS

In 1902 Charles Thorne, William J. Couchois, Joseph Ballor, Richard Jarriat, and Frank C. McDonald began a suit in chancery (C 23990) for the recovery of their interests in the property. The defendants in this action were Bishop Foley, Daniel Campau, Mrs. Ida Richardson, Charles C. Moran and others. Complainants were descendants of some of the original inhabitants of the *cote du nord est*. The opinion of the lower court was written by the late Judge Morse Rohnert and he decided in favor of the bishop August 15, 1903. The matter of the ownership of Bishop Foley was not questioned, and the statute

of limitations was pleaded and accepted and the bill of complaint dismissed. The case was appealed to the Supreme Court where the decision of the lower court was affirmed October 4, 1904. The decree of the Supreme Court was recorded in the register's office in liber 587 of deeds on page 434. The case is reported in volume 137, page 649, Michigan Reports.

Other claimants, not satisfied with the decision of the Circuit and Supreme Courts, tried to obtain a footing in the United States Courts.

Thomas A. McDougall of Duluth and Alexander P. Campau, of Detroit, commenced a suit against the Rev. John S. Foley, bishop of the Roman Catholic diocese of Detroit, February 3, 1909, in the United States Circuit Court, in equity, for the purpose of recovering the land. They set forth the same grounds of complaint that were contained in the other actions. (See file 4017 in U. S. Circuit Court.)

It took the judge but a short time to set the claimants out of court. There were three grounds for dismissing the bill in this case. First, laches; second, want of diversity of citizenship to permit an action in Federal court, and third, failure to show that the amount in controversy was more than \$2,000. There was no investigation into the merits of the case.

The disposal of this case is probably the last that will be heard of these claimants.

#### ANOTHER CLAIMANT

There is another phase of this matter that has not yet been fully disposed of. This does not in any way affect the legal title to the property, but is confined solely to the disposition of the moneys arising from the sale of the land. It affects the disposition of these funds after they have reached the coffers of the church. We bring into this interesting story a man whose name has been mentioned before, but who has had no connection with the legal title to the farm.

#### REVEREND CHRISTIAN DENISSEN

Father Denissen was born in Rozendaal, Holland, in 1847. He was ordained in May, 1872 and came to America at once, reaching Detroit June 27th of that year. He was assigned to various parishes in this city and neighborhood and in the fall of the same year went to Lexington in this state where he remained about seventeen years. He did not know English when he came to Detroit and Father Savage of Holy Trinity parish taught him the language.

The parish of St. Charles Borromeo was erected in 1887. The first church of St. Charles was located on Field Avenue in 1886. The land on which it was located was purchased by subscription, a large part of which was made by Charles Pierre Rabaut, and he was permitted to choose the name for the church and parish, which was then in the township of Hamtramck. That section was increasing quite rapidly in population and the church was soon filled to overflowing. It became necessary to enlarge the accommodations and as no land could be obtained adjoining the church, a new and much larger site was obtained on Townsend Avenue and the church building, which was of wood, was moved to the new site. Both of these sites are located on the Church farm. The priest in charge of the church in 1888 was Rev. William J. A. Hendricks. He was succeeded in the following year by Mr. J. A. Adelaar, who only remained one year, and father Christian Denissen came in 1889 and

remained until his death. The new church at Baldwin and St. Paul avenues is one of the handsome church structures in the city. Rev. Francis W. Hewlett is the pastor at the present time. Some time after Father Denissen was located at this church the house in which he was living on Baldwin Avenue was offered for sale and he requested Bishop Foley to purchase it for his residence. This property was also on the Church farm. The bishop granted the request, but at the same time admonished him that he ought to have the title to the property thoroughly examined. Having procured an abstract of the title to the farm, he learned the history of the deed of trust from Malcher to Beaufait and the others and eagerly traced the various transactions of later dates. He became convinced that the title to the proceeds of the farm still remained in the inhabitants of the *cote du nord est*, and that the terms of the decree obtained by Lefevre should be carried out. These people were the people of his parish, and he concluded that the moneys derived from the sale of the farm ought to be used for the religious benefit of the parish of St. Charles as the successor or representative of the *cote du nord est*.

He said that he did not wish to create any trouble and he waited on Bishop Foley, laid the entire matter before him and requested sufficient of the proceeds of the sales of the farm to build his church and school and presbytery. The bishop would not listen to him. Somewhat discouraged, for he had undertaken in every way to bring the bishop to his way of thinking, Father Denissen sought the advice of the Rev. P. A. Baart of Marshall in this state. Father Baart had made a study of ecclesiastical law and was well qualified to take charge of such a case as was now presented to him. An examination of the early public records and church records laid the foundation for the claims made by Denissen and Baart.

The agreement made by the contributors for the purchase of the Malcher farm contained this clause, "We consent and agree that the said Beaufait and St. Jean shall have exclusive charge of the revenues and the management of the said church during the natural life of the said Malcher, and after that there will be one or more trustees, according to the custom of the country, and the said Beaufait and St. Jean will have authority to make, with Mr. Richard, such bargain as they may deem reasonable, even to selling to him the said farm, or of transferring to him the bargain that they have made with the said Malcher."

In this agreement is shown the method in which the title to church property was supposed to be held at the time of this purchase. A review of the early history of the church in Detroit disclosed these facts to the investigators.

As long as the English remained in possession of Detroit, the church was under the domination and rule of the bishop of Quebec, but as soon as the Americans entered in 1796 under General Wayne, the church was placed under the control of the bishop of Baltimore. The record of the trustees of the church of Ste. Anne begin with the entry of August 5, 1796, the departure of the Canadian priest Suchet and the advent of the American priest Michel Lavadoux.

At a meeting of members of the church, Lavadoux presented a letter from the bishop of Baltimore which authorized him to take possession of the parish. He asked the assembly to provide for him a decent subsistence and they agreed that each farmer should give him one twenty-sixth of all produce he raised, and that the people who were not farmers should each pay a like proportion of his

income. All rules governing the parish should be the same as those existing under the bishop of Quebec.

The titles to all lands in the village were much confused and no title deeds at this date (1796) have been found covering the cemetery and the church building, save that when the church was first built in 1701 it belonged to Cadillac.

Within a very short time after 1796 the commandant, Col. David Strong, told the Catholics that they could have an acre of ground on the common for a cemetery. The parishioners were assembled and they resolved to appoint four persons to select and lay out the ground and authorized the trustees (Marguilliers) to surround it by a picket line for protection. There was no conveyance of the land at this time by the commandant, and the grant was only a license to occupy the land for the purposes indicated. In all of these transactions the trustees of the church acted as a body and governed all matters. The curé was a member of the board of trustees and probably directed in many things, though not in everything. There are many evidences that the priest and the trustees did not always agree and that they sometimes quarreled. In 1797 Mr. Phillipe Belanger, one of the trustees resigned and a short time afterwards, and before his successor had been elected he undertook to withdraw his resignation. A meeting of the assembly was called. There were two other applicants for the place of trustee, Charles Moran and Louis Moran. After considerable debate the matter was referred to another and more largely attended assembly which decided that Phillipe Belanger was dismissed from office and they then elected Joseph Voyez as his successor.

On another occasion the beadle, Francois Le Duc dit Persil, was charged with neglecting his duties. A meeting of the trustees was called and the matter was laid before them. They were convinced of the unfitness of the beadle and dismissed him from office, putting J. B. Prudhomme dit Nantais in his place. In this matter the priest took no part, and the record is signed only by the trustees.

There were many other similar actions of the trustees. It thus appears that in everything pertaining to the management of church affairs, the trustees acted and governed. When the law for the incorporation of Catholic Church societies was enacted, it was provided that the title to church property should be vested in the corporation.

This act was drawn up, presented to the legislative body and enacted with the consent and approval of the priest.

Very soon after it became a law the church of Ste. Anne was organized under it as a corporation by the name of the "Catholic, Apostolic and Roman Church of Ste. Anne of Detroit." Fr. Richard (the curé at that time) was one of the incorporators.

A year later the agreement was made by Malcher with his trustees. Malcher might, at that time, have conveyed his farm to the corporation of Ste. Anne, but the effort of the inhabitants of the *cote du nord est* was to retain this property for an independent parish on the east side, that the land might, when the proper time came, be transferred to the church trustees for that purpose.

In everything of a secular nature the affairs were to be managed by the trustees and not by the priest or bishop. There are many references in the records to the organization of another church corporation on the east side. Articles were certainly drawn up and executed, but they are not of record in the supreme court, where, by law, they were required to be filed. The articles may sometime be found.

There never was any undertaking on the part of the members of the church in Detroit (in these ancient days) to interfere with the management of the religious functions. No priest that was ever sent to them was denied a welcome. Their constant appeal, for many years, was that a priest should be given to them permanently. And this was one of the things that Bishop Flaget promised them in 1818.

The first provincial council was convoked by Archbishop Whitfield in 1828 and was opened by the archbishop in Baltimore on the fourth day of October in that year. It continued in session for about two weeks and entered thirty-eight decrees for the government of the church in the United States. The fifth decree was that thereafter, where possible, the deeds to church property should be taken in the name of the bishop. In the sixth decree it was declared that no money donated for church purposes gave any right of patronage.

Frederick Rèsè was consecrated bishop of Detroit in October, 1833. For some time before this date, Rèsè had been vicar general to Bishop Fenwick and was familiar with the decrees of the first council. He had visited Detroit before his appointment as bishop and was not only familiar with the situation but was thoroughly imbued with the necessity of carrying out the fifth decree of the council. To accomplish that purpose he persuaded the surviving trustees, Beau-fait and Rivard, to convey the Church farm to him, as we have seen.

He also, after he became bishop, took from Ste. Anne's church the title to all property held by that corporation. The lands held by the church corporation and conveyed to Rèsè were the church site and cemetery surrounding it, including the entire block bounded by Larned, Bates, Randolph and Congress Streets, several acres of land on the south side of Madison Avenue between Randolph and John R. streets and the "Irish" church on the northwest corner of Cadillac Square and Bates Street. He also purchased and took in his own name the first portion of Mount Elliott cemetery. There was no other church or church property in Detroit at the time.

It has been stated that one of the reasons for the departure of Bishop Rèsè from his diocese was that his mind was unsettled by the troubles he had over the titles to church property. In fact his mind was not unsettled at all, for there are many positive evidences that he was mentally sound at the time of his departure. Further than this there was probably no diocese in the United States where the property belonging to the church was more definitely and absolutely in the hands of the bishop.

There were property church troubles in Buffalo (St. Louis Church), in New York City, (Bishop Dubois with Christ Church) and in many other churches, but there were no such troubles in Detroit at the time Bishop Rèsè left. He departed in peace, lamented by all of the members of the diocese.

The title to all church property in Detroit, excepting the Church farm troubles above recited, remained undisturbed during the remainder of the life of Rèsè.

Now let us return to the proceedings of Father Baart.

The court of chancery in its origin in England was an ecclesiastical court at a time when church and state were united and the clergy administered justice as a part of their calling. The name and form of the court became a part of the judicial system when church and state were separated, but both church and state retained the court. So now the proceedings instituted by Father Denissen were in the nature of a bill in equity in our state courts. Of course the laws of the state of Michigan did not control. It was a suit in which the church only

was interested and the final decree could not have been enforced by the laws of the state.

Ordinarily the first application of any person who feels dissatisfied with the proceedings in church affairs, is to apply to the bishop of the diocese for redress and an appeal lies from the decision of the bishop to the metropolitan or archbishop of the see. In the present case, however, the complainants thought that Bishop Foley was too personally interested in the subject matter to permit him to become an unprejudiced judge and the bill for redress was filed at once with Archbishop Elder of Cincinnati.

The proceedings were all carried on by the presentation of writings, pleadings, testimony and briefs. No oral testimony was presented. In his bill the complainant set forth the facts regarding the ownership of the property. He admitted the legality of the title in Bishops Lefevre, Borgess and Foley under the decree in the suit maintained in 1857 by Bishop Lefevre. He set forth six propositions in his own behalf, as follows:

1st. He (Rev. Christian Denissen) represented the people of the *cote du nord est*.

2nd. These people bought the property for religious purposes for themselves and their children.

3rd. Although the legal title was in the name of the bishop, that did not deprive the people of their rights in the property.

4th. The priest of the parish and not the bishop, is the proper administrator of the property of the congregation.

"Neither bishop nor pope can alienate this property from the original purpose or turn it to something else."

5th. The bishop is always to be considered as the trustee of this property for the use of the inhabitants of the *cote du nord est*.

6th. The complainant demanded that the bishop cease to administer this property and that it be turned over to the pastor.

The principal demand in that controversy was that the property be turned over to St. Charles Church.

Again we have to revert to the date of the original deed to ascertain who were, rightfully, the inhabitants of the *cote du nord est*. The definition of that term in its original use was, all of the people living in Wayne County between the modern St. Antoine Street and the county line on the northeast. That is between Beaubien's line and Pointe Guinole. At the time the deed was made there was not a single church, Protestant or Catholic, within that entire region and the establishment of the chapel on the front of this farm, was the first work of the nature in this district. At the time this suit was begun there were probably a dozen Catholic parishes there. It would appear therefore, that St. Charles' Church, although seated on this farm, could not be considered as the sole heir to the trust created by the trust deed.

Upon filing the bill in the metropolitan at Cincinnati, Bishop Foley was properly notified and appeared by the Rev. Robert F. M. Doman of Owosso as his attorney. Father Doman filed a demurrer to the jurisdiction of the archbishop, claiming that the cause should have been commenced before the bishop at Detroit. In the demurrer he alleged the well known ability of Bishop Foley and claimed that he would have heard the matter with patience and would have decided it with candor and righteousness. But, in taking the case over the head

of the bishop, and presenting it to the archbishop, the complainant had cast reproach and insult upon his own bishop.

He asked that the case be dismissed with costs and that no further proceedings be had until the costs were paid and security was given for further costs.

Many times it has been stated that this was an "amicable" suit. Far from being amicable, it was strenuously fought and much bitterness was displayed by all the parties interested in it. All of the prime-movers in the affair, Foley, Denissen and Baart have gone, but during their lives the matters were never forgotten and the engendered hatred never was forgiven.

The demurrer was overruled with costs, and the archbishop proceeded with the hearing of the case on its merits.

In disposing of the demurrer he enjoined the bishop from selling any more of the farm, but directed that if the sale of any portion became absolutely necessary, the proceeds should be set apart until the final decree in the case, and that the proceeds of past sales should be treated in the same manner.

An appeal was taken from this decision to propaganda at Rome. The propaganda is the department of papal administration in Rome that has charge of ecclesiastical affairs.

This court is composed of the cardinals of the church and in a general meeting at Rome on the 11th of January, 1897, the proceedings were taken up and a decision made in favor of Father Denissen. The following is a translation of the decision:

"Query, whether the right to the property called the Church farm belongs to the bishop for the advantage of the faithful of the whole city of Detroit, or only for the advantage of the faithful of the territory called formerly, the *cote du nord est*?"

"Answer. To the first part, No! To the second, Yes!"

The decision was transmitted to the pope for final judgment. He approved of it, but attached to his approval an exceedingly important dictum which when put in practice, will greatly alter the management of the church temporalities in America.

"This same decision shall remain in force when the administration of the diocesan funds shall pass to a corporation to be eventually established for the holding of the property appertaining to the diocese."

So sometime in the not far distant future the Catholic Apostolic and Roman Church of Ste. Anne may be properly recognized in this diocese.

Father Denissen's victory was, however, only partly complete. It was decided that the avails of the trust belong to the "inhabitants of the northeast side" for certain religious, charitable and educational purposes, but the great question still remained as to who should share this fund and how and in what manner it should be used.

The land was vacant, taxes had to be paid at intervals, and the dead property produced no income. It was gradually eating itself up in expenses and the further action of Rome was delayed so long that it sometimes seemed as if no property would be left to divide.

A recent movement has been taken looking to a change in the decision of Rome occasioned by the discovery of the deed to Rèsè.



It is said that:

“Though the mills of God grind  
“slowly, yet they grind exceeding small;  
“Though with patience He stands waiting,  
“With exactness grinds He all.”

So let us await the move of propaganda, assured that although it takes it a long time to decide the matter, it will finally come to an end.

# PART VIII

## MISCELLANEOUS

### CHAPTER LII

#### CITIZENS AND FAMILIES OF EARLY DETROIT

BY CLARENCE M. BURTON

DIRECTORY OF CADILLAC'S VILLAGE, 1701-1710—DETROIT RESIDENTS IN 1789—IN 1795  
—DETROIT IN 1820—THE PROMINENT FAMILIES AND NAMES OF THE DAY.

#### DIRECTORY OF CADILLAC'S VILLAGE, 1701-10.

- Abatis, Jean (or Labbatu, see Labatier).  
Aguenet (or Aguet), called Laport, Guillaume. (Possibly the name should be Haguenot.)  
Arnauld, Bertrand, merchant. Came to Detroit, July 18, 1702.  
Badeillac, Louis, called Laplante. Made an agreement to come to Detroit May 29, 1701, the first convoy.  
Bannois, Jeanne. She was the first wife of Guillaume Bouche, and died in 1703. This name is given by Tanguay as Beauvais.  
Bariteau, Julien, called La Marche. Came May 30, 1705, but did not remain.  
Baron, Denys, voyageur. Came June 21, 1706.  
Barthe (called Belleville), Jean, a soldier. Came October 10, 1706.  
Barthe (called Belleville), Marie Charlotte, daughter of Jean Barthe, above. Born October 27, 1709.  
Bassinet, Joseph, sieur Tourblanche. Came April 2, 1707, but did not stay.  
Bassinet, Pierre, brother of above. He came April 2, 1707, but did not stay.  
Baudreau, Gabriel. Gabriel Baudreau and his wife, Catherine Foretier, were voyageurs passing through Detroit on their way to Mobile, November 24, 1708.  
Baudreau, Marie Louise, daughter of Gabriel Baudreau. Baptized November 24, 1708.  
Baugret, Francois, called Dufort. Came September 10, 1710.  
Beauchamp, Jacques. Came as bargeman, May 30, 1705.  
Beauchamp, Pierre, brother of above. Came same time.  
Beaugis (or Baugis), Michel, voyageur.  
Beauregard, see Dupuis.  
Belille (or Belisle), Henry, first surgeon of the fort.  
Besnard, Rene. Came June 21, 1706. Soldier of Carignan regiment.  
Bienvenue, Alexis, son of Francois, below. He married Josette Bouron, January 17, 1740.  
Bienvenue, called Delisle, Francois. Came before March, 1704. His first wife was Genevieve Laferiere, and his second wife was Marianne Lemoine. He

was buried September 29, 1751, aged eighty-eight years. The transformation of French names is well illustrated by this person. His descendants are nearly universally known here by the name of Delisle or DeLisle, and the surname of two centuries ago is not uncommonly used today, as a Christian name, and we frequently find Bienvenue, or Welcome, Delisles in our real estate records.

Bienvenue, Joseph, son of Francois Bienvenue above. Baptized March 5, 1704, and buried December 3, 1711.

Bienvenue, Marie, daughter of Francois Bienvenue, above. Baptized December 8, 1705. She married Jacques Roussel, April 7, 1725. She is named Marianne in the marriage record.

Bienvenue, Marie Joseph, daughter of Francois Bienvenue. Born August 25, 1709.

Bienvenue, Rafael. Buried April 24, 1706, aged two years. Unless this is the same person as Joseph Bienvenue, above, it is scarcely possible that Rafael was a son of Francois Bienvenue. This is the first recorded death in Detroit, though there is other evidence that a child of Alphonse de Tonty died before the first church was burned, in 1703, and that Madam Bouche died in 1703.

Bizaillon (or Bisailon), Michael, son of Benoit Bisailon and of Louise Blaye, of Clairmont, in Auvergne. He married Marguerite Fafard (dit De-Lorme), June 30, 1710.

Bluteau, Agathe (in some places this name is spelled Bulteau), wife of Francois Judith Contant, dit Rancontre.

Boilard, Jeanne, wife of Pierre Leger, dit Parisien.

Bombardier (called la Bombarde), Andre, a soldier and farmer. Left Detroit after 1709.

Bombardier (called la Bombarde), Bernard Phillippe, son of Andre Bombardier, above. Born October 12, 1709.

Bombardier, Jean, son of Andre Bombardier, above. Born July 18, 1707.

Bone, Marie Anne. The name probably should be spelled Beaune. She was the widow of Francois Lorry and daughter of Jean Bone and Mary Magdelaine Bourigier. She married Martin Cirier June 12, 1710. She came to Detroit April 18, 1707, under an agreement to serve Cadillac for three years at eighty livres per year.

Bonne, Francois.

Bonnet, Guillaume (surnamed Deliard), Amorer, a native of the parish of Charlesburg, near Quebec. He died January 13, 1709.

Bosne, Francois. Came April 13, 1709.

Bosseron, Francois (Tanguay spells the name Beauceron), farmer. He was the husband of Marie Le Page (which name see).

Botquin, Pierre (called St. Andre), a soldier. Came October 19, 1706. An inventory of goods that he carried to Detroit in 1710 includes fifty pounds of powder at forty sols per pound, one hundred pounds of bullets at ten sols per pound, and thirty-two pots (of two quarts each) of brandy at forty-five sols per pot.

Boucher, Guillaume. His first wife was named Jeanne Beauvais, and after her death, in 1703, he married Angelique Tholme, widow of Pierre Robert, August 16, 1716.

Boncher, Pierre, Esquire sieur de Boucherville.

Bourbon, Pierre, voyageur. Came June 15, 1706. Married, in 1711, Marie Anne Gouyon.

- Bougery, Denis. Came as bargeman, May 30, 1705.
- Bourgery, Jean Louis. Brother of Denis. Came September 14, 1710.
- Bourg, Jean (called Lapierre), voyageur. Came June 15, 1706.
- Bourgoin (called St. Paul), Didier, soldier of Montigny. He signs Bourguin.
- Boutron (called Major), Estienne, farmer. The name Estienne shows one of the common transformations of the French words. This is now commonly written Etienne (Stephen), and the second letter has been dropped, as it has in Destroit, Chesne, despot, and many other words.
- Boutron (called Major), Marguerite, daughter of Etienne Boutron, above. Born September 15, 1709.
- Boutron (called Major), Marie Angelique, daughter of Etienne Boutron. Baptized July 5, 1707.
- Boyer, Zacharie, voyageur. Came May 20, 1708.
- Boyer, Jean. Came as bargeman May 30, 1705.
- Brabant, Michael, voyageur. Came August 2, 1707.
- Breunel, Anne (probably intended for Anne Bruneau, which see), wife of Louis Normand.
- Brisset, Bernard. Came May 18, 1708.
- Bruneau, Anne, wife of Louis Normand, dit Labrierre.
- Brunet, Francois, dit Bourbonnais. Came May 30, 1705.
- Buet, Rene. Came as bargeman, May 30, 1705.
- Butard, —, wife of —. She died December 10, 1724, aged thirty to thirty-two years.
- Cabazier, Charles, voyageur. Came June 13, 1707, on business.
- Cadieu, Pierre. Came as bargeman, May 30, 1705.
- Cadillac. See De La Mothe.
- Caillomeau, Louis. Came September 6, 1710. This name probably should be Galannaux.
- Camerand. See Chouet.
- Campau, Jacques (the name is also spelled Campo, Campos, Campeau and Campot), blacksmith. Came September 3, 1708. His wife was Cecile Catin. He was buried May 14, 1751, aged seventy-eight years.
- Campau, Jean. Came as bargeman, May 30, 1705.
- Campau, Jeanne, daughter of Michel Campau.
- Campau, Louis, son of Jacques Campau. He married Marie Louise Robert, widow of Francois Pelletier, and daughter of Pierre Robert and Angelique Tholme, January 7, 1724.
- Campau, Marguerite, daughter of Michel Campau. Baptized March 2, 1708.
- Campau, Marie Angelique, daughter of Jacques Campau. Born December 6, 1708.
- Campau, Michel, farmer. Came August 3, 1707. His wife was Jeanne Masse. He died before 1740.
- Campau, Paul Alexander, son of Michel Campau. Born September 14, 1709. He married Charlotte Sioneau, daughter of Mathurin Sioneau and Marie Charlotte Dubeau, February 15, 1740.
- Cardinal, Jacques, voyageur. Came October 13, 1707. Died May 17, 1724, aged eighty-four years.
- Cardinal, Jacques, son of the preceding. Came October 13, 1707. His wife was Jeanne Dugue, and third son, Pierre, was baptized August 30, 1729.

They already had a daughter, Jeanne, who acted as godmother to the infant, Pierre. Jeanne married Laurent Parent.

Cardinal, Marie, wife of Jacques Hubert dit la Croix. With her husband and one child, she set out from Montreal for Detroit, May 22, 1709.

Cardinal, Pierre. Came September 6, 1708.

Caron, Vital. Came April 2, 1707.

Carriere, Antoine (he signs the church record Hantoine Carrier, in 1710). His parents, Andre Carriere and Cecile Jannot, lived on St. Paul Street, Montreal. He first came to Detroit, April 11, 1707, as a voyageur.

Casse (called St. Aubin), Jean. This is a good illustration of the change of French names. The family name of Casse has been so completely lost through years of use of the nickname, that this man's descendants are universally known as St. Aubin, and there are many of them in Detroit today. I have grouped them all under this name. Jean Casse's wife was Marie Louise Gautier. He died February 27, 1759, aged more than one hundred years.

Casse (called St. Aubin), Jean Baptiste. Died of smallpox February 25, 1733, aged twenty-seven or twenty-eight years. A great many people died in the winter of 1733-4, of smallpox. Jean Baptiste St. Aubin married Magdeleine Pruneau, daughter of Jean Pruneau and Suzanne Bellanger, of Quebec, July 31, 1731.

Casse (called St. Aubin), Jacques, son of Jean Casse and Marie Louise Gautier. He married Catherine Vien, daughter of Ignace Vien and Angelique Du Sable, December 27, 1745.

Casse (called St. Aubin), Marie Anne, daughter of Jean (or Jean Baptiste) Casse and Marie Louise Gautier. Born October 5, 1710. She married Charles Chauvin (blacksmith), October 27, 1726. There was another daughter, Agathe Casse, who married Nicholas Campau, dit Niagara.

Casse (called St. Aubin), Pierre, son of Jean Casse. Baptized May 2, 1709.

Catin, Cecile, wife of Jacques Campau. She died before 1732. Her daughter, Marianne Campau, married Joseph Bondy, July 28, 1732, and her son, Claude, married Catherine Casse (dit St. Aubin), daughter of Jean Casse, January 22, 1742.

Catinet, Joseph, of Pointe aux Tremble, near Montreal, was in Detroit July 26, 1707.

Chabot, Joseph.

Channet (called Camirand), Andre, sergeant of the troops in this country. His wife was Anne Pastorel.

Channet (called Camirand), Andre, son of above. Born May 13, 1708.

Channet (called Camirand), Pierre, son of Andre, senior. Born about April 1710.

Chanteloup, Pierre, farmer. Acted as godfather to Jean Bombardier, July 18, 1707. His wife came to Detroit April 11, 1707.

Charbonneau, Joseph. Came April 25, 1707.

Charbonneau, Michel. Came April 17, 1707. Brother of above.

Charnic. See du Charnic.

Charlet, Francois. His wife was Marthe Forstier.

Charlet, Pierre, son of above. Born May 3, 1709.

Charon, Charles.

Charpentier, Jean. Came April 2, 1707.

Chauvillon, Charlotte, wife of Jean Barthe, dit Belleville.

Chauvin, Gilles, voyageur. Came June 7, 1706. He and Louis Normand were in partnership.

Chauvin, Jean Baptiste, voyageur. Came June 14, 1706.

Chauvin, Louis, voyageur. Came June 14, 1706. Brother of above.

Cheauonvouzon, Louis Antoine, surnamed Quarante Sols, chief of the Huron nation. He was a very prominent and influential Indian and frequent reference is made to him, both by Cadillac and by the Jesuit fathers at Mackinac. He was baptized April 27, 1707, having as a godfather Cadillac himself. He died the same day, aged forty-eight years.

Chesne, Charles, son of Pierre Chesne and Louise Batty. He married Catherine Sauvage, daughter of Jacques Sauvage and Marie Catherine Rieul, January 18, 1722.

Chesne, Francois, voyageur. Came September 25, 1707.

Chesne, Marie, daughter of Pierre Chesne and Jeanne Bailli. She married (first) Jacques Montboef, dit Godfroy, and after his death she married Jacques Boutin, September 16, 1733. There is a record that Marie Chesne died February 13, 1738. From Marie Chesne have descended all the Godfroys of French extraction in and about Detroit.

Chesne, Pierre. Came June 13, 1707. His wife was Jeanne Bailli. She died in 1700. She is sometimes referred to as Louise Batty. The name has been slightly changed in spelling, though not in sound, by his descendants. He was the Detroit ancestor of the present Chene family.

Chesne, Pierre, son of above Pierre Chesne. He had two wives; first, on May 25, 1728, he married Marie Magdeline Roy, a daughter of Pierre Roy; this marriage took place at Fort St. Phillippe, village of the Miamis. She died of smallpox October 20, 1732, and in 1736 he married his second wife, Louise Barrois, daughter of Francois Lothenane, dit Barrois, and Marianne Sauvage. Pierre Chesne was an interpreter and sometimes called La Butte. He was born about 1697.

Chevalier, Jean. Came May 30, 1705. There is a record that Angelique Chevalier, daughter of the late Jean Baptiste Chevalier and the late Francoise Alavoine of this parish married Antoine Nicolas Lauzon, February 27, 1769.

Chevalier, Michel. Came October 10, 1710.

Chevalier, Paul. Came July 12, 1702. His wife was Agathe Campau. They lived on St. Paul Street, Montreal. Paul, Jean and Robert were brothers.

Chevalier, Pierre.

Chevalier, Robert. Came June 15, 1706.

Chornic, Jean Baptiste.

Chouet (called Camerand), Andre.

Chouet, Louis, called Lagiroflee, soldier in company of Cabana, captain. He was son of Jean Chouet and Marie Magdeleine Magdile. Before setting out for Detroit, May 25, 1701, he gave his property, in event of his death, to Mary Magdeleine Delisle.

Cirier, Martin, son of Nicolas Cirier and Catherine Prevoost of the parish of St. Denis d'Argenteuil at Paris. He was a soldier of the company de la Champagne and married Ann Bone, June 12, 1710. I find the name spelled Sirier sometimes, but Martin could write and he spelled it Cirier.

Clairambaut, Francois, esquire sieur D'Aigremont. Commissary of the marine in Canada, sub-delegate of the Intendant and deputy appointed to visit

the most advanced posts. He visited Detroit, Fort Pontchartrain, July 29, 1708.

Cobtron, see Marsac.

Colin (called Laliberte), Michel. Came in 1706.

Collet, Pierre, voyageur. Came June 15, 1706.

Compein (called L'Esperance), Bonaventure. Soldier and farmer. His wife was Catherine Laplante.

Compein (called L'Esperance), Marie Catherine, daughter of Bonaventure, above. She was baptized November 14, 1707.

Compein (called L'Esperance), Pierre. Son of Bonaventure, above. Was born January 12, 1710.

Cornie, Pierre.

Corton, Pierre, Called St. Jean. Came May 30, 1705, as bargeman.

Cosset, Francois. Came as bargeman May 30, 1705.

Couk, Marguerite, wife of Francois Masse. Marguerite Couque is referred to as the wife of the late Jean Fafare, and Marguerite Kouque as the wife of sieur Masse. These may be the same person.

Coup, Isabelle. Came to Detroit as early as April 27, 1704.

Coutant (called Rancontre), Francois Judile, a soldier. His wife was Marie Agathe Bluteau, above.

Coutant, Jean, a soldier of the company of Lorimier. He was buried September 17, 1732, aged sixty-five years.

Coutant (called Rancontre), Louis, son of Francois, above. Baptized February 13, 1708.

Couturier, Joseph, voyageur. Came September 6, 1710.

Cusson, Ange. Came as bargeman May 30, 1705.

Cusson, Charles, voyageur. Came April 20, 1709.

Cusson, Jean Baptiste. Came April 11, 1707.

Cusson, Joseph. Came October 7, 1706.

Cusson, Nicolas, voyageur. Came October 7, 1706.

Dandonneau, Marie Françoise, wife of the second marriage of Henry Belisle, surgeon. Died May 8, 1711, aged about fifty years.

Dardennes, Toussainte. Came May 12, 1707.

D'Argenteuil (probably Pierre), gardener.

David, Therese, wife of Jacob de Marsac de Cobtrion, dit Desrochers. She was buried September 24, 1727, aged sixty-six years.

Daze, Charles. Came July 16, 1702.

De Broyeux, Francois. Came as bargeman May 30, 1705.

De Couague, Charles, Jr. Came as bargeman May 30, 1705.

De Gaigne, Jacques, Jr., eighteen years old. Agreed to work for Jerome Merilat, dit Sansquartier, for two years.

De La Forest, Francois, captain of the troops of the marine in this country. Like many other French words the letter "s" is frequently dropped in writing this name, so that we find it De La Foret.

De La March, Dominique, recollect priest, lecturer in theology, pastor of Ste. Anne's.

De La Marque, Marianne, wife of Alphonse de Tonty. She was the widow of Jean Baptiste Nolan, and had a daughter, Louise Suzanne Nolan, who married Charles Francois de Mezieres, esquire, sieur de Leperueinche, December 17, 1725.

- De La Mothe Cadillac, Antoine.
- De La Mothe Cadillac, Antoine, ensign in the troops, son of Cadillac.
- De La Mothe Cadillac, Antoine (or Jean Antoine), son of Cadillac. Buried in the church, April 9, 1709, aged two years and 2½ months. I think this is the same as Jean Antoine, who was baptized January 19, 1707.
- De La Mothe Cadillac, Francois, son of Cadillac. Born March 29, 1709.
- De La Mothe Cadillac, Jacques, son of Cadillac. Cadet in the troops of the detachment of marines.
- De La Mothe Cadillac, Marie Agatha, daughter of Cadillac. Born December 28, 1707.
- De La Mothe Cadillac, Rene Louis, son of Cadillac. Born March 17, 1710.
- De Launay, Joseph. Came September 27, 1710.
- De L'Halle, Constantin, recollect priest. Killed in 1723. His body was exhumed, transported and reburied within the Church of Ste. Anne.
- De Liard, see Bouet.
- De Lisle, see Bienvenue.
- De Lorme, see Fafard.
- Delpeche, Francois. Came May 17, 1710.
- Demers, Maximilien. Came May 30, 1705.
- Deniau, Cherubin, recollect priest, pastor of St. Anne's.
- Deniau, Rene. Died July, 1730, aged eighty years.
- De Paris, Denis.
- Depre (or Despre), Joseph.
- De Ranee, see Le Gautier.
- Derruon, Pierre, esquire sieur de Budemond.
- Dervisseau, Julien, lieutenant in the troops.
- Desautels, Gilbert, dit Lapointe. Came as bargeman May 30, 1705.
- Des Jardins, Suzanne, wife of Pierre La Fleur.
- Desloriers, Jean Baptiste. Jean Baptiste du Fournel, dit Desloriers, aged fifty years, was buried October 31, 1731.
- Desmoulins, Charlotte, dit Philis, daughter of Jacques Desmoulins and Charlotte Sanarias, was born November 22, 1709, and died January 8, 1710.
- Desmoulins, Jacques, dit Philis. His wife was Charlotte Sanarias.
- Desmoulins, Jacques, son of the above Jacques Desmoulins. Was baptized March 30, 1708, and died April 14, 1728.
- Desmoulins, Marie, wife of Blaise Sontieureuse.
- Desnoyers, Joseph. Married Magdeleine Robert, daughter of Pierre Robert and Angelique Tholme.
- Desrocher, or Derocher, see Marsac.
- Desrosiers, Jean Morean. Came as bargeman May 30, 1705.
- Desroziars, Joseph, called Dutremble. Came September 27, 1710.
- Devinon, Pierre, esquire sieur de Budemond, lieutenant in the troops.
- Dizier, Michel, called Sans Quartier, farmer.
- Dounay, Anthoine. Came in the summer of 1704.
- Dubor, Dominique. Came as voyageur June 12, 1706.
- Du Chornic, Louis.
- Ducharme, Joseph. Came September 10, 1710.
- Ducharme, Louis, voyageur. Brother of Joseph. Came May 22, 1709.
- Duclos, Jacques, a soldier.
- Dumouchel, Francoise, daughter of Bernard Dumouchel, dit Laroche. On



the sixth day of July, 1703, she agreed to go to Detroit to serve Mr. and Mme. De La Mothe (Cadillac) for two years at 180 livres per year.

Dumouchel, Paul. Came May 15, 1708.

Duffant, Marie Renie.

Du Figuier, see Fournier.

Dufresne, Antoine.

Dufresne, Marie Magdelaine, wife of Pierre Mallet.

Dumay, Jacques. Jacques Pierre Danau esquire sieur de Muy, chevalier of the Royal and Military Order of St. Louis, died May 20, 1758.

Dumay, Marguerite, wife of Andre Bombardier.

Dumouche, Francoise.

Dupuis, Antoine (called Beauregard), farmer. His wife was Marie Anne Marandeau.

Dupuis, Antoine, son of above, was born June 21, 1707.

Dupuis, Joseph, son of Antoine, Sr., above, was born January 31, 1709.

Dupuis, Marie Anne, daughter of Antoine, above, was born March 13, 1710.

Duroy, Pierre, dit Deslauriers, soldier in the company of De La Mothe Cadillac. He came April 11, 1707. He is also mentioned as a soldier in the company of Dulhud (Duluth).

Du Vestin, Salomon Joseph.

Durand (or Durant), Jean, farmer.

Dussault, Marie, wife of Jacques Langlois.

Du Sault, Marie, fille mineure. The parents' names are not given.

Dutan, Jacques. Came as bargeman May 30, 1705.

Dutremble, Jean Baptiste. Came in 1706.

Dutremble, Joseph. Came September 28, 1706.

Du Vant (called La Franchise), Pierre, soldier de la Compagnie de la Corne.

Esteve, Pierre, called La Jeunesse, farmer. See Stebre.

Estienne, Estienne, brother of Dominique Estienne. Came April 26, 1707.

Estienne, Jacques. Came April 13, 1707, with a canoe load of merchandise for Sieur de Bourmont, ensign in the troops.

Fafard, Charles, dit Delorme. He came April 25, 1707. His father was Francois Fafard, dit Delorme. The descendants from this pioneer are universally called Delorme.

Fafard, Etienne, dit Delorme, son of Francois Fafard. Born September 24, 1708.

Fafard, Francois, dit Delorme, farmer and interpreter for the king. He died January 28, 1734, aged about eighty years. His first wife was Magdeleine Marguerite Jobin, and his second wife was Barbe Loisel.

Fafard, Joseph, son of Francois, above. He was born September 24, 1708. He and Etienne were twins.

Fafard, Magdeleine, daughter of Francois Fafard, above. She married Prudent Robert, January 7, 1711.

Fafard, Marie Joseph, dit Delorme, daughter of Francois, above. Married Pierre Auclair, of Charlesburg.

Fafard, Marie Marguerite, daughter of Francois, above. Married Michel Bissilon, June 30, 1710.

Fafard, Marguerite, daughter of Jean Fafard and Marguerite Couck. Married Jean Baptiste Turpin, May 5, 1710.

Fanereau, Charles, voyageur. Lived in Detroit October 6, 1708.

Farland, Jean.

Faverau, Pierre, called La Grandeur.

Fayolet, Pierre, called St. Pierre, a soldier of the company of St. Ours. He was in Detroit May 2, 1709, and acted as godfather to Pierre Casse.

Ferron, Antoine, farmer.

Filiatreau, Jacques, voyageur. Came May 30, 1705. He lived at Lachine and never resided in Detroit, though he came here several times.

File, Michel, esquire, sieur de Therigo, sergeant of troops. Commissioned to bear letters from France to Cadillac. He came October 16, 1706.

Fortier, Catherine, wife of Gabriel Baudreau. They were married at Montreal August 15, 1701.

Fortier, Marthe (or Marie Marthe), wife of Francois Chalut, dit Chanteloup. They were married in Montreal, June 10, 1706. She was a sister of Catherine, above.

Fournier, Louise Rene, sieur du Figuier, ensign in the troops of this country, performing the functions of major of the troops in Fort Pontchartrain. He was born at Montreal May 14, 1673. His mother's name was Helene Du Figuier.

Frápier, Marie Magdeleine, wife of Pierre Stebre, dit la Jeunesse. They were married at Quebec, April 12, 1706, and she died at Detroit, December 22, 1759, aged eighty years.

Frigon, Francois. He was born in Normandy and came to Detroit May 30, 1705.

Frotant, Angelique. Probably Proteau, which see.

Gagnier, Jacques. Came May 17, 1710.

Galarneau, Louise, wife of Francois Marquet. She was born February 2, 1690, and married April 26, 1706.

Gallien, Marie Anne. Her first husband was Jerome (Hieronymus) Marillac, dit Sansquartier, and her second husband was Bernard Phillipe.

Gareau (or Garro or Garraud), Dominique. Came October 3, 1708. He was born at Boucherville, January 13, 1684.

Gareau, Jean. Came September 25, 1707. He was born at Boucherville, November 3, 1679.

Gareau, Pierre. Came as bargeman May 30, 1705. He was born at Boucherville May 1, 1673. He lived in St. Paul Street, Montreal. He was sometimes called St. Onge, Saintonge, or Xaintonge. The three Gareaus were brothers. Dominique and Jean never resided in Detroit, but came here together in 1708 and at various other times. Pierre owned a house and lot in the village, conveyed to him by the name of Xaintonge.

Gatineau, Louis, sieur Duplessis. Came to Detroit June 21, 1706. He was married January 22, 1710, to Jeanne Lemoyne, at Batiscan. He is described as a merchant of Quebec.

Gaultier, Marie Louise, wife of Jean Casse, called St. Aubin.

Gaultier (or Gautier), Pierre, dit Saguinoira. Came May 22, 1709. He was born March 25, 1669, and died July 25, 1754.

Gazaille, Jean, dit St. Germain. Came September 10, 1710.

Germain, Alexis, son of Robert Germain, a native of the parish of Pointe aux Tremble, near Quebec, and came to Detroit, May 19, 1708. He was killed May 19, 1712, by a gunshot given by the Ytaganish Indians, with whom he was fighting at Detroit.

Germain, Robert. Came May 18, 1708. He was a brother of Alexis. Born at Quebec, September 8, 1680.

Gervais, Etienne de Bourguion. July 10, 1703, he agreed to go to Detroit as a hunter.

Giard, Anthoine. Came May 30, 1705. He was born at Montreal, August 31, 1661.

Giard, Gabriel. He was born at Montreal, April 15, 1675, and came to Detroit as a bargeman May 30, 1705. He was married three times.

Giguere, Jean Baptiste. Being about to set out for Detroit, June 28, 1701, he made a present of his property in the event of his death to Louise Maignan. He returned to Montreal and married this lady January 22, 1704. He died April 18, 1750.

Giguere, Robert, brother of Jean Baptiste. He was born January 28, 1663, and died at Montreal, December 10, 1711.

Girardin, Joseph. Came August 26, 1708.

Gode (or Gaude), Jacques. Came as voyageur November 6, 1707. He was married August 15, 1743, to Marie Louise St. Martin, of Detroit.

Godefroy (or Godfroy), Jacques, dit Mauboeuf. Paul Chevalier and Jacques Godefroy, dit Mauboeuf, voyageurs, and Joseph Senecal, toolmaker and voyageur, formed a partnership September 10, 1710, to carry on the business of trading at Detroit. To this business Chevalier contributed 255 livres, Senecal 165 livres and Godefroy 43 livres and two guns. The partnership was to continue for two years, and if any of the partners died in that time another man would be taken in to fill the place. Gains and losses to be shared equally. Godfroy married Marie Anne Chesne at Detroit, November 20, 1730.

Gognet, Francois, called Sansoucy, a soldier.

Gouin, Joseph. Came May 19, 1708, bringing to Dufguier, major of Fort Pontchartrain, two barrels of rum (eau de vie), one barrel of salt, two barrels of powder, a small parcel of goods and two bags of bullets, in all 400 pounds.

Gouin, Louis. Came May 18, 1708.

Gourion (or Gorion), Antoine, son of Jean Baptiste Gourion. Born April 26, 1708.

Gourion, Jean Baptiste, sergeant in the troops at Detroit (1708) and farmer. His wife was Louise Chaudillon, though it is given as Louise Rhodillon in St. Anne's Church.

Gros, Jean Baptiste. Born at Montreal, December 22, 1673.

Guillemot, Marie Chretienne. Came to Detroit in the company of Cadillac, August 30, 1710. She was a daughter of Jacques Francois Guillemot and Madeleine Dupont. Was born at Montreal, September 29, 1695. Returned there and married Jean Jacquiers, November 24, 1715, and died November 23, 1734.

Guillet, Paul, merchant. Born 1690. Died in Montreal, June 7, 1753. His full name seems to have been Paul Alexander Guillet. He acted as godfather to Paul Alexander Campau, September 14, 1709, and the infant appears to have been named after him. He came to Detroit, May 19, 1708.

Gustineau, Louis.

Guyon, Jean, dit Lachapelle. Came September 6, 1710.

Guyon, Marie Therese, wife of Antoine De La Mothe Cadillac. Born at Quebec, April 9, 1671. Married June 25, 1687. (The first woman in Detroit.)

Hamelin, Rene, voyageur. Came May 18, 1710.

Hemart (or Haimart), Marie Louise. Born December 1, 1709. Daughter of Pierre Haimart.

Hemart (or Haimart), Pierre, farmer and soldier in the company of Mr. Lorimier. Married Marie Laland, June 12, 1706.

The records of St. Anne contain a certificate of baptism, October 20, 1707, of Francois Delainart, son of Pierre Delainart and Marie Filiastreau. Fr. Tanguay concludes that Hemart and Delainart are the same.

Henaus, Pierre, Sr. Came to Detroit, September 27, 1708. Perhaps the name should be Hunault.

Henaus, Pierre, Jr. Came September 27, 1708.

Hubert, Ignace, called Lacroix. Came April 20, 1709. He was a son of Ignace Hubert, of Boucherville.

Hubert, Jacques, dit Lacroix, Sr. Came as bargeman May 30, 1705.

Hubert, Jacques, dit Lacroix. Came in 1706. He was born May 12, 1684, and married September 5, 1705, to Marie Cardinal. He was a son of Jacques Hubert, of Montreal.

Hubert, Louis, voyageur. Came November 6, 1707. He was a brother of Ignace, above.

Hubert, Pierre, son of Jacques Hubert, dit la Croix, and Marie Cardinal. Was born at Detroit, December 11, 1709, and died October 11, 1724. The family is generally known by the name of Lacroix.

Hubert, Pierre, voyageur. Came August 11, 1710. He was a brother of Jacques Hubert, above, and married Francoise Cardinal.

Huet, Pierre, called Duluth. Came April 2, 1707. He was a son of Joseph Huet, born November 12, 1682.

Janot, Pierre. Came May 22, 1709. Nephew of Robert Janot.

Janot, Robert (called La Chapelle). Came April 2, 1707. He was uncle to Joseph Bazinet, dit Tourblanche.

Jardis, Francois, called Rencontre, farmer and lot owner in the village.

Jean, Raymond, dit Godon. Contracted October 12, 1703, to go to Detroit as a farmer.

Jobin, Marie Magdeleine, wife of Francois Fafart, dit Delorme, interpreter. She died at Detroit, January 29, 1711, aged about forty years.

Joly, Jean, surnamed Jolycoeur, sergeant in the troops. He was a native of the parish of Bury, diocese of Xaintes. Died at Detroit, Michigan, March 20, 1707, and buried in the cemetery of Fort Pontchartrain.

Juillet, Jean, called Laplante. Came to Detroit as a bargeman May 30, 1705.

Labatier (or Abatis), Jean, owned a lot in the village. Jean Labattu, Cochant, dit Champagne, a soldier. Died in Detroit, February 15, 1712. I think this is the same person.

Laberge, Guillaume, entered into an agreement October 12, 1703, to come to Detroit as a farmer.

Labrierre, see Normand.

La Ferriere, Genevieve, wife of Francois Bienvenue, dit Delisle. Born December 8, 1679. She died before 1709. Her family name was Charon.

Lafleur, see Poirier.

Laferte, see Levoir.

La Forest, Marguerite, wife of Antoine Levoir. She was born in 1689 and married Antoine Terou Laferte (Levoir), June 10, 1706.

La Grandeur, see Faverau.

La Jeunesse, see Stebre.

La Jeunesse, Etienne. Came in 1706.

Lalande, Marie, wife of Pierre Hemart.

Laloire, —, farmer. There is nothing from which the first name can be determined. Tanguay gives the name Allaire as the same surname as this.

Lamareux, Francois, sieur de St. Germain. Came April 2, 1707. Francois Lamoureux, dit St. Germain, a merchant, was born 1675 and died December 30, 1740.

La Marque, Pierre, called Sans Soucy. Came as bargeman May 30, 1705. He lived at Laprairie, and his wife was Magdeleine Delisle.

La Montagne, called Pierre Mouet.

La Mothe, Magdalaine, Cadillac's daughter.

La Mothe, Marie Therese, daughter of Cadillac. Baptized February 2, 1704.

Lamy, Joseph. Set out from Montreal, September 6, 1708, to conduct Madam Ranez to Detroit. Lamy drifted farther west to Kaskaskia, where he became one of the trustees of the church in 1717, and was killed by the Indians in 1725.

Lanarias, Charlotte, probably Sanarias, which see.

Langlois, Antoine, son of Jacques Langlois. Born November 13, 1709. Buried July 26, 1710, at Detroit, aged about 8½ months.

Langlois, Jacques, farmer and blacksmith. Born in 1676. He married Marie Dussault. He resided for a time in Detroit, but returned to Montreal, and died there January 30, 1733.

Langlois, Paul, farmer. Came April 11, 1707.

Laplante, Catherine, wife of Bonaventure Compien dit L'Esperance. Her name, according to the record of baptisms in Sorel, where she was born, was Marie Catherine Badailac, dit Laplante, and she was married at Montreal, June 10, 1716.

Laporte, see Aguenet.

Laprairie, Julien. Came August 19, 1710.

Larivee, Jean. Came May 19, 1708. He was born August 12, 1667, and died September 9, 1729.

L'arramee—Tanguay mentions a man by this name, his first name being unknown, who died in Montreal, September 23, 1736.

La Salle, Jean, a soldier of the company of Duluth. Native of Peyrouade in Bearn. Died January 24, 1707. His body was buried in the church of the Fort Pontchartrain du Detroit.

Laude, Joseph, dit Mata. Agreed to go to Detroit as farmer, October 12, 1703.

La Vallee, Jean Baptiste, soldier of the company of the Cassagne. Native of Quintin, bishopric of St. Brieux, in Brittany. Died November 19, 1711, aged about thirty years.

Lavois, Jacques, dit St. Amour. Came as bargeman May 30, 1705. He was a soldier of the company of La Corne, and married Marie Barbe Cesar, at Montreal, November 28, 1711.

Leboeuf, Pierre. Came as bargeman May 30, 1705. His wife was Marie Francoise Auzon. He never came here to reside permanently, but some of his children did.

Le Coutant, dit Rencontre, Magdelaine, daughter of Francois Judit Le Coutant, dit Rencontre. Born February 5, 1710.

L'Ecuyer, Pierre.

Leduc, Jean Baptiste, son of Jean Leduc, of Montreal. Came October 11, 1710. He was born in 1684, and married Marie Catherine Descary.

Lefebvre, Louis. Came as bargeman May 30, 1705. His father was Jean Baptist Lefebvre, of Montreal.

Lefebvre, Nicholas, voyageur. Came May 22, 1709, His father, Jean Baptiste Lefebvre, lived on St. Peter's River.

Legautier, Francois, sieur de la Vallee Ranee (see Deranee), lieutenant in the detachment of marines in Canada. Came October 2, 1709. Died November 12, 1710.

Leger, Bourgeroy. Came April 2, 1707.

Leger, called Parisien, Marie Jeanne, daughter of Pierre Leger. Baptized December 15, 1707.

Leger (dit Parisien), Marie Jeanne, daughter of Pierre Leger, dit Parisien. Born August 9, 1709. These two children of the same parents bear the same name. There is no record of the death of either.

Leger (called Parisien), Pierre, farmer. His wife was Jeanne Boilard, to whom he was married at Quebec, May 15, 1706.

Legros, Jean, called Laviolette. Born December 22, 1673. He married Marie Buet, November 24, 1700. He came to Detroit, September 6, 1708.

Legros, Nicolas. Came as bargeman May 30, 1705. He was an elder brother of Jean Legros, and married Marie Charlotte Turpin.

Le Maire, Charles, dit St. Germain, voyageur. Came October 17, 1707, with a canoe of merchandise for the Recollet fathers. He was a captain of militia in Lachine. Born 1676; died 1751.

Le May, Michel. Agreed April 25, 1704, to come to Detroit as a brigadier (foreman of a boat's crew).

Le Mire, Jean, de Marsolet. Came as bargeman May 30, 1705. His mother's name was Louise Marsolet.

Le Moyne, Alexis, sieur de Moniere. Came before October 2, 1709.

Le Moine, Jacques, merchant. Came June 21, 1706.

Le Moine, Rene, merchant.

Le Moyne, Marie, wife of Francois Bienvenue, dit Delisle, married in 1708. He had another (first) wife, Genevieve Laferiere. Marie Le Moyne, aged about seventy years, was buried September 6, 1764.

Le Moyne, Rene (or Rene Alexander). Came October 12, 1706. Born in 1668. He married Marie Renee Le Boulanger, February 2, 1712.

Le Page, Marie. Born in Montreal, 1684. She married, June 12, 1706, at Montreal, Francois Beauceron. The date of his death is not given, but it was before 1709, for she is mentioned at that time as a widow. She is the only woman to whom any land was conveyed by Cadillac, within the palisades. Her husband was living at this time (1707), but she was probably separated from him, as he is not mentioned. She must have subsequently married Joseph Vaudry, for they are called legal husband and wife in 1720, and had a child, Mary Magdeleine. It is with the name of Marie Lepage that the first great social scandal of Detroit is connected. The pages of St. Anne's record with glaring plainness the false step of this unfortunate woman. It is impossible to tell, now, the penance that she performed in atonement for her wrong-doing.

The church record, possibly, operated to deter others from following in her path. Whether the man lost prestige or not is unknown, but we do know that he left Detroit about the time this affair became public, and returned to Montreal, where he was appointed the trusted agent and attorney for Cadillac, and retained that position as long as Cadillac remained at Detroit.

Le Page, Marie Therese, daughter of Marie Le Page, widow of the late Bausseron and of sieur Grandmenil, commis du Magazin. Born July 24, 1709. This is the first record of an illegitimate child. It is not profitable to trace the descent of this unfortunate.

Lescuyer, Anthoine. Came May 28, 1708. He was born in Montreal, May 28, 1688.

Lescuyer, Jean and Paul, brothers. Came May 29, 1706. They, with Jacques Minuille, brought ten cattle and three horses from Fort Frontenac to Detroit, for Cadillac. They were sons of Pierre Lescuyer, born in Montreal, June 16, 1681, and February 15, 1676, respectively.

Lescuyer, Pierre. Came as bargeman May 30, 1705. He was a brother of the three preceding persons. Born in Montreal, February 9, 1674.

Lesieur, Jean Baptiste, dit Callot. Came as bargeman May 30, 1705.

L'Esperance, see Compien.

L'Espine, Marie Magdelaine, wife of Joseph Parent. She was the daughter of Jacques Murette, dit L'Espine.

L'Esquier, Pierre, voyageur.

Le Tendre, Adele Genevieve. Probably came to Detroit with Mme. La Mothe, Cadillac's wife, as she was god-mother to his daughter, Marie Therese, in 1704.

Leveille, Laurent. Came June 15, 1706. He was a Panis Indian.

Levroir, called Laferte, Antoine. The name should be Antoine Theroux. He was born in 1677 and died February 22, 1759.

Levroir, Pierre, son of Antoine Levroir, above. Baptized February 22, 1707. He married Rose Poitevin in 1733.

L'Isle, see Bienvenue.

Livernois, Francis. Francois Benoit, dit Livernois, came to Detroit, April 2, 1707. He married Angelique Chagnon in 1710. The name Livernois is quite common in Detroit now.

Loisel, Barbe, wife of Francois Legautier, Esq., sieur de Lavallee Rancee, lieutenant. Set out to go to her said husband at Detroit, September 6, 1708. She was married three times. First to Pierre Roussel, then to Legautier, and, in 1713 to Francois Fafard, dit DeLorme.

Loranger, Joseph, dit Rivard, dit La Jauge, see Rivard.

Loranger, Nicholas, dit Rivard, voyageur, see Rivard.

Lubert, Jacques.

Magdeleyne, Jean Baptiste, dit Ladouceur. Came in 1706. He was born in Montreal in 1681 and married Elizabeth Millet.

Magnant, Antoine, dit L'Esperance. He lived within the palisades and owned a lot there, but he is described in Ste. Anne's records as a citizen of Montreal (1708), a voyageur at present at Fort Pontchartrain. He was born September 24, 1682, at Laprairie.

Magnan, Gaspard dit Champagne. Came as bargeman May 30, 1705. He married Magdeleine Marsille, February 9, 1699.

Maionee, Marguerite.

Maisme, Marie.

Major, see Boutran.

Malet, Antoine, son of Pierre Malet. Baptized August 16, 1706. He married Therese Mailhot, August 11, 1730.

Mallet, Francois, son of Pierre Mallet. Born July 28, 1708.

Mallet, Pierre, farmer, voyageur, citizen of Detroit. His wife was Magdeleine Dufresne, widow of Francois Pelletier.

Mallet, Rene, voyageur. Came November 6, 1707. Apparently he was the father of Pierre Mallet, and died at Montreal, October 24, 1716.

Marces, Francois, a soldier.

Marcil, Andre. Came May 17, 1710.

Marendeau, Marianne (or Maranda), wife of Antoine Dupuis, dit Beauregard. They were married at Montreal, June 9, 1706, and she returned and died there January 8, 1730.

Marquet, Francois. His wife was Louise Galerneau, and they were married April 26, 1706, at Quebec. They left Detroit some time before Cadillac did, and their third child, Pierre, was born in Montreal in 1710.

Marquet, Joseph, son of Francois Marquet. Born May 22, 1707.

Marquet, Marguerite, daughter of Francois Marquet. Born March 20, 1709.

De Marsac de Cobtrou, Francois, son of Jacob de Marsac. Baptized October 22, 1706. He married Therese Cecile Campau in 1734, and one of their daughters, Marie Louise, became the wife of Robert Navarre in 1762.

De Marsac de Cobtrion, Jacques, son of Jacob de Marsac. Born November 7, 1707; died December 24, 1745, aged about forty years. The priest guessed at his age, but the record shows that he was thirty-eight years of age.

De Marsac de Cobtrion, Jacob, sieur Desrochers, sergeant in a company in the detachment of marines. His wife was Therese David. He was buried April 27, 1747, aged eighty years. Their son, Jacques, married Marie Anne Chapoton, daughter of Jean Chapoton, surgeon, January 25, 1745.

Marsac, Jerome.

Marsille, Andre.

Martiac, Jerome, dit Sansquartier (or Sanscartier), son of Maurice Martiac and Jeanne Damiot, of the parish of Chaubouline, bishopric of Brines in Limozin. Died June 10, 1709. He was a soldier of Detroit. His wife was Marie Anne Gallien. His name is sometimes spelled Marillac.

Martiac, Magdeleine, daughter of Hierosmes Martiac (called Sansquartier). Baptized January 22, 1707.

Martiac (called Sans Quartier), Pierre Jerome, son of Jerome Martiac, dit Sans Quartier. Baptized March 28, 1709.

Martin, Claude. Came June 15, 1706.

Masse, Francois, farmer. His wife was Marguerite Couk, called Lafleur. They were married in 1702. She had been the widow of Jean Fafard.

Masse, Jeanne. Became the wife of Michel Campau in 1696. She had a daughter, Marie Anne Campau, who became the wife of Pierre Belleperche.

Masse, Michel. He lived in Montreal but visited Detroit.

Maurisseau, Jacques, voyageur. Came June 15, 1706.

Maurivan, Jacques. Came 1706.

Maurivan, Louis. Came 1706.

Melain, Marie, wife of Blaise Fondurose, a soldier. She was born in 1689, married June 9, 1706, lived in Detroit several years, but returned to Montreal and died there April 26, 1713.



Merssan, Jean, dit Lapierre. Came as bargeman May 30, 1705. He is mentioned as a Marguillier, or church trustee, probably of Quebec, by Tanguay. He was born in 1685 and died April 16, 1718.

Michel, Jean. Agreed to go to Detroit as farmer, October 12, 1703. He probably lived at St. Francois du Lac.

Mikitchia, Joseph, slave belonging to Michel Bezailln: Teste Plate (flat head). Baptized March 10, 1710, sixteen years old.

Milhet (or Millet), Nicolas. Came March 3, 1709. January 4, 1712, he married Louise Cardinal.

Minville (or Miville), Jacques. Came May 29, 1706. He, with Paul and Jean Lescuyer, brought ten cattle and three horses from Fort Frontenac to Detroit, for Cadillac. His wife was Catherine Lescuyer, of Montreal.

Moitie, Marie, wife of Pierre Chesne, according to Tanguay, married October 9, 1700, at Montreal. She was widow of Jean Magnan, and died December 31, 1727.

Monet, Pierre, see La Montagne.

Monjeau, Gabriel, voyageur. Came April 23, 1710. He was born in 1690 and died April 27, 1718. He did not stop long in Detroit.

Monteil, Rene, dit Sansremission. Came as bargeman May 30, 1705. He did not remain long in Detroit. He died at St. Ours, March 4, 1724.

Montfort, —, soldier of the company of Desgly, found dead in the woods at the foot of a tree; buried December 21, 1709. I cannot find the first name of this soldier.

Morand, Pierre. Came as bargeman May 30, 1705. He died at Batiscan, June 11, 1729.

Moreau, Joseph. Came as bargeman May 30, 1705. His home was at Batiscan.

Morin, Moise, dit Chesnevert. Came as bargeman May 30, 1705. He was a sergeant in the company of Beaucour. Born in Poitiers, Poitou. He married Magdeleine Monin, November 26, 1707, and made his home at Quebec.

Morisseau, Louis. Came June 15, 1706.

Morisseau, Pierre. Came as bargeman May 30, 1705.

Normand, Angelique, daughter of Louis Normand, dit Labriere. Born June 20, 1707. She was married three times; to Jean De Launay, to Jacques Beda, and to Jacques Hermier.

Normand, Louis, dit Labriere, tool maker. Came June 7, 1706, to work at his trade. He was born at Quebec, October 13, 1680. Married Anne Bruneau, May 29, 1701, and died July 15, 1729.

Normand (called La Briere), Marie Therese, daughter of Louis Normand, dit La Briere. Born at Detroit, September 1, 1705.

Ouabankikow, Marguerite, an Indian of the Miami tribe, the wife of Pierre Roy. There is no record of her marriage, though the priest called her a legal wife. She died of smallpox October 31, 1732. She had six children, baptized in the church at Detroit.

Pachot, Jean Marie Daniel. He was born July 30, 1694, and was the son of Francois Vienay Pachot and Charlotte Francoise Juchereau. After his father's death, his mother married Francois de la Forest, a lieutenant under Cadillac, and afterwards commandant at Detroit.

Paquet, Jean. He was born in 1682, and February 20, 1708, married Marie Charland.

Parent, Joseph, farmer, master toolmaker and brewer. His wife was Magdeleine Marette, whom he married at Beauport, January 31, 1690. On the 9th of March, 1706, he agreed with Cadillac to go to Detroit to work at his trade for three years.

Parent, Marie, daughter of Joseph Parent and Magdeleine Marette, dit Lespine. Baptized January 21, 1709.

Parent, Marie Madelaine, daughter of Joseph, above. Born at Beauport, December 15, 1692, and came with her parents to Detroit between the years 1706 and 1709.

Parent, Marguerite, daughter of Joseph, above. Born at Montreal, July 7, 1698.

Parisien, see Leger.

Pastorelle, Anne, wife of Andre Channet, dit Camiraud. He was her second husband. Her first husband was Jean Moriceau.

Patenostre, Jean, of St. Lambert. Came September 6, 1710.

Pepin. Jean. Came as bargeman May 30, 1705.

Perrin, Mathieu, dit Garaho (or Garaut), came October 2, 1709. He was taken prisoner by the Iroquois while taking goods to Fort Frontenac in 1688. The next year Jeanne Pilet was also taken prisoner by the Iroquois. They met as prisoners, and, forming an attachment for each other, were married by Fr. Miller, Jesuit, who was also a captive of the Iroquois at that time.

Petit, Marie, wife of Pierre Poirier, dit Lafleur. Tanguay gives the name as Marie Clemence Maupetit.

Philippe, dit Belhumeur, Bernard, sergeant in the troops of the department of marines. He married Anne Gallien, widow of Jerome Marillac. They had both lived in Detroit, but were married in Montreal, March 18, 1712.

Picard, Alexis. Came as bargeman May 30, 1705. Brother of Francois, mentioned below. He was born in 1681, and died at Montreal, April 22, 1745.

Picard, Francois. Came as voyageur May 30, 1705. His wife was Anne Farreau. He died at Detroit, October 7, 1728.

Pichet, Pierre. He was born in 1674, married Marie Ann Sylvester at Pointe aux Trembles in 1697, and died August 12, 1712, at Cap Sante.

Pineau, Thomas, dit Bundemour, sergeant in troops of the marine. He was stationed in Detroit in 1709.

Pinet, Yves, gunsmith. Came to Detroit, March 9, 1706, to work at his trade for three years.

Plante, Zacharie.

Poirier (called La Fleur), Angelique, daughter of Pierre Poirier, dit Lafleur. Born March 10, 1709.

Poirier, Pierre Rene, dit Lafleur, farmer and soldier. He married Marie Clemence Maupetit, June 12, 1707. Her name is given in Ste. Anne's records as Marie Petit.

Pothier, Toussaint, dit La Verdure, voyageur. Came September 22, 1707. He lived in Montreal, was born in 1675, and married Marguerite Thunay.

Primo, Jean, dit La ——. Came as bargeman May 30, 1705. The record from which this name is taken has been partly destroyed by time and a portion of the name obliterated.

Proteau, Angelique, wife of Etienne Boutron, dit Major. After the death of Boutron she married Pierre Germain and died in 1754.

Quarante, Sols, or Quarant, Sous, see Cheanouvouzon.

Quesnel, Jacques and Jean, brothers, voyageurs. Came May 18, 1710. They were sons of Oliver Quesnel. Jean was born at Montreal and Jacques at Lachine. They lived at Lachine.

Quilenchive. I cannot make out this name. I think it to be an Indian name, though I may be as sadly mistaken as I was with the name of Xaintonge.

Rabillard, Nicolas. Came September 27, 1706.

Reaume, Charles, voyageur. Came September 28, 1710. The only person I can find bearing this name was a son of Rene Reaume, born April 17, 1688, at Charlesbourg.

Renaud, Charles, esquire, sieur Dubuisson, lieutenant of a company and commandant at Fort Pontchartrain at Detroit, in the absence of M. de Laforest. When Cadillac left Detroit, Laforest agreed to take his place here at once, but was taken sick and Dubuisson was sent here temporarily to hold it until Laforest's recovery.

Renaud, Louis, dit Duval. Came June 16, 1706. Antoine Renaud married Francoise Duval. The records do not contain the name of Louis as one of their children, but because he was called Duval, I conclude he was a child of this marriage.

Rencontre, or Rancontre, see Jardis.

Reneau, Laurent, voyageur. Came May 23, 1710. He married Anne Guyon at St. Augustin in 1695, and after 1698 he lived at Montreal.

Rhodillon, Louise, wife of Jean Baptiste Gouriou. This name should be Chaudillon. She was born January 11, 1682, at Sorel, and married Gouriou, June 22, 1701.

Richard, Claude. Came April 2, 1707. The only Claude Richard I find was a son of Guillaume Richard, born January 30, 1684. I find no record of his marriage or death.

Richard, Jean, farmer and interpreter for the king. His wife was Marie Anne Ladecouverte (or Yon). Being dangerously wounded July 7, 1708, he states that he left with his sister, Mme. Duplessis, 720 livres, for which he holds her note, now in the hands of his cousin, Jacques Langlois, and he wishes the sum paid to Pierre Roy. He did not die, however, until several years later.

Rivard, Claude, sieur de Lorange. Agreed with the company of the colony of Canada, represented by Francoise Dumontier, of Montreal, and Etienne Volland de Radisson, of Detroit, to go to Detroit, July 10, 1703, as an interpreter. Rivard, Francois, dit Montendre. Came May 19, 1708.

Rivard, Robert. Came as bargeman May 30, 1705.

Rivard, Joseph, dit Montendre. Came May 18, 1708.

Rivard, Mathurin. Came May 18, 1708.

Rivard, Nicolas. Born in 1686. He married Marie Joseph Raux in 1724, and died in 1729.

Rivard, Pierre, dit Lanouette, voyageur. Came September 6, 1710. He was born in 1686 and married Marie Anne Caillia, June 9, 1721.

Rivard, Robert. Came May 18, 1708. Robert, Joseph, Mathurin, Claude, and Francois were sons of Robert Rivard, of Batiscan.

Robert, Francois. Came in 1706. He was born in 1678, married Marie Lanctot in 1712, and died in 1756.

Robert, Joseph. Born in 1674, married in 1701, and died in 1748. He and Francois and Pierre were brothers. He came to Detroit, May 12, 1707.

Robert, Pierre, dit Lafontaine. He moved to Detroit May 19, 1708, with

his wife and children. He had been there before, having come June 15, 1706, in charge of a canoe of merchandise. His wife was Angelique Ptolomee (or Tholme). After he died his widow married Guillaume Bouche, August 16, 1716. At the marriage of his son, Antoine, in 1743, this Pierre Robert is referred to as "the late Antoine Robert." The son married Marie Louise Becmond.

Robert, Prudent. Came August 12, 1710. He was another brother of Pierre Robert, all being sons of Louis Robert. His wife, whom he married at Detroit, January 7, 1711, was Magdeleine Fafard, dit Delorme.

Rose, Nicolas, soldier. He was born in 1674 and died in 1746. His wife was Marie Anne Prudhomme.

Roy, Edmond, dit Chatellereau. Agreed to come to Detroit, July 28, 1704, as brigadier (foreman of a boat's crew). He was to receive 300 livres for the trip. While he never resided in Detroit, his son, Joseph, did, and was married here in 1736 to Magdeleine Perthuis.

Roy, Louis. Came as bargeman May 30, 1705. He was born in 1659 and died before 1713.

Roy, Marguerite, daughter of Pierre Roy. Baptized April 27, 1704.

Roy, Marie Louise, daughter of Pierre Roy. She was baptized May 19, 1708, married Alexis De Ruisseau, and died in childbirth December 3, 1735, aged about thirty-one years.

Roy, Marie Magdeleine, daughter of Pierre Roy. Born May 25, 1710. She married Pierre Chesne, dit La Butte, and died October 20, 1732, aged twenty-two years.

Roy, Pierre. It has been stated that this was the first man at Detroit and that he lived with the Indians in this neighborhood before Cadillac came. His wife was Marguerite Ouabankikow, a Miami Indian.

Roy, Pierre, son of Pierre Roy. Baptized April 21, 1706.

Roze, Francois and Nicholas, brothers. Came April 13, 1709. They were sons of Noel Rose and born at Quebec. The name should be Rose.

Ruiet, Jean. Came as bargeman May 30, 1705.

Ruiet, Rene. Came as bargeman May 30, 1705.

St. Aubin, Jean, corporal in the garrison. Came to Detroit with Pierre Duroy, April 11, 1707. See Casse.

St. Marie, Francois Marie. Came as bargeman May 30, 1705.

St. Yves, Joseph. Came August 11, 1710 (engage). He was born in 1692 and consequently only eighteen years of age. The family name was St. Ange, dit Hogue.

St. Yves, Pierre, voyageur. Came April 18, 1710. Elder brother of the preceding. He was born in 1682.

Salomon. I think this name is a mistake, though it occurs in one of Cadillac's conveyances. I think he intended Salomon, Joseph Du Vestin.

Sanaria, Charlotte, wife of Jacques Desmoulins, dit Philis. She was born in 1679 and died May 5, 1744, at Detroit.

Sansquartier, see Martiac.

Sarrazin, Joseph. Came as bargeman May 30, 1705. Son of Nicholas Sarrazin, born February 24, 1681.

Sarrazin, Nicholas, brother of above, born January 12, 1686.

Sarrazin, Pierre. Came as bargeman May 30, 1705. Another brother of above, born February 26, 1684.

Senecal, Adrien. Came as bargeman May 30, 1705.

Senecal, Joseph. Came September 10, 1710. He was born in 1674 and died February 28, 1736. His wife was Louise Bateau, or Barros.

Serond (called L'Eveille), Jean.

Simon, Gilbert, or Simon, Sanspeur, dit Gilbert, sergeant in the troops. His wife was Marguerite Le Page. She died July 20, 1730, at Detroit.

Simon (probably Pierre). Came May 18, 1708. The first name of this party has been destroyed in the notarial record, but his residence is given as Pointe aux Tremble, and the only Simon living at that place at this time was Pierre.

Sirier, Martin, see Cirier.

Slave (Panis), Jacques. A little slave of Pierre Roy, aged seven or eight years.

Slave. The first mention of negroes is two of Louis Campau's in 1736.

Slave (Panisse), Marie Jeanne, belonging to Jean Richard, voyageur, aged about fifteen years.

Slave (Panis, Indian), belonging to Mr. Moynier, aged twelve to fourteen years, died November 16, 1710.

Slave (Panis, Indian), Joseph, called Escabia, belonging to Joseph Parent; aged twenty-one or twenty-two years. He died January 21, 1710.

Sontieureuse, Blaise, lately employed as a soldier in the company of De La Mothe (1707). Tanguay says his name should be Fondurose.

Sontieureuse, Marie, daughter of Blaise Sontieureuse. Born May 14, 1707.

Stebre, dit La Jeunesse, Agathe, daughter of Pierre Stebre, dit La Jeunesse. Born February 14, 1710, died February 21, 1710.

Stebre, dit La Jeunesse, —, daughter of Joseph Nicolas Stebre. Born January 12, 1711. The priest has omitted to give the first name of the infant. On January 19, 1733, they buried Angelique Esteve, wife of Pierre Belleperche, aged about twenty-one years. She died of smallpox. This may be the one born January 12, 1711.

Stebre, called La Jeunesse, Pierre, late a soldier. Died July 16, 1736. His wife was Marie Magdeleine Frappier. She died December 22, 1759, aged eighty years. He was at Montreal August 27, 1767. He had a daughter, Marguerite, who married Jean Chapoton, surgeon of the fort, July 16, 1720. She died July 7, 1753, aged forty-five years. The name is sometimes given us as Esteve, and Steve, but the descendants are now usually called La Jeunesse.

Stebre, dit La Jeunesse, Pierre, son of Pierre Stebre. Born May 1, 1708. Married (as Steve) Marie Desforges, widow of Francois Picard, October 24, 1729. Died March 24, 1731.

Surgere, Blaise, farmer. I find frequent mention of this name, but cannot identify its possessor, unless it is the same as Sontieureuse, above.

Susart, called Delorme, Francois (probably an error on the part of the priest in writing the name of Fafard), dit Delorme.

Tabaux, Jacques. Came as bargeman May 30, 1705.

Tabaux, Jean, Jr. Came May 15, 1708. He married Angelique Brunet in 1710 and died at Montreal in 1728.

Tacet, Pierre.

Tesee, Francois.

Tessier, Paul. He was a resident of Montreal. Came to Detroit in 1708, and was here again in 1710, when he witnessed the marriage of Martin Cirier and Marie Anne Bone.

Tessier, Antoine, farmer.

Tetreau, Jean Baptiste, Joseph, and Laurent, brothers. Came April 21, 1707.

Tholme, Angelique, wife of Pierre Robert. This name is given as Angelique Dalonne, and in some places as Ptolme, by Tanguay. She was buried in 1744, aged about sixty-five years. She married Guillaume Bouche, after the death of Robert.

Tichenet, Pierre.

Tonty, Alphonse, captain of a company, aged sixty-eight years. Buried November 10, 1727. His first wife was Anne Picote. She and Cadillac's wife were the first women in Detroit. She died in 1714, and in 1717 he married Marianne Delamarque, widow of Jean Baptiste Nolan. Tonty was an Italian, and frequent references are made to the Italian schemer.

Tousignan, Michel, dit LePointe. Came September 6, 1710. He was the son of Pierre Tousignan, and married Marie Catherine Lemay.

Trottier, Alexis. Came May 18, 1708. Son of Antoine Trottier and brother of Paul, below. He married Marie Louise Roy at Detroit, January 6, 1735, and after her death married Catherine Godfroy.

Trottier, Gabriel, dit St. Jean. Came as bargeman May 30, 1705.

Trottier, Joseph, dit Desruisseaux. Came on October 17, 1708. He was a brother of Michel, and born in 1668. His wife was Francoise Cuillierier.

Trottier, Michel, sieur de Beaubien. Came May 18, 1708. He was born in 1675 and married Agnes Godfroy in 1700.

Trottier, Paul (brother of Joseph). Came October 17, 1708.

Truteau, Jean Baptiste. Married Magdeleine Parant, September 1, 1715, and died in 1754.

Truteau, Joseph, carpenter. Brother of Jean Baptiste. They came together April 2, 1707. Joseph died at Montreal in 1745.

Tuffe, called du Fresne, Antoine. The only person I can find bearing this name was born in Montreal, August 21, 1677.

Tune, Magdeleine, wife of Pierre Malet. This name should be Du Fresne. She was born in 1669 and married Francois Pelletier. After his death she married Pierre Malet, or Maillet.

Turpin, Jean Baptiste, son of Alexander Turpin and Charlotte Beauvais, of Montreal. Married Marguerite Fafard, daughter of the late Jean Fafard, and Marguerite Conique, of this parish and new colony, May 5, 1710.

Turpin, Jean Baptiste, voyageur. Came October 2, 1709.

Turpin, Jean Baptiste, son of Jean Baptiste Turpin. Born December 14, 1710.

Vaudry, Etienne, voyageur. Came August 2, 1707. Born at Three Rivers, October 27, 1685.

Vaudry, Jacques. Came as bargeman, May 30, 1705. Born in 1670, and died in 1743.

Vaudry, Joseph. Came August 19, 1710. He was born in 1687, and married Marguerite Lepage, widow of Simon Gilbert. Etienne, Jacques and Joseph were brothers and sons of Jacques Vaudry and Jeanne Renault.

Veron, Etienne, de Grandmesnil, appointed attorney in fact for Cadillac, July 26, 1709. His name has been mentioned above. He was born in 1649, married Marie Moral, dit Montendre, and died at Three Rivers May 18, 1721. He lived several years at Detroit, and was a man of considerable importance, having charge of the public storehouse and acting as amanuensis for Cadillac.

Vien, Ignace. Came as voyageur, June 12, 1706. Died 1751, aged eighty years.

Villain, Pierre, soldier in company of De Le Mothe.

Volant, Jean Francois, sieur de Fosseneuve. Agreed to go to Detroit to serve as a hunter, July 10, 1703. He was born in 1670, and married Marguerite Godfroy June 6, 1701.

Xaintonge, —. When I first encountered this name it stood alone without any connecting names. I concluded it was an Indian name and so stated. Further investigation has led me to conclude that I was greatly mistaken, and that the individual was named Pierre Gareau, dit St. Onge, and that the name St. Onge has been gradually changed to Saintonge and from that to Xaintonge.

Zerbain, Pierre, dit St. Pierre, a soldier.

#### ORIGIN OF OLD FRENCH NAMES

The following letter from Fr. Christian Denissen, relative to the origin of the old French names, is self explanatory:

“The early colonists of Lower Canada obtained from the French Government grants of extensive tracts of land. These grants were executed in the mediaeval phraseology used under the feudal system of holding estate. The settlers assuming a resemblance between their holdings and the domains of the French barons and ‘seigneurs,’ called their large, wild farms by certain titles, and affixed the same to their own family names, in imitation of the European nobility. In some cases these titles were confirmed by the Government. The owners of these vast estates considered themselves seigneurs of this new country, and were very proud of the affixes to their names. In business transactions these additions to their signatures were used with all their flourishes. At baptisms the title had to be entered in the parish registers; at marriages the affix to the old family name sounded high both for bride and groom in the verbose marriage contract; respectability was increased by the presence of many witnesses with titled names. In this manner the owners of large estates in Lower Canada, at a certain period of the seventeenth century, looked upon themselves and upon each other as a quasi-nobility. Their children naturally assumed those titles and often thought more of the affixes than of their own family names. Feudalism was about dead, and fast dying in Europe in those days, and therefore could not gain foothold in America. In the eighteenth century we do not find new titles originating; still the old ones remained. The grandchildren and great-grandchildren of these titled pioneers often discarded the old family name and were known only by the new title. Hence the new names that the genealogist has to contend with. As an illustration, take the Trotier family. The Trotiers of America all descend from Julius Trotier, born in 1590, in the parish of St. Martin, in the Town of Ige, in the Province of Perche, France. He, seemingly a common citizen, came with his family to Canada about the year 1645. His children married in Canada, and, in the course of time, had large families. They obtained extensive estates and were very lavish in originating titles for the same. In a few years we find Trotier Sieur des Ruisseaux, Trotier Seigneur de l’Isle Perrot, Trotier Sieur de Beaubien, Trotier Seigneur de la Riviere du Loup, Trotier Seigneur de l’Isle aux Herons, Trotier Sieur des Aulniers, Trotier de la Bissonniere, Trotier dit Desrivieres, Trotier de Bellecour, Trotier de Valcour, etc. Many of these Trotiers gradually dropped the family name and signed only the assumed title. Hence we have the families of Beaubien, Desruisseaux, Desaulniers, Bellecour,

Labissonniere, Desrivieres, Devalcour, etc. All these trace to a common ancestor, Julius Trotier.

“Another cause of the change of French names was the custom so prevalent in former times, of nicknaming themselves and others. This was done sometimes to discern one family from another of the same name; as a family Baron was nicknamed Lupien—Baron dit Lupien—to distinguish it from other Baron families, Lupien being the Christian name of the ancestor of that family in this country. At other occasions the nickname originated through family pride; when a member was distinguished, that branch of a family would annex the Christian name of the hero, or, if a woman, the family name of the revered heroine. In this manner some Cuilleriers lost their own name through the marriage of John Cuillerier with Mary Catherine Trotier de Beaubien; this lady was distinguished through her family title of Beaubien, and after John Cuillerier’s death, by becoming the wife of Francis Picote de Belestre, an officer of Fort Pontchartrain. On this account her children from the first marriage signed themselves Couillerier dit Beaubien, and in later generations Cuillerier was dropped and nothing was left but Beaubien. These are the Beaubiens of our vicinity. Another instance of the same kind we find in the family of Leonard. Leonard Simon, born at Montreal, September 3, 1656, was considered by his descendants to have been a great man, consequently the family name became Simon dit Leonard; in time the old name Simon was dropped and Leonard became the family name. These Leonards we find in Monroe and vicinity in great abundance. Again families glorifying the section of country their forefathers came from, added to their names the province, city or town of their ancestor. In this manner the Sedilot family, who came from the City of Montreuil, in Picardy, France, became Sedilot dit Montreuil, and later on are simply Montreuil. So it was with Casse, who originated from the town of St. Aubin; they became Casse dit St. Aubin, and now are only St. Aubin. The same we find in Bourgeat, who came from the Province of Provence; they adopted Bourgeat, dit Provençal, and now are Provençal. We meet with the same case in the family of Lootman, who are of Holland origin, and moved from the Netherlands to the Province of Berry, France; they became in Canada Lootman dit Barrois, later on in Detroit we find them at Barrois. The same is true of Toulouse, Champagne, Gascon, Langoumois, and many others. There are nicknames that originated from the peculiar circumstances of birth, like Nicolas Campau dit Niagara, who was born at the Portage of Niagara, when his parents were traveling from Detroit to Montreal. It happened, also, that nicknames were given by Indians, as Labadie dit Badichon, Peltier dit Antaya. Nicknames have also been given frivolously and would stick in future generations, as in the family of Poissant, sounding like Poisson (fish), by adding Lasaline (salt), Poissant dit Lasaline (saltfish). Another way of nicknaming was by adopting a peculiar Christian name by which a certain person was known in the community; so we find in the family of Le Tourneux, a Jean Baptiste Le Tourneux, who settled in Sandwich, opposite the Michigan Central Depot of present Detroit, about one hundred and ten years ago. He was known by everyone as Jeannette (the diminutive name of Jean); by incorrect spelling he became Janet and Janette, hence Le Tourneux dit Janette. His numerous descendants are called Janette. From him we have Janette Street in Windsor, Ont., and farther west Janette’s Creek, and Janette railroad station.

“The most curious way of changing of names we find in the family of



Ellair or Elaire. The common ancestor is Hilaire Sureau, who came from France and married at Quebec June 18, 1691. His son's name was Peter Sureau dit Blondin, who married at Montreal in 1723; and his children signed themselves Blondin dit Hilaire. Their descendants were named Hilaire, and in Detroit the name has been corrupted to Ellair.

“Other modes might be mentioned. It is singular that scarcely a name has been adopted from the trade, occupation or profession that a person followed.

“These nicknames are attached to the name proper by the word ‘dit,’ which might be rendered in our language by ‘called,’ ‘named,’ ‘namely,’ ‘to wit,’ ‘known as’; but ‘dit’ is so idiomatically French that it can hardly be translated into English.

“The suppression of ‘s’ in some names, as from Chesne to Chene, Estienne to Etienne, is accounted for by the evolution of the French language from the old form to the modern way of spelling.”

## DETROIT IN 1789

(List of names taken from Ledger E of the Askin Accounts, 1785-1795)

Ambrose Riopelle.  
 John Clearwater.  
 Pierre Traversy, carpenter.  
 George Sharp.  
 Angus Mackintosh, merchant.  
 Hugh Heward.  
 Thomas Smith, tavern keeper, surveyor.  
 Alex. Maisonville, farmer.  
 Alexander McKinzie, merchant.  
 Charles Janisse, farmer.  
 Richard Pollard, merchant.  
 Warrentine Illy, farmer.  
 Francois Frerot, carpenter.  
 Mrs. Cray.  
 Joseph Vermette, blacksmith.  
 Timothy Diseman, sailor on the Beaver.  
 Francis Moran.  
 Mathew Dolson, tavern keeper.  
 Luke Killian, sailor on Sagina.  
 James Ruff, sailor on Sagina.  
 Peter Curry, ship carpenter.  
 John McKirgan, pack maker.  
 Green Paul, furrier.  
 Francois Billett, mason.  
 John Laughton, captain in the naval department.  
 Timothy Drake, sailor on the sloop Detroit.  
 Jonathan Nelson, captain of the Arabasker.  
 Robert McDougall, farmer.  
 James Allen, “mere hand.”  
 John Drake, captain of the Beaver.  
 John Azemuth, sailor.

John Gratten, sailor.  
Jonas Sparker, sailor.  
Charles Spenard, sailor.  
John Clark, sailor.  
John Paddock, carpenter.  
Thomas Barber, Grand Marais.  
Lorain Moor, saddler.  
Peter Williams, blacksmith.  
Francois Chauvin, surveyor.  
James Heward.  
John Kinzie, silversmith and trader.  
Thomas McCrae, tailor.  
James Fraser, merchant.  
Moses Davis, merchant.  
James May, merchant.  
Robert Gouie, tailor.  
John Sparkman, barrack master.  
Alexander McKee, Indian department.  
William Forsyth, tavern keeper.  
David William Smith, lieutenant Fifth Regiment.  
William Robertson, merchant.  
David Robertson, merchant.  
Antoine Goulet, farmer, Grand Marais.  
James Anderson, sailor.  
Samuel Edge, blacksmith.  
Herman Eberts, doctor.  
Hugh Holmes, school master (1790).  
Francis Girardin, baker.  
Joseph Malbeuf, deaf man.  
Etienne Jacob.  
George French.  
— Eddy, sergeant Thirty-fourth Regiment.  
— Wrigate.  
Jean Bapt. Beaubien, Jr., farmer.  
— Foucher, barber.  
John McPherson, merchant.  
— Lafontaine, tailor "dead 1795."  
Nathan Lewis, wheelwright.  
John Shaw, brick maker.  
Pierre Duchene dit Mainville, farmer.  
Michael Bourdon, shingler.  
Francois Baron, shingler.  
Jordan Ivory, ship carpenter.  
Francois Pratt, Indian trader.  
Nicholas Dubois.  
Peter Provensal, blacksmith.  
Charles LaPalme.  
— Chamberlan, laborer.  
Joseph Thibault, merchant.  
John Cissne, farmer, River Rouge.

Patrick McGulpin, tailor.  
Louis St. Louis.  
William St. Clair, merchant.  
Charles Askin.  
James Askin.  
Samuel Eady, mason.  
Timothy Drake, sailor.  
Walter Roe, lawyer, 1789.  
James McDonnell, merchant.  
La Viellai dit Gerardine, harness maker.  
Louis Durinson, sailor.  
Joseph Cote, sailor.  
Frederick Arnold, farmer.  
Michel Fago, sailor.  
— Alexander, farmer.  
J. Bte. Le Blanc, millwright.  
Adam Brown.  
Charles Chovan, blacksmith.  
John Durette, "now trader," captain of the Weasel.  
John Fearson, captain of the Saguinah.  
Joseph Countriman, negro.  
Michel Citoleux dit Longevin, miller.  
Francis Bourisseau, sailor.  
John Adonijah Davidson, hired man.  
John Askwith, clerk.  
Benjamin Marsac, Grand Marais.  
Francois Houdou, French school master.  
Pierre St. Aubin.  
"Will," free negro charcoal maker.  
— Barraby, thresher.  
— Rankin, Huron squaw.  
Joseph La Perle.  
Joncaire Chabert.  
James Donaldson, tavern keeper, 1789.  
Joseph Mallet, farmer.  
Antoine La Palme, mason.  
John Miller, servant to John Askin.  
Jean Langlois, clerk to John Askin.  
Pierre Griffar, gardener.  
Pierre Valle, cooper.  
William Robertson, merchant.  
Jean Bte. Barthe, merchant.  
Louis Barthe, master of one of king's vessels.  
Simonette Campau, farmer.  
Joseph Campau, trader.  
John Cornwall, farmer.  
John Cassety, dead before 1788.  
Penish Campau, farmer.  
Isaac Dolson, River La Tranche (Thames).  
Madam Hay, widow of Jehu Hay.

George Setchesteel, tanner.  
Alexander Grant, commodore.  
Isaac Gagnier, farmer.  
Leith & Shepherd, merchants.  
William Macomb.  
— Lowry, quartermaster Sixty-fifth Regiment.  
Peter Cumming, carpenter.  
John Ridlinger, baker.  
Baptiste Dufour.  
Gabriel Hunot, trader.  
Andrew Derome (or Decareaw), carpenter.  
Francois Rousson (or Rivard).  
Baptiste La March, woodman.  
Francis Vallie, cooper.  
Amos Weston, blacksmith.  
Robert Stevens.  
Samuel Cady, mason.  
William Mauferton, notary public and register of deeds.  
Jean Marie Labathe, baker.  
— Merteau, baker.  
Jean Marie Beaubien.  
Jean Baptiste Le May.  
Jean Baptiste Chapoton, Sr., Indian trader.  
Francis Prudhomme.  
St. Jean Crespi (Grosse Pointe).  
Jean Baptiste Pare.  
Baptiste Ladouceur, woodman.  
Louis Griffer, farmer, Grand Marais.  
Pierre Chene.  
— La Koche, cooper.  
Claudius Campau.  
Alexander Cox, sailor on the Sagina.  
Jacob Bogart, carpenter.  
Gabriel St. Aubin.  
Jean Baptiste Thoulous.  
William Scott, tavern keeper.  
Desruisseau Belcour.  
William Harphy, doctor. (Harffy.)  
Thomas Reynold, commissary.  
Madam Crofton, school teacher.  
Presque Cote, wheelwright.  
Francois Russette, carpenter.  
Charles Lafleur, tailor.  
Jean Rouville, sailor.  
Paul Valboncoeur, sailor.  
Louis Durineau, sailor.  
James Rice, sailor.  
Coleman Roe, master of the Beaver.  
John Whealen, sailor.  
Jean Baptiste Fouchi, sailor.

Jonathan Schieffelin, trader.  
Amable Latour, carpenter.  
Jean Baptiste Wallett, farmer (probably Ouilette).  
Nicholas Gouin, farmer.  
Madam Gouin.  
Joseph Charteron.  
Gregor McGregor, sheriff.  
Charles Moran.  
George Jacob Rudhart, new settlement.  
Colonel England.  
Robert Roe, sailor.  
James Turner.  
— Vessina, carpenter.  
William Tucker, farmer.  
William Dummer Powell, judge.  
Charles Smith, lawyer.  
James Van Rieley, trader.  
John Williams, captain of the Athabaska.  
Lieut. William Henn, Twenty-fourth Regiment.  
George Sharp, merchant.  
— Johnston, carter, River Rouge.  
John McGregor.  
Felix Mettez.  
John McEvoy.  
Joseph Cissne, farmer.  
Patrick McNiff, surveyor.  
Whitmore Knaggs.  
David Robertson, tailor.  
— Wolfington, shipyard.  
Edward McClachlan.  
Pierre Le May.  
Samuel Weston, farmer.  
— Silby, Indian department.  
Claude Reaume.  
Edward O'Brien, Twenty-fourth Regiment.  
William Muckle.  
Jacob Clemens, tanner.  
Alex. Clark, Indian department.  
Richard Whittle.  
Prince, a negro.  
Rene Mettez, tailor.  
Gazatin Tremble.  
Conrad Shoules.  
Lieutenant Parker, Twenty-fourth Regiment.  
Major Steel, Twenty-fourth Regiment.  
Simon Drouillard, miller.  
William Surrel, tavern keeper.  
Abiah Park, trader and grazier.  
Captain Elliott.  
Louis Perrault, mason.

Joseph May.  
Lieutenant Meredith, royal artillery.  
John Chase, sailor.  
Captain Ingram, Sixtieth Regiment.  
John Smith, bailiff.  
— Lapine, carpenter.  
Thomas Cox, tavern keeper.  
— Cabassier, farmer.  
— Crotchly, Sixtieth Regiment.  
Alex. McKenzie, trader.  
— McKay, carpenter naval department.  
— Bombard, ferry man.  
John Knowles, watch maker.  
Jacques Boulois, carpenter.  
Madam Sterling, who made shirts.  
Alexis Labadie, farmer.  
— Veaudrille, blacksmith.  
Jacob Visger, or Fisher, trader.  
— Fritchett, priest.  
Doctor Sone, Twenty-fourth Regiment.  
George Dickins, miner.  
Captain Speers, Twenty-fourth Regiment.  
Thomas Wright, doctor.  
Capt. Daniel Robertson.  
— Castillian, baker.  
Antoine Dufrene, merchant.  
Patrick Fitzpatrick, sailor.  
— Delorie, carpenter.  
— Lafoy, gunsmith.  
Louis Campeau, farmer.  
John Askin, Jr.  
Charles Bouron.  
David Cowen, captain, royal navy.  
— Chevrieul, a negro.  
Chotts & Sandford, hatters.  
John Lieghtte, Sr., farm (Lytle).  
Thomas Finchley, merchant.  
William La Mothe, captain, Indian department.  
Richard Cornwall, master builder.  
John Dodemead, tavern keeper.  
Jean Bte. Durand.  
Angus McDonald.  
William Grant.  
John Martin.  
Ezekiel Solomon.  
Joseph Cicile, Indian trader.  
Robert Campbell.  
George Knaggs, Sr., trader.  
Joseph Guilbeau, trader.  
James Peltier, Sr., butcher.

Joshua Cornwall.  
Henry Carsan, shoemaker, Twenty-fourth Regiment.  
Jacob Young, black carpenter.  
Daniel McKillip (killed in Indian war of 1794).  
Charles Lalievre, sailor.  
John Norton, trader.  
Sally Ainse dit Montour, half breed Indian.  
— Clark, wheelwright.  
Pierre La Victor, baker.  
Fontenoy Dequindre.  
— McCarty, Grosse Ile.  
Thomas Reynolds, commissary for Government.  
Francois Berrar, carpenter.  
Joseph Belanger, sailor.  
Jacques Meloche, farmer.  
Lieutenant Adie, royal artillery.  
John Anderson, clerk.  
Lieutenant Andrews, Twenty-fourth Regiment.  
St. Jean Le Vasseur.  
Francis Gerardin, baker.  
Gabriel Godfroy.  
Jean Bte. Billetdeau, sailor.  
Joseph Gobielle, farmer. *Cote de pour.*  
Monsieur Cockaird, mason.  
James Wheaton, Jr., carpenter.  
Isidore Peltier, mason.  
Alexander Harrow, captain, marine department.  
John Julian.  
Ignace Thibeault.  
Louis Bernard.  
William Hughes, hatter.  
Joseph Speakman, Quaker and tinman.  
George Lyons, merchant.  
Henry Ford, captain in the navy.  
Nathan Williams, merchant.  
William Groesbeck, merchant.  
Louis Lorimer, Indian trader.  
Adam Harley, carpenter and sailor.  
John Welch, cooper.  
James Rice, carpenter and sailor.  
William Heming, lieutenant, marine department.  
James Guthrie, master of the Sagina.  
Timothy Disneau, sailor.  
Hugh Hughes, sailor.  
William Moor, sailor.  
John Haddock, sailor.  
David Taite, sailor.  
James O'Brien, sailor.  
Jesse Burbank, sailor.  
Joseph Hulatt, sailor.

Jacques St. Aubin.  
 Israel Ruland, silversmith.  
 George McDougall.  
 Paul La Saline, farmer.  
 Captain Blacker, Sixty-fifth Regiment.  
 Pierre Rouillard, engage—dead 1795.  
 Louis Vassina, carpenter.

## DETROIT IN 1793

Louis Boilieu, baker.  
 Godfroy Corbus, River Rouge.  
 Michael Elmes.  
 Andrew Jordan, mason.  
 John Chase, sailor.  
 Robert Cowan, servant to Colonel England.  
 Ebenezer Allan, River Tranche (Thames).  
 Lieutenant Bellingham, Twenty-fourth Regiment.  
 Joseph Barron, corn huller.  
 J. Bte. Charboneau, wood cutter.  
 Aug. Beausolisle, blacksmith.  
 Brown & Carr, wood cutters.  
 — Bourginon, shingler.  
 Francois Barteron, blacksmith.  
 Captain Chaulk, royal artillery.  
 Herbert Crowe, watchmaker.  
 Paul Courran, miller.  
 Stephen Casler, shoemaker.  
 Alexis Campau.  
 Charles Delisle, farmer.  
 Mathew Donovan, school master.  
 Reverend Dufleaux, priest.  
 William Erwin.  
 Joseph Elam, constable.  
 — Edwards, Twenty-fourth Regiment, mason.  
 Doctor Freeman.  
 John Harrison, sailor.  
 Thomas Harrison, sailor.  
 Rudy Huffman.  
 Randolph Huffman.

## DETROIT IN 1794

William Hurt.  
 Henry Hay.  
 William Hands.  
 "Joseph, with the frozen feet."  
 Richard Inkman.  
 Stephen Kesler.  
 Andre Lafleur, carpenter.  
 — Lafant, barber.



— La Bombard, ferry man.  
 Leith & Shepherd, merchants.  
 Theophile Le May, gunsmith.  
 Baptiste Mommerall, carpenter.  
 Captain Mousey, Twenty-fourth Regiment.  
 Joseph Murphy, sailor.  
 Jacques Prudhomme dit Nanty.  
 Walter Roe, lawyer.  
 James Robataill, clerk.  
 Louis Robataill, silversmith.  
 — Racour, school master.  
 — Snyder, gunsmith.  
 Joseph Roe, school master.  
 Frederick Watts.  
 Watson & Cornwall, shoemakers.  
 William McClintock.  
 Francois Beniteau, ferry man.  
 Mathew Myers, shoemaker.  
 Francois Baby, esquire.

## DETROIT IN 1795

William Lee, a free negro.  
 George Sharp, merchant.  
 John McGregor.  
 Felix Mettez.  
 John McEvoy.  
 Joseph Cissne, farmer.  
 Patrick McNiff, surveyor.  
 Whitmore Knaggs.  
 David Robertson, tailor.  
 — Wolfington, shipyard.  
 Edward McClachlan.  
 Pierre Le May.  
 Samuel Weston, farmer.  
 — Silby, Indian department.  
 Claude Reaume.  
 Edward O'Brien, Twenty-fourth Regiment.  
 William Muckle.  
 Jacob Clemens, tanner.  
 Alex. Clark, Indian department.  
 Richard Whittle.  
 Prince, a negro.  
 Rene Mettez, tailor.  
 Gazatin Tremble.  
 Conrad Shoules.  
 Lieutenant Parker, Twenty-fourth Regiment.  
 Major Steel, Twenty-fourth Regiment.  
 Simon Drouillard, miller.

## DETROIT IN 1820

Detroit was first occupied by citizens of the United States in the summer of 1796 and the first Americans to come here to reside were: Solomon Sibley, John Whipple, Dr. William Brown, William Russell, Christian Clemens, James Chittenden, Benjamin Chittenden, Dr. Williams McCoskry, James Henry, Elijah Brush, Henry B. Brevoort, Col. Henry Jackson Hunt, Augustin Langdon, Maj. John Whistler. This is the list as it is usually given and there is no necessity to contradict, explain or enlarge upon it here.

The first census of the Territory of Michigan, imperfectly taken, in 1800 showed that there were 525 families in Detroit and 667 males over sixteen years of age. This includes all the families in the Detroit district; that is all that were in the district north of the settlement at the River Raisin extending as far as Milk River, nearly the present northerly line of Wayne County. In 1796 there were supposed to be 500 people in the district. By the year 1810 this number had increased to 770 and the official census of 1820 fixed it at 1,442. Wayne County was organized in 1796. It included all of the present State of Michigan, the site of Ohio City, now part of Cleveland, the entire northern part of Ohio west of Cleveland and much more territory. From that date other counties were carved out of the parent county until it is now reduced to an area much smaller than some of its many offsprings.

The first of the counties to be shaved off in Michigan were as follows:

Monroe County was established July 14, 1817.

Macomb County was established January 15, 1818.

Oakland County was established January 12, 1819.

The census of the Detroit district taken in 1820 included some of the citizens from each of these counties. After the census was taken the public lands in the territory began to find their way to market and many of the persons whose names appear in the census list soon left the Detroit district and moved to the new settlements in Macomb and Oakland, Washtenaw and Lenawee counties.

Washtenaw County was laid out September 10, 1822.

Lenawee County the same day. Other counties were organized, county sites selected, lands opened for settlement. Detroit citizens flocked to settle them. Now, as we are tracing the names in the census list, we find them all over the state.

In making up the following directory of Detroit in 1820, two lists of names have been consulted and copied. One is the newly discovered census of 1820 and the other the poll list of voters in the election of 1820. Both of these lists were made at the dates specified and although they were known to be in existence, they were hidden or temporarily lost and have only recently been unearthed.

There are many mistakes in both lists. Many of the errors have been corrected but many of them still remain. Some of the names cannot be connected with the other records of the times in which they lived.

After the lists were alphabetically arranged it was the intention to seek some record of each individual so as to connect him with his time. In very many cases some information has been obtained, but in many other cases diligent search through publications and records has failed to produce anything to attach to the name.

It is to be hoped that this list will be read by every person now living who

is a descendant of these pioneers and that corrections and explanations and additional information will be sent to make more perfect this directory.

The many omissions and the many errors herein are quite unavoidable though it is to be hoped that new information can be obtained to correct them both. In giving dates of birth and death it may be well to explain that the church record sometimes does not discriminate between the date of the death and the day of burial, or between the date of the birth and the time of baptisms.

It was not the custom among the French or Canadians to have the wife take the husband's name, so that the wife always bore her maiden name till the day of her death. The mention of the person was, however, usually followed by the statement that she was the wife of the person whose name was there given.

A few extracts from the Detroit Gazette, the only paper printed in Detroit in 1820, have been selected to indicate affairs of a local nature in the city.

#### FLAG STAFF

"The Flag Staff on which, in August, 1812, Gen. Hull displayed his signal of disgraceful submission, fell during the storm last Wednesday evening. No flag had waved on it since 1812, but it stood a monument of the cowardly surrender of Detroit. We can, however, when calling to mind that mortifying era in the history of this territory, console ourselves with the reflection, that, from the number of hardy yeomen who are daily arriving and are expected to arrive among us, from the exertions that are making to organize and discipline the militia, and the aid which can be always relied upon from our excellent regular troops, no disgraceful flag will ever again wave on our ramparts."—Gazette, April 21, 1820.

The circulation of the Gazette in 1820 was as follows: Eighty-two subscribers in Detroit; seventeen at the River Raisin (Monroe); nineteen subscribers in other places, making a total of 118, in the territory. In Canada two subscribers and in different parts of the Union, thirty-two. This makes a total of 152. "We are willing to admit that a snug little sum" could be obtained from this list, if every one would pay.

Gazette of April 7, 1820: "A part of the pews of the Protestant Church, lately erected in this City, have been sold. The proceeds of this sale will defray the whole cost of the building and leave a small balance. About a tenth part of the pews remain unsold."

In 1820 much difficulty was experienced in obtaining sufficient currency to carry on business. Every transaction was undertaken with a view to keep the money involved in it, in Detroit.

The following item appeared in the Gazette, April 14, 1820:

"We have been informed that arrangements will be made by the merchants and owner of vessels in this place to have all the freight (destined for Detroit) brought from Buffalo in vessels belonging here. Should this be done, much inconvenience will be avoided and our citizens will not so often be put to the trouble of obtaining gold or silver, or eastern paper for the ship owners of Buffalo and so forth. Besides avoiding trouble, a considerable saving will be made to our citizens of a pecuniary kind. Hitherto an enormous premium has been paid by us to obtain such money as would satisfy the ship owners of Buffalo. If the contemplated arrangement is made we shall not only not have to pay this premium, but in very many instances be enabled to pay our accounts for freight in the way of trade; and, it should be recollected, that

even if money is paid for such accounts, it will be to our neighbors, who will again put it into circulation among us; while on the contrary, not a cent of money ever returns to us that it paid to a ship owner residing any where on the shore of Lake Erie."

A law was passed in 1815 applicable to the City of Detroit (in 1820) of which the following is an extract:

"The Board of Trustees shall have the sole right of licensing and regulating tavern, ale houses and other public houses in the City of Detroit."

Another law, apparently conflicting, was passed in 1819, providing that the County Court could grant tavern licenses.

In 1816 the Board of Trustees passed an ordinance requiring every person keeping a tavern, ale house or public house in Detroit, to procure a license from the Board.

Army officers lately (July 14, 1820), arrived in Detroit; Majors Baker, Stockton, and Chunn; Captains Farley and Cass and Lieutenants Hopkins, Davis and Brunot. Colonel McNeil came in the Steamboat July 12.

With these few words of explanation and apology we will proceed with the principal names, most of them taken from the two lists mentioned.

Abbott, James. Lived in the old Town of Detroit and was engaged in business with his father, James Abbott, and subsequently with his mother, Mary Barker Abbott and his brother, Robert.

In his father's family there were six children, as follows:

Robert, who married Eliza F. Audrian (or Elizabeth Rebecca Audrian), July 24, 1798. He died in 1853.

Samuel, born in 1775, settled in Mackinac and in 1820 was the agent of the old North West Fur Company.

Mary, who married William Hands, Sheriff of Essex County, Ontario.

Elizabeth, who married James (Jacques) Baby. She died about 1812.

Frances (or Fanny), who married Francois Baby, September 5, 1795. She died January 8, 1839.

James Abbott was born June 1, 1776, and married Sarah Whistler, daughter of Maj. John Whistler of Fort Dearborn (Chicago), in November, 1804. James Abbott died March 12, 1858.

Abbott, after the fire of 1805, built a store on Woodward Avenue, just below Woodbridge Street on the west side. His home was on the southwest corner of these two streets and the building used for store and postoffice were just below his dwelling, towards the river.

He was the postmaster from 1806 to 1830. He was appointed associate judge of the district south of Huron or Detroit, April 16, 1807.

In 1821 he assisted in organizing the Protestant Society and in 1825 he assisted in organizing the Episcopal Church Society.

In 1835 he built a fine brick residence on the southeast corner of Fort and Griswold streets, where he lived until his death, March 12, 1858.

His wife, Sarah, was born September 26, 1786, and died October 4, 1874. She was the aunt of the famous etcher, James Abbott McNeill Whistler.

Mr. and Mrs. Abbott had five children, as follows:

James Whistler Abbott, born September 29, 1805, and died March 22, 1860.

Madison Fitz Abbott, born January 5, 1809, and died August 19, 1834, of cholera. He was twenty-five years old.

Cornelia Frances Abbott, born June 28, 1812, and died September 4, 1831.

Sarah Ann Abbott, born February 10, 1816, and died October 23, 1834, aged eighteen years and eight months.

William S. Abbott died of consumption, near Mobile, on the Steamer Columbus, November 26, 1842. He was thirty-five years and nine months old.

Abbott, James, Jr. Son of Robert Abbott and nephew of James Abbott.

He died before February 9, 1877, leaving his wife, Mariam, and one daughter, Cornelia, and three sons, Robert C., James W., and Albert G. Abbott.

Mary Abbott, the mother of James Abbott, died before May 30, 1821. Her will is dated in 1813 and was probated in Sandwich, and she may not have been residing in Detroit at the time of her death. She left six children above named.

Abbott, James. Chairman of the board of trustees and George McDougall secretary pro tem. Called a meeting of the citizens at the council house, July 3, 1820, to consider the propriety of levying a tax "for the purpose of removing nuisances on the border of the river, in front of the City."

It was resolved to levy a tax of five hundred days' labor to be expended on the border of the river.

Abbott, Robert. He was a son of James and Mary (Baker) Abbott and brother of James Abbott, first above. In 1820 his other brother, Samuel, was living at Michilimackinac (Mackinac).

Robert Abbott married Elizabeth (or Eliza) F. Audrain. She died March 24, 1858.

They had nine children, as follows:

Lucretia Ann, who became the second wife of Edward V. Cicotte. She died March 7, 1891.

Peter Audrain Abbott, born September 18, 1796, married Susan Gamelin, who was born March 27, 1797. He died January 8, 1851, and she was buried June 9, 1886.

James Abbott, Jr., above.

Samuel H. Abbott, married March 7, 1827, Therese Beaufait.

George C. Abbott.

Robert H. Abbott.

Charles G. Abbott.

Eliza Frances, married Robert Chandler of Coldwater.

Ephraim Pentland Abbott, married (1) Therese Zoe Godfroy and (2) Sophia Octavia Visger, daughter of Joseph Visger. Ephraim died November 10, 1910.

Robert Abbott was appointed auditor of Public Accounts, October 4, 1814. He was one of the early Methodists of Detroit. In 1817 the Trustees of the Methodist Episcopal Church purchased land on the River Rouge. The trustees were Robert Abbott, William McCarty, Alanson Thomas, Joel Thomas, and William Stacy. They bought the land of Thomas Sargent and Margaretta, his wife; John Sargent and Ann, his wife.

The Detroit Gazette of May 19, 1820, contained a call of a committee for a public meeting at the council house to be held May 22, 1820, to consider the location of a site for a Methodist Episcopal Church in Detroit and to receive subscriptions for the erection of a church building. The committee consisted of Robert Abbott, Samuel T. Davinport and William W. Petit.

Robert Abbott was appointed Justice of the Peace, August 20, 1821. He was auditor general of the state in 1837.

He died at Coldwater, where his daughter, Eliza, lived, in 1853.

Aldrich, Asquire. He was on the census roll of 1827 as "Asquire Aldridge." He took an active part in the election of Austin E. Wing as delegate to Congress.

Was one of the organizers of the Wild Cat Bank at Utica, Michigan, in 1837. He probably lived at Shelby at that time.

Allison, Capt. Thomas. He married Therese Baby, daughter of Jacques Baby dit Duperon and Susanne Reaume.

Thomas Allison died November 15, 1822.

Therese Allison died March 27, 1839.

Anderson, John. There were two men by this name, both termed "major" by the papers of the period.

First: John Anderson of Monroe, born in Scotland, August 20, 1771. He had been a trader in Detroit, almost from the time of the coming of Anthony Wayne in 1796. He was appointed chief judge of the district court of Erie in Michigan Territory. He was in the city at the time of the capitulation, August 16, 1812, and was permitted to remain in the place under British rule.

Solomon Sibley's home before 1812, was on the northeast corner of Jefferson Avenue and Randolph Street. As Sibley was compelled to leave the place with his family, the house became vacant and Anderson occupied \* it until after the Battle of the Thames, when Detroit was retaken and the Americans returned to their homes. At that time the western part of Canada, the portion opposite Detroit, was in possession of the American arms, and Governor Cass of Michigan, established civil government over it. He appointed Anderson marshal of the district of Canada. Anderson subsequently moved to Monroe, where he became a very influential citizen. There he passed the remainder of his life.

He died July 3, 1840. His wife was Elizabeth Knaggs and his children were John Washington Anderson; Elizabeth Anderson, who married Judge Warner Wing, and Alexander Duncan Anderson.

John Anderson, of Detroit, was in the U. S. Topographical Engineers. He was a student of West Point. It is supposed that he came from Vermont. He also was in the war of 1812 and was surrendered to General Brock August 16, 1812. He purchased the lot on the northwest corner of Woodward Avenue and Woodbridge Street, which had formerly been owned by Dr. William McDowell Scott. Anderson and his wife lived in a rather pretentious two-story frame dwelling on this property. Their only child, John Anderson, died at this place August 28, 1833, at the age of three years and eight months. In the directory of 1837 "Widow Anderson," that is Julia, the widow of John Anderson, was living in this house, which was No. 23 Woodward Avenue.

Julia Anderson, the widow, died October 28, 1842.

Mrs. Anderson left a sister, Charlotte Ann Taylor. Mrs. Anderson and Miss Taylor owned not only the corner lot above mentioned, but all the land extending westwardly along the northerly side of Woodbridge Street to Griswold Street. They gave all this land and nearly all of their personal property for

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\*.See V. 9 & 3, p. 159, for exact data of Anderson's leaving Sibley home and conditions as he left them.

the erection and maintenance of the Mariners Church. The entire property is now owned for church purposes.

A more extensive sketch is in the "Governor and Judges Records," page 183.

Anderson, William. Was appointed ensign in the militia October 4, 1824, was a member of the committee of the Masonic Order that had charge of the ceremonies of laying the corner-stone of the territorial capitol in September, 1823. This committee consisted of Charles Jackson, Jeremiah Moors, Obed Wait and William Anderson.

Andre, Joseph, dit Clark. He was the son of Joseph Andre dit L'Italien (from Milan, Italy). The son, Joseph, married Susanne Drouillard, October 16, 1804. She died January 31, 1813, and he then married Clemence Fearson, daughter of John Fearson and Marie Amable Desaulniers, July 24, 1813. Their son, Peter C. Andre, born in 1813, was well known in Detroit, though he passed the later years of his life in Saginaw, where he died April 30, 1896. Peter C. Andre married Clarissa M. Stark in 1846. In 1819 Joseph Andre, dit Clark, had his rifle shop and dwelling on the east side of Randolph Street, below the present Congress Street. This property, which was one of the old garden lots given by Cadillac to his garrison soldiers in 1708, is now officially or legally known as the "Andre Lot."

Peter C. Andre said that his father, Joseph, was born at Vincennes, Indiana, in the year 1770.

Andres, Joseph. He was indicted by the Grand Jury in 1819 for accepting a challenge to fight a duel with Alexis Banvard. The case was dismissed. He participated in a reception given to Governor Lewis Cass by the citizens of Detroit, March 1, 1826.

Audrain, Peter (Pierre). Was born in France and came to this country after the Revolutionary war. He took the oath of allegiance in Pennsylvania and lived in that state several years. He became well versed in the English language, but was better educated in French. He wrote a beautiful hand, and the old records, nearly all in his hand writing and very profuse in Detroit, are so perfect as to be sometimes taken for print. He was a prothonotary in Pennsylvania and took much of the testimony in the investigation of the "Whiskey Rebellion" in that state. He lived for a time in Pittsburg, and on one of the city maps is laid down a lot, on the river side, bearing his name. He married Margaret Moore before he came to Detroit, and she lived with him here many years and survived him. Their home was where the Pingree Shoe factory is located. He was grand mogul of Detroit for many years, coming here in 1796 with Gen. Anthony Wayne. His journal of this trip has been printed by the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society. Soon after his arrival in Detroit he was appointed prothonotary. This was an office never known or heard of in Michigan except in this single appointment. He was also register, justice of the peace, judge of probate, commissioner on land claims and held about all of the inferior clerical offices in the village, city and district. He was register of deeds and of probate and clerk of the courts and of several commissions. All of these offices he held for many years and was only removed when he became too old to perform the duties required of him. He was about ninety-four years old when he was turned out of office. He died October 6, 1820.

The old county records are nearly all his work. The following are the names of his children :

Elizabeth Rebecca, married Robert Abbott, July 24, 1798.

Margaret, married George Hoffman, February 15, 1806. Her son was George Hoffman.

Maria Caroline, born in 1785, married William McCarty.

Frances (Fanny), married Lieutenant Edmondson, of Virginia.

Peter Duponce, born in 1787.

Peter Francis, married May 3, 1823, Ann May, daughter of Judge James May and Margaret Labadie. Peter died in 1838, and his widow died in 1871.

James H. Audrain, born in 1781.

St. Clair, born in Detroit.

Francis Audrain was living at Sault de Ste. Marie in 1826 and was appointed judge of probate for Chippewa County in 1827.

Baker, Calvin. Was appointed "Sealer of Leather" August 10, 1822.

He died October 5, at the age of forty-three years, leaving three sisters:

Lovisa, wife of John Goodhue.

Marcy, wife of Lewis Colburn.

Betsey (or Elizabeth) Wellman.

Baker was one of the first prospectors to enter the wilds of Oakland County. "In the early part of the fall of 1818, Maj. Oliver Williams, Calvin Baker, Jacob Eilett and some others, among whom, it is believed, was Col. (Louis) Beaufait, resolved to penetrate into the interior and ascertain whether the country was or was not inhabitable."

In 1820, Baker, with a number of others, signed a call for the appointment of a committee to instruct the delegate to Congress as to the wishes of the citizens of Michigan respecting the territorial form of government.

In 1821 he was appointed on a committee to prepare an address to the electors. The other members of the committee were Louis Dequindre and William Anderson.

Baker was one of the trustees of the city in 1822 and was city treasurer in 1823.

Baker, Major Daniel. Was an officer in the United States Army, and was stationed at various posts in the Northwest. He was at Detroit before the war of 1812 and was also at Michilimackinac and at Chicago (Fort Dearborn, which he assisted in building). After the war of 1812 he was again at Detroit and in 1822 was at Saginaw in command of forces on the Saginaw River. At this time he was married and his family was with him. The season of 1823 was very sickly and Baker's wife and son and his brother, Lieut. Nelson Baker, all died. Again he returned to Detroit and lived, though he was located at several other places for brief periods. He owned considerable property in Detroit. The Baker farm, at Brooklyn Avenue, was owned by him. He died at the Michigan Exchange on Sunday, October 30, 1836, at the age of sixty-one years. He was in the army forty years. He was buried from St. Paul's Church. At the time of his death he was unmarried, but it appears from his will that he intended to marry Mrs. Ann Hunt, the daughter of Angus Mackintosh and widow of Henry Jackson Hunt. Mrs. Hunt is one of the principal devisees mentioned in his will. The relatives mentioned in the probate proceedings are



his mother, Elizabeth Baker; sister, Mary, wife of Ralph Pratt; sister, Lucy, wife of Jeffery Chipman; sister, Betsey Merryfield, who died, leaving Caroline (wife of Sheldon Judson), and Charlotte (wife of Fitch Rauson); Samuel S. Baker, a brother. Another brother, John, was dead, leaving a daughter, Rhoda Abbott.

Horatio N. Baker died in Detroit in October, 1823. Daniel Baker was administrator of his estate.

Barrois. The name of Lootman dit Barrois was quite common in the eighteenth century in Detroit, but has practically become extinct, though there are hundreds in Detroit who can trace their families back to that name. By intermarriage with the Navarres, Beaubiens and Chenes, the family had multiplied and expanded.

Catherine Lootman dit Barrois, daughter of Francois Lootman dit Barrois and Catherine Cesire, was born at Vincennes in 1767. The family had previously lived in Detroit and returned there to live, and she was there married February 2, 1784, to Louis Antoine Cuillerier dit Beaubien.

He was a son of Jean Baptiste Cuillerier dit Beaubien and Marie Anne Lootman dit Barrois. Louis Antoine came to be generally known as Antoine Beaubien. He was the owner of the Antoine Beaubien farm, and his only son, Antoine, gave the name to St. Antoine Street.

Catherine Barrois died July 1, 1785, and Antoine Beaubien, Sr., died March 24, 1836.

Barthe. This name does not appear in any of the lists of persons in Detroit in 1820, and yet there were many descendants of the first family living here then, and there are many more at the present time.

Through marriages with the Campau, Askin, Grant and Beaubien families, the family has become widely spread. The descendants of Commodore Alexander Grant, John Askin, Elijah Brush, Stephen (Etienne) Reaume, Antoine Labadie and many others can trace their ancestry to Andre Barthe, in France, or to Theophilus Barthe, in Montreal. Charlotte Barthe, daughter of Pierre Barthe and Marie Charlotte Chapoton, was born in Detroit July 17, 1763, during the Pontiac siege. She married (1) Etienne Louise Reaume, who died before 1784, and (2) October 18, 1784, Antoine Louis Descomps dit Labadie. She died February 11, 1849.

Andre Charles Barthe married Marie Therese, daughter of Jacques Campau. She died in 1765.

Bates, Joseph. Made application for a pension in 1820. He was a Revolutionary soldier in Captain Hulburt's company in the 2d Regiment of Light Dragoons, commanded by Col. Elisha Sheldon, for two years and six months, and was honorably discharged at the close of the war.

His original application was made July 19, 1819, and his pension certificate number 16811. He was a farmer and unable to earn a living and had no family. His name is on the census list in 1827.

Beaubien. This family is very large and today there are several hundred, perhaps even a thousand descendants in Detroit, Chicago and other places in this part of the country. The family name is Cuillerier, but the name was

changed to the female line after 1670, when Jean Cuillerier married Marie Catherine Trotier de Beaubien. After the death of Jean Cuillerier, his widow Marie Catherine, married Francois Marie Pecoté de Belestre, who was appointed governor of Detroit. They came to Detroit about 1721 with her children and from that time the descendants were called Beaubien, or Cuillerier Beaubien, or Beaubien dit Cuillerier. The first one of the family to make a permanent home in Detroit was Antoine Beaubien.

Jean Baptiste, a brother of Antoine, married Marie Lootman dit Barrois in 1742. He had obtained what we know as the Beaubien farms, at Beaubien and St. Antoine streets, Detroit, from the French Government in 1745, and upon his death in 1793 left this farm to his children. As nearly all of his children were living in 1820, a complete list of them will be given as follows:

Marie Catherine, born August 15, 1743, married Jacques Parent. She died in Sandwich, January 17, 1821. He was buried at Sandwich, January 24, 1827.

Jean Baptiste, born April 15, 1745, married in 1770 Genievieve Parent. He died in 1792 and she in 1832.

Antoine, born August 12, 1747, died a few days later.

Charles Baptiste, born 1748, died 1752.

Marie Françoise, born 1750, died 1751.

Joseph, born 1753, married Marie Joseph Bondy, March 10, 1777. He died at River Raisin, March 6, 1821.

Louis Antoine, born July 6, 1754, married February 2, 1784, Catherine Lootman dit Barrois. He died March 24, 1836. He was the owner of the Antoine Beaubien farm, part of the ancestral farm. Antoine and Catherine were cousins. He was usually known as Antoine Beaubien, "Le Riche." He became incompetent in his old age and the Legislative council passed a special act authorizing Antoine Beaubien, his only son, to convey his lands. He was buried in the old Ste. Anne's Church by the side of Father Gabriel Richard. The inscription on the tomb states that he was a lieutenant-colonel.

Marie Françoise, born 1756 and died 1758.

Marie Ann, born 1759 and died 1761.

Genevieve, born May 1, 1761, married Jean Baptiste Barthe, December 28, 1778. He died in 1827 and she died in Canada in 1847.

Pierre Jean Marie, born in Canada, July 21, 1763, whither his parents had moved to avoid being involved in the Pontiac war. He married Marie Claire Gouin in 1767. Pierre died April 5, 1841. He owned the Witherell farm. In the records he is called Jean Marie Beaubien.

Lambert, born April 7, 1767, married August 25, 1788, Marie Genevieve Campau, daughter of Simon Campau. Lambert died September 25, 1819.

Susanne, born May 30, 1769, married Jacques Campau, son of Jacques Campau and Catherine Menard, November 27, 1789. Jacques Campau died October 5, 1838.

There were several members of the next generation living in Detroit in 1820, to wit:

Alexis Beaubien, son of Joseph Beaubien and Marie Joseph Bondy (above). Alexis was born in 1785, married February 24, 1812, Archange Trombly. She died in 1822. He married (2) Sophia Thibault in 1830 and died in 1832.

Antoine Beaubien, Jr., was the son of Louis Antoine, above. The father was almost universally known as Antoine Beaubien. The son was born March 7, 1784, married (1) Monique Labadie (she died in 1851) and (2) Julia Tribot

dit L'Africaine, widow of Jean Milet. Antoine died January 28, 1858. He is called by Elliott one of the "Last of the Barons."

Jean Baptiste Beaubien, son of Lambert Beaubien, above, was born August 11, 1789, and married Cecil Boyer, July 20, 1818. Jean died before 1834, and his widow married Edward Campau. She died January 25, 1881. Richard Beaubien was one of her children.

Lambert Beaubien, son of Lambert, above, born in 1794, married Felicite Moran, daughter of Louis Moran and Catherine Campau, June 5, 1821.

Charles Beaubien, son of Lambert, born in 1799, married Susanne Cicotte in 1831. He died in 1874.

Robert Beaubien, son of Lambert, Sr., above, born 1807, married Felicite Peltier in 1829 and died in 1867. Robert married Lydia Ann, daughter of Antoine Dequindre.

Louis Beaubien, son of Lambert, Sr., above, born April 1, 1809, married Susanne Osborne in 1832.

Pierre Claude Beaubien, son of Jean Marie Beaubien and Claire Gouin, was born June 8, 1793, married Catherine Edesse Dequindre, daughter of Antoine Dequindre and Catherine Desrivieres de la Morandiere. Pierre died December 30, 1855, and his widow died March 15, 1875. He had a grocery store on Atwater Street, between Woodward Avenue and Randolph Street, in 1820. In 1837 his grocery store was at Atwater Street and he lived at 215 Woodbridge Street.

Therese Beaubien, sister of Pierre Claude, above, was born November 8, 1807, married January 7, 1837, James Curran White. She died June 9, 1886, and was the last person to be buried from the old St. Anne's Church, June 12, 1886.

Joseph Beaubien, son of Joseph Beaubien and Marie Joseph Bondy, was born in Sandwich in 1779, married Marie Trombly in Detroit in 1810. He died before 1835, for at that time a guardian was appointed for his minor children by the Probate Court. They had the following children, some of whom may have died before 1834:

Eleanor, born 1811.

Elizabeth, born 1813.

Antoine, born 1815.

Therese, born 1818.

Joseph, born 1822, married Esther Branchaud.

David, born in 1825, married Aurelia Menancon.

Antoine Beaubien, son of Joseph Beaubien and Marie Josette Bondy, was born at Sandwich, April 28, 1789, and married, at Detroit, October 15, 1815, Catherine Vernet, daughter of Antoine Vernet and Catherine Saliot. Antoine died in Detroit August 12, 1820. His wife, Catherine, survived him, but died before 1834. It is her name that appears in the census list.

Beaufait (Beufait). Louis, the ancestor of the Detroit family, was born in France in 1733 and came to Detroit in 1761. He married Marie Therese Marsac in 1767. Louis played an important part in the early history of the city after it came under American rule. He was justice of the peace and associate justice of the Court of Common Pleas. He also held military offices in the militia. He was the owner of what is now known as the Beaufait farm, at Bellevue Avenue. He died in January, 1808, his wife having died in 1804. There were four children, as follows:

Therese, born in 1768, married (1) William Groesbeck, from Albany, of Holland ancestry. He died before 1814, and (2) Charles Chauvin.

Marie Irene, born in 1770, married July 3, 1786, Jean Baptiste Rivard. She died in 1802.

Louis, born in 1773, married in 1804, Marie Louise Saucier.

Louis Beaufait, Jr., held several important political positions and was a candidate for the legislative council in 1825. He received 272 votes, enough to elect him, but the law required the President to select four from the eight receiving the largest number of votes in this district. Beaufait was not chosen. At this election there were three polling places: Detroit, Monguagon and Washtenaw.

Beaufait obtained the Beaufait farm from his father. He was a soldier in the War of 1812 and Presidential elector in 1844. In 1847 he became incompetent and his son, Francis F. Beaufait, was appointed his guardian. He was one of the trustees for the Church farm and died in 1851.

Elizabeth, born in 1778, married in 1806 Joseph Cerre dit St. Jean. Joseph died in 1822 and Elizabeth died in 1857.

There were five children of Louis Beaufait, Jr., living on the farm near Detroit in 1820. Their names were:

Elizabeth, born November 19, 1820, married John Driscoll, June 30, 1841. She died July 11, 1847.

Vital, born 1813, married Genevieve Meldrum.

Scholastic, born 1816, married Daniel Marsac, December 28, 1836.

Louis Beaufait, born in 1808, married Catherine Peltier, May 11, 1835.

Therese Beaufait, the eldest daughter, born in 1806, married Samuel Abbott, son of Robert Abbott. Abbott's name is not in the census list and it is possible that he did not live in the district in 1820.

Francis, born August 11, 1818.

In one of the many suits involving the title to the Church farm (file 905) it was attested that the right of survivorship in joint tenancy was abolished January 19, 1811, and thus Col. Louis Beaufait became vested with the entire estate in that farm.

It is also there stated that all of Wayne County lying east of the old Town of Detroit was termed the "North East Coast" (*Cote du Nord Est*).

Berthelet dit Savoyard, Pierre, born in Montreal in 1746, was married in Detroit, July 24, 1775, to Marie Francoise Meloche. He was a physician. After the death of his wife he returned to Canada and married Marguerite Viger, daughter of Francois Viger.

Henry Berthelet was the only son by the first wife and was the grandson of Francois Meloche.

In 1820 the center of the city was on Randolph Street below Jefferson Avenue, and much of this property, extending to the river, was owned by Pierre and was managed by his son, Henry. Here was the town pump, owned by Berthelet; the city market, called the Berthelet Market, and the public wharf.

The following advertisement of Henry Berthelet appeared in the Gazette of June 1, 1820:

"To Let.

"The house, garden and barn formerly occupied by Mr. Edward Farrel,

for one year. Also the house, yard and stable lately occupied by Mr. Julius Eldred and a bake shop adjoining the same."

These premises were all on and near Randolph Street in the neighborhood of Atwater Street.

Henry Berthelet is in the list of inhabitants in 1806.

His father accumulated considerable property, but the records indicate that Henry was not as good a financier. He was adjudged a bankrupt in Monroe County in 1825, where he was in prison as an insolvent debtor. He was born April 29, 1786, married Marie Josette Bouchet, and died November 16, 1846. His wife died in 1855.

Pierre Berthelet was twice married. He died January 2, 1830. His first wife, Francoise M., died July 3, 1776, leaving but one child, Henry Berthelet, who married Josette.

Pierre's second wife was Marguerite Virge dit Viger. They were married in 1779 and had the following children:

Antoine Oliver, born in Montreal and married Marie Josette Guy. He died in Detroit in 1872, and his wife died in Montreal the same year.

Appololine, who married René J. Kimber.

Augustin married Adelaide de Bersey. She died in 1826. His second wife was Cecile Berthelet, who died in 1879.

Benjamin.

Therese.

Marguerite, who died unmarried.

Pierre had a brother, Louis Benjamin. (See file Supreme Court.)

Pierre for a time lived in Detroit. His son, Henry, afterwards took charge of the land at the foot of Randolph Street and claimed to own it. Henry and his wife, Josette, owned the LaBrosse farm.

Berthelet, Margaret. Daughter of Henry Berthelet, above, born February 16, 1806, married (1) Michael L. Curley from Ireland. Curley died before 1843, and on April 29, 1843, Margaret married Jacob Wilkie Moore, son of Aaron Moore and Mary Wilkie. J. Wilkie Moore died October 1, 1896. His son, Joseph, was at one time president of the Peninsular Savings Bank.

Biddle, Major John. He was always very prominent in affairs connected with the Territory and State of Michigan and the City of Detroit. In 1819 he was indicted for assaulting Thomas Vickory and was convicted on trial in 1820 and fined \$15.

He was appointed associate justice of the County Court, judge of Probate and county commissioner for the County of Brown, September 6, 1822.

In 1825 he joined with others in organizing an Episcopal Church Society in Detroit, March 8.

He was a delegate to Congress from Michigan Territory and member of the constitutional convention in 1835.

He owned the land covered by the Biddle House, Detroit.

He and his wife, Eliza, owned all of the land now covered by the City of Wyandotte, and Biddle Avenue there is named from them. His brother, Nicholas, was president of the United States Bank.

Blackmore (Blackmar). Sylvanns. Was appointed marshal for the District of Huron, September 3, 1811. At that time the inhabited portion of the lower peninsula of Michigan was divided into three districts: Erie, Huron and Detroit.

C. C. Trowbridge, in an article on Detroit in 1819, says that Jefferson Avenue, at that date, was not opened further than the Brush farm line, a little east of Randolph Street, and that at the end of the avenue was a block house that had formerly been used as a jail, but in 1819 had been converted into a place for weighing hay and was kept by a "Mr. Blackman." This probably is Sylvanus Blackmore, and he continued to occupy the place. In 1819 he was clerk of the Woodward Avenue market.

Blake, Captain Chesley. Was born in Maine, was a soldier in the War of 1812, and was in the battle of Lundy's Lane.

He was engaged in lake navigation and became captain of a vessel.

He was captain of the Mariner in 1826 and later was mate on the steamer Michigan. In 1845 he was captain of the steamer Illinois, and a passenger on one of the trips wrote: "Big burley Capt. Blake was one of the most competent and widely known of all the lake navigators."

"A giant in size, a hero in battle, with a voice like a speaking trumpet of old Boreas himself." He was almost six feet and three inches in height. With all of his bravery, it is said he died of fear.

In 1849 he had the cholera, but recovered and was then told that his boat, the Nile, had gone ashore. He arose from his sick bed saying that he would go to the rescue of his boat, and was partly dressed when he fell back, dead.

He died at Milwaukee, October 3, 1849.

He left a wife, Sarah Blake, and five children:

Maranda M. White, wife of Silas White.

John Columbus Blake, whose wife was Mary T.

Decatur O. Blake, whose wife was Martha S.

Frances E. H. Blake, who married Elihu Enos, Jr., before 1852.

Cassandra M. Blake, who married John M. Hodgson.

Blue Jacket, George. An Indian chief of the Shawanoe tribe. He lived in Brownstown on an Indian reservation.

Marie Blue Jacket married Jacques Lasselle, March 29, 1801.

Mr. A. B. Markham, in narrating a journey made by him in 1825, says: "I first went to Brownstown, then to Flat Rock, on the Huron River, where I found a tribe of Indians. Their chief was there at that time; he was a graduate of Hamilton College. I stayed with him over night. His name was Blue Jacket; he was a fine looking Indian and very social."

Bond, Lewis. Came from New Jersey. Married Mary Ann Smith, who died at Monroe in 1845. Their children were:

Jefferson Bond, married Angelique Fontain, February 8, 1831.

Lewis Washington Bond, married May 2, 1831, Julia Gaillard.

Francis Bond, born in Detroit, September 14, 1811.

Nicholas Bond, born in Detroit, February 1, 1814.

American Alexander Decatur Bond, born July 14, 1817, at Monroe.

Sarah Sibley Bond, born June 20, 1819, married Jean Baptiste Paxton and died at Monroe in 1905.

Mary Margaret Bond, born in 1820, married George Labadie and died in 1846.

Lewis Bond, the ancestor, was sheriff of Wayne County.

The Bond papers are published in Vol. 37 of Michigan Historical Collections.

Bonvard, Alexis. Challenged Joseph Andres to fight a duel. Andres accepted the challenge June 30, 1819. Andres was indicted for this offense, but the case never came to trial.

The Boyer family is one of the largest in Detroit, and its descendants may be found in many of the French families of the present time. Zacharie Boyer was in Detroit as early as 1708. Pierre Boyer, born at Montreal in 1707, was married in Detroit in 1744 to Louise Pepin. Ignatius Boyer, born in Montreal in 1721, married in Detroit in 1749 to Angelica Pepin. Louise Boyer, a daughter of Pierre Boyer, born in Detroit in 1745, married Charles Chuvin, May 2, 1761. Marie Catherine Boyer, a sister of Louise, married Jean Baptiste Campau, Antoine Boyer, a brother of Louise, married Angelica Gilbert in 1778. After her death Antoine married Cecelia, June 24, 1788. Cecelia died June 14, 1849. There were prevaricators even in those times, for, although the priest states that it was claimed that Cecelie was 110 years old, "the claim was an exaggeration." Angelica Boyer, another sister, born in 1753, married Simon Meloche. Another sister, Marie Anne, born in 1755, married Nicolas Antoine Morass. Susanne Boyer, another sister, married Charles Francois Gouin in 1779. Therese, another sister, married Joseph Louis Thibault in 1788. These are only a few of the many families in Detroit. It was the above named Antoine Boyer who became the owner of private claim 678 near the eastern boulevard. He had one son, Antoine Medard Boyer, by his second marriage with Cecil (or Cecelia).

Another Cecelia Boyer, daughter of Anthony Nicolas Boyer, was married to John Baptiste Beaubien in 1818 and was the mother of Richard Beaubien, who died June 29, 1896. Her second husband was Edward Campau. They lived on what was then Campau Street near the Scotten Tobacco Works. Edward Campau died in 1889 and Cecelia died in 1881. Francois Boyer died in Detroit about 1824, and Antoine Boyer was chosen to administer his estate February 16, 1824.

Boyer, Antoine Medard. Son of Antoine and Cecile Boyer.

He inherited private claim 678 from his father. This was a valuable tract of land extending from the river three miles in depth and the Grand Boulevard occupies the center of the farm the entire depth, and the Boulevard Bridge (lately destroyed by fire) is on the front of the farm.

Antoine was born August 11, 1790, and married October 22, 1822 to Marie Louisa Greffard, daughter of Pierre Greffard and Marie Louisa Duprat.

Boyer, Cecile. Widow of Antoine Boyer and mother of Antoine Medard Boyer. Her name is on the census roll in 1827.

Bradley, Thomas. In 1837 he was "Physician and Surgeon, Museum Building." The Museum Building was on the southeast corner of Jefferson Avenue and Griswold Street.

The Brevoort family was among the early Holland families in New York City. Henry B. Brevoort was born in New York, January 13, 1775, and married Marie Catherine Navarre (daughter of Robert Navarre and Marie Louise Navarre) January 15, 1811. He was always prominent in naval, military and political affairs in Detroit and took an active and very important part in the Battle of Lake Erie in 1813. He died January 30, 1858. The following are his children:

Marie Anne Brevoort, born 1812, married Charles Leroy Bristol, son of Clark Bristol and Lucy Perry Ball, February 16, 1836. Marie Ann died in 1894.

John Van Tromp Brevoort, born November 26, 1816, married Elizabeth Anne Navarre. He died in Ecorse, May 29, 1899.

Henry Brevoort, born 1819, married Janetta Sarah Helouise Macomb, daughter of William Macomb. Henry died in 1851 and his widow died in 1883.

Robert Brevoort, born in 1821, died unmarried in California.

Elias Brevoort, born in 1822, died in New Mexico in 1904, unmarried.

Of the next generation, probably the best known are William Macomb Brevoort, captain in First Michigan Cavalry; Thornton Elias Brevoort, who was accidentally killed in 1905, and Judge Henry Navarre Brevoort, a member of the Detroit bar and lately a judge of the Circuit Court.

Henry B. Brevoort came to Detroit as soon as the country passed into the hands of the Americans, in 1796, and possibly even before that date. The Advertiser of May 30, 1842, contained a statement that of the twelve Americans who resided in Michigan in 1796, only three were then living, to wit: Henry B. Brevoort, William Russell and Christian Clemens.

"Brevoort always occupied a prominent place among the people. He was commodore in the battle of Lake Erie, September 10, 1813—Perry's Victory."

He was appointed associate justice of the County of Brown, June 13, 1823, and resigned November 9, 1825.

He was Indian agent at Green Bay in 1826.

He married Marie Catherine Navarre. Their only daughter, Mary Ann Brevoort, married Charles L. Bristol, February 16, 1836.

Brooks, Col. Edward. Was in the U. S. Army, but left that employment to engage in a business life in Detroit. He was an auctioneer of considerable reputation. In 1834 he was a member of the firm of Brooks and Hartshorn, auctioneers.

In 1837 he was "salesman and land agent, 29 Griswold Street."

He was collector of customs in 1841.

He was indicted in 1840 for assaulting Edward Mundy, lieutenant governor. The affair created a great sensation at the time, and the State Senate became involved in the trouble and undertook to punish Ross Wilkins, judge of the United States Court, for making some order in his court that the Senate considered as an evidence of contempt of the Senate's orders.

Matters were explained to the satisfaction of the Senate so far as his contempt was concerned, but Brooks was tried and convicted in the District Court and fined \$260.27. He was also confined ten days for contempt of the Senate.



“Edward Brooks was a very host of whigs in himself.” It was said of him that during the political campaign of 1840 “No man drank more hard cider or sung more Tippecanoe songs during that contest than did Col. Brooks.”

He married Margaret May, daughter of James May, and his daughter, Mary Ann Brooks, married Charles W. Whipple, February 2, 1835.

Brown, Dr. William. One of the earliest Americans in Detroit. He was prominent both as citizen and physician and very influential with the Indians, who tried to give him a large tract of land on the Maumee River, near the present City of Toledo.

The Government would not carry out the wishes expressed by the Indians. He held several minor offices and resigned the office of county commissioner January 14, 1822.

In the directory of 1837 he is referred to as a “Physician and Surgeon, on Monroe Avenue.”

He was a bachelor and resided for many years in a house on the north side of Jefferson Avenue, between Bates and Randolph Streets. He lived with the family of Jeremiah V. R. Ten Eyck. He was born December 7, 1773, and died June 27, 1838.

His brothers were Levi, James, Luther, Calvin, Thomas and Elam. His sisters were Sally Gillet, wife of Jonathan Gillet; Thirza Lombard, Fanny Barnes and Betsey King.

Brush, Elijah, was the son of the Nathaniel Brush and Samantha Parker of Vermont. Elijah was born in Bennington in 1772 and married Adelaide Askin (daughter of John Askin and Marie Archange Barthe, who was born May 29, 1783), February, 1802. Elijah Brush died April 1, 1814, and his wife died July 20, 1859.

Their children were:

Edmund Askin Brush, born November 21, 1802, married Elizabeth Cass Hunt. He died July 10, 1877. He was appointed register of deeds April 8, 1823, private secretary to Lewis Cass in 1826, and clerk of the Legislative Council, 1826.

Charles Reuben Brush, born April 25, 1807, married Jane Forsyth.

John Alfred Brush (generally called Dr. Alfred Brush), born 1811.

Archange Brush (usually called Samantha Brush), born March 21, 1813. She married George S. Meredith.

Elijah Brush was the owner of the Brush farm (at Brush Street), and left it as a rich heritage to his family. Large portions of the farm are still held by some of his descendants.

In 1820 Edmund A. Brush was absent from Detroit at college, and the other members of the family were at Strabane (Walkerville), living with the family of John Askin. The Brush mansion, on Atwater Street, near the present Brush Street, was occupied by William Woodbridge and his family.

Bucklin, William (the name is spelled Buckland in some places). Bucklin Township (Town two, south of range ten east) was organized October 23, 1824, and took its name from William Bucklin. The name of the township was subsequently changed to Dearborn. It is in this township that Bucklin lived. He was appointed a member of the grand jury in 1825, and his name is on the census list for 1827. He died before December 12, 1829.

The heirs mentioned in the Probate Court are:

Amy Gordon, wife of Amos Gordon, a sister.

James Bucklin and Calvin K. Bucklin, sons.

Aaron Thomas, brother-in-law.

Elizabeth Stacy, sister.

Daniel Gordon, son of Amos Gordon.

Timothy Bucklin.

Gracy Creamer, daughter of Henry Creamer.

He was twice married, for he married Margaret Tompkins in 1826.

Burbank, David. David and his brother, William, lived in Detroit in 1814, and both witnessed the killing and scalping of Ananias McMillan on the commons near the present Washington Boulevard.

The story is told in Friend Palmer's Memoirs on page 19.

Butler, Alexander, a barber. The following is his advertisement in The Gazette of June 1, 1820:

“All the world's a Barber Shop,  
And all the men and women merely *shavers!*  
They have their tastes, and their hobby horses,  
And each one must be shaven in his turn,  
The number being countless.—First the *Dandy*  
Fond of the curling lock and smooth-shav'd chin,  
Pomatums, perfumes, and sleek glossy hair;  
Forever revelling in the belief  
That Ladies *must* admire such a phiz.  
For this must *he* be shaved.

“Imperial Ukase.

“We, Alexander (Butler) hereby make known that our palace on Woodbridge Street is fitted up in fine style for the reception of company. The operations of *shaving* and *hairdressing* are performed in imperial style, and with the most ineffable ease and comfort to the subjects of them. It is with concern that we state that, from the necessarily great Expenditure of our Administration, and the limited number of our sources of Revenue, no reduction can be made from the existing Taxes.

“The operation of Shaving will, therefore, as heretofore, be performed in great style for a shilling.

“N. B.—Our Trusty Prime Minister, Sir Robert Lock Lear, Boot and Shoe Polisher, etc., etc., is constantly in waiting at our court aforesaid, and attends to the duties of his Department with energy and success.

“Alexander.

“By his Majesty's Command.

“Lear.”

Michael Campau was the first member of that family to settle in Detroit. He was born in 1667, married Jeanne Massé, and removed to Detroit in 1707. He returned to Montreal, where he died in 1737, but he did not remove his family, and his widow died in Detroit in 1764.

Of the sons of Michel Campau, the following are those who transmitted the name to succeeding generations:

1. Antoine, born in 1702, married in 1736 Marie Angelique Peltier dit Antaya. Antoine died in 1759.

2. Michel, born January 22, 1706, married Marie Joseph Buteau. He died in 1764.

3. Paul Alexander, born 1709, married in 1742 Marie Charlotte Pineau dit Laperle. He was buried in Sandwich in 1778.

4. Charles, born 1715, married (1) 1751 Marie Catherine St. Aubin and (2) 1754, Marie Charlotte Juillet dit Montreil. Charles died in 1785.

5. Alexis Campau, son of Antoine (1), born July 6, 1737, married April 11, 1763, Magdelene Dumais. He died in 1782.

Michel Campau (2) left a son, Peter, who married (1) Magdelene Godfroy and (2) Marie Louise Cuillerier dit Beaubien. He also left a son, Charles, who was born July 16, 1749, and died in Detroit, March 16, 1826. He also had a son, Antoine James, who married Susanne Beaubien, January 28, 1788.

Alexis Campau (5) had a son, Alexis, born September 11, 1779, who married (1) August 21, 1810, Felicite Livernois and (2) March 2, 1824, Magdelein Vermet. The younger Alexis owned the Alexis Campau farm, Private Claim 78. At his death he gave the farm to the children of the second marriage, to wit:

Christopher Columbus Campau, born October 13, 1828, died 1861.

Francis Xavier (or Charles Francis), born August 19, 1837, died recently. Samuel Campau, born March 30, 1841, died an infant.

Magdelein Campau, the widow of Alexis, married James Harper.

Jacques Campau, a brother of Michel Campau, was born in Montreal in 1677, married Cecile Catin in 1699 and came to Detroit with his family in 1708. He obtained a grant of the Meldrum farm from the French government in 1734. He died in Detroit, May 14, 1751. The following are his children:

1. Jean Louis, born August 26, 1702, married January 7, 1724, Marie Louisa Robert. Jean Louis died March 15, 1774.

2. Henry, born December 3, 1704, married February 5, 1731, Marguerite L'Huillier.

3. Nicolas Campau dit Niagara, born at Niagara in July, 1710. He married Agatha Casse dit St. Aubin, September 4, 1737. He died December 16, 1756.

4. Jean Baptiste, born August 4, 1711, married January 27, 1737, Catherine Perthuis. Jean Baptiste was royal notary and justice of the peace. He died in 1783.

5. Therese Cecile, born June 16, 1714, married Francois Marsac, May 18, 1734.

6. Claude, born August 25, 1715, married January 22, 1742, Catherine Casse dit St. Aubin. Claude died May 31, 1743.

The first of the above mentioned children, Jean Louis Campau, and his wife, Marie Louise Robert, had (sons).

7. Jacques Campau, born March 30, 1735, married August 17, 1761, Catherine Menard, daughter of Jacques Menard and Susanne Prejean dit Prudhomme. Catherine died in 1781 or 1782, and Jacques married, January 5, 1784, Francois Navarre, widow of George McDougall and daughter of Robert Navarre. Jacques Campau died February 16, 1789.

8. Simon Campau, born February 1, 1739, married July 6, 1761, Veronique Bourdeau. He died March 29, 1803.

9. Jean Baptiste Campau, born June 24, 1743, married August 17, 1767, Genevieve Godet dit Marantette. He owned the Chene farm.

Jean Baptiste Campau (4) left the following sons:

10. Jean Baptiste Campau, born October 18, 1737, married March 5, 1764, Catherine Boyer. He owned P. C. 152. He died September 10, 1798.

11. Hippolite Campau, born May 13, 1741, married April 11, 1768, Marie Anne Louise Pepin dit Descardonnets.

12. Francois Basil Campau, born December 2, 1743, married February 7, 1785, Susanne Moran. He died October 16, 1795.

13. Julian Campau, born September 10, 1755, married August 10, 1803, Agnes Chauvin. He died January 25, 1814.

Simon Campau (8) had a son, Simon Charles, born 1769, died 1798. Another son, Henry, born 1773, married Geneveva Marsac, 1797. A son, Charles, born 1775, married Jeanne Godet. A son, Claude, born February 24, 1778.

Jean Baptiste Campau (10) had a son, Joseph Campau, born 1777, married Rose Lyons, February 24, 1785. He died January 22, 1868.

Charles Campau, born April 19, 1780, married Therese Parent, died September 3, 1856.

John Baptiste Campau, born 1782, married Therese Rivard. He died in Sandwich, August 1, 1855.

Jean Baptiste Campau (9) had a son, Jean Baptiste Campau, born July 4, 1770, married February 1, 1796, Marie Josette Gamelin. He died August 29, 1834. A son, Alexis, born August 4, 1771, married Agatha Chene. A daughter, Genevieve, born 1774, married January 7, 1793, Gabriel Chene, a son of Charles Chene. Chene died February 1, 1830. A son, Antoine Campau, born February 20, 1775, married Cecelia Cadet, August 7, 1793. He died April 4, 1833. A son, Zacharias Campau, born September 5, 1780, married February 19, 1811, Victoire Chauvin.

Nicolas Campau dit Niagara (3) had a son, Barnabas, born October 20, 1752, married Veronique Douaire dit Bondy, March 6, 1766.

Barnabas had a son, Claude, born February 11, 1785, married January 21, 1812, Archange Saliot.

Francois Basil Campau (12) had a son, Henry, born March 28, 1781, married February 8, 1820, Monique Seguin dit Laderoute. Henry died September 30, 1822. His widow, Monique, was married twice after the death of Henry Campau, to wit: (1) Louis Knaggs and (2) — Hawley. The only son of Henry Campau and his wife Monique was Henry Campau, who was a public character for many years and held several important offices, such as deputy county treasurer and register of deeds. The last act of his life was the making of an abstract of land titles.

Jean Baptiste Campau, son of Jean Baptiste Campau (9-1) and Marie Joseph Gamelin, born March 11, 1798, married Julia Beaubien, July 28, 1829.

The children of Jacques Campau (7) and Catherine Menard were:

1. Louis, born November 28, 1762, buried January 11, 1763.
2. An infant born October 18 and buried October 19, 1763.
3. Marie Cecile, born September 11, 1764, married (1) May 7, 1781, Thomas Williams and (2) Jacques Lozon, May 1, 1790. She died June 24, 1805.
4. Jacques, born February 7, 1766, married November 26, 1789, Susanne Cuillerier dit Beaubien. He died October 5, 1838.

5. Louis, born July 26, 1767, married October 26, 1789, Therese Moran. He settled on the Clinton River and was buried May 13, 1834.

6. Joseph, born February 25, 1769, married May 18, 1808, Adelaide Dequindre. She was buried June 2, 1862, and he died July 23, 1863.

7. Nicolas, born September 28, 1770, died an infant.

8. Toussaint, born October 28, 1771, died March 3, 1810, unmarried.

9. Nicolas Amable, born October 20, 1773, died September 20, 1811, unmarried.

10. Barnabas, born June 12, 1775, married (1) 1808, Therese Cicot and (2) February 26, 1821, Archange McDougall. He died October 8, 1845.

11. Catherine, born June 13, 1779, married June 16, 1800, Louis Vessiere dit Laferte. She died October 17, 1854.

12. Denis, born October 10, 1780, married May 8, 1812, Felicite de Joncaire dit Chabert. She died in 1814. He committed suicide December 19, 1818.

Louis Campau, son of Louis Campau and Therese Moran, was born August 16, 1791, and married (1) August 11, 1818, Ann Knaggs and (2) August 9, 1825, Sophia Marsac.

Jacques Campau, son of Jacques Campau (4) and Susanne Cuillerier dit Beaubien, was born August 24, 1793, married Josette Chene, January 14, 1819. Jacques died November 13, 1871.

Campau, James (or Jacques), father of James Campau, Jr., below.

Campau, James, Jr. Major in militia May 4, 1825. Father of the surveyor, Thomas Campau.

Campau, Jean Baptiste. Died before April 15, 1834, leaving: Charles, Peter, Francis, Lewis, Edward, Gilbert, Catherine (Lawson), Mary Ann (Drouillard or Druyar), Therese (Methio), Monique (Lasellar), and Jean Baptiste Campau, Jr.

Campau, Jean Baptiste, Jr. Son of above. Died, leaving two children: Jonas J. B. Campau and Catherine Meldrum, wife of John Meldrum.

Campau, Veronique, widow of Simon Campau, was living in 1820, and is mentioned in a deed of Charles Paupard.

Campau, Antoine. Son of Alexis Campau and brother of Alexis and Angelique Campau.

Campau, Barnabas (Barrabas), was one of a large family, many of whom became prominent in the history of Detroit. The best known were Barnabas and his brother, Joseph. The other brothers and sisters were Toussaint, Nicholas, Louis, Catherine, Lafferty and Cecile Williams (mother of General John R. Williams). Mrs. Williams married Jacques Lozon after the death of her husband, Thomas Williams. Denis Campau shot himself December 17, 1818.

Barnabas Campau had four children who survived him: Angelique Piquette, Emily Campau, John Barnabas Campau and Alexander Macomb Campau. In 1837 Barnabas lived at 178 Jefferson Avenue.

Campau, Claude (or Glode Campau). On census rolls for 1782 and 1827.

Probably died March 8, 1856, leaving a widow, Archange, and the following children:

James Campau.

Susan Bondie.

Zoe Weaver.

Glode Campau.

— Bondie.

Another daughter, Therese Margre, had died before his death (see probate file 2591).

Campau, Glode. This is probably the same as Claude, for he purchased lands in Brownstown under the name of Claude Campau, Jr. Possibly son of Claude Campau, above. He died October 2, 1872, leaving children as follows:

James (whose wife was named Amy).

Mary Gagnier.

Therese Sabine.

Gilbert (sometimes called Robert).

Moses.

Alfred.

Susan.

Louis.

Campau, Henry. Lived on his farm near the present waterworks. He died in 1826, leaving a widow, Monique Sequin, and one son, Henry. The widow married Louis Knaggs and after his death married — Hawley. The son, Henry, was familiar to all about the County Building for many years as deputy register of deeds, deputy treasurer, abstract maker and good fellow.

Campbell, Alexander. Was one of the early settlers in Royal Oak, but only lived there a few years when he returned to Detroit. He kept a hotel on Woodbridge Street. He was killed by falling from a building he was erecting on Woodbridge Street, a part of his hotel. This was just west of Griswold Street. His death occurred before September 29, 1834.

His wife, Achsah, was a sister of Diodate Hubbard. After his death she married Jacob L. Barton. She kept a boarding house at 171 Woodbridge in 1837.

Campbell left four sons. One of them, John, was bookkeeper for the board of public works for some years.

The other sons were Alexander, William and Thomas S.

In Burton Collection, Vol. 267, page 169, is a lease of the Eagle Tavern made by Achsah Barton to Bradley B. Davis, and another lease of the same tavern by Bradley B. Davis to Charles A. Wilben and George Wilben February 25, 1843.

Canniff, Abraham C. Born in Rensselaer County, New York, in 1791, he came to Detroit in 1819. Was engaged in selling boots in 1821.

Voted in Detroit, May 31, 1825.

Member of grand jury, 1825.

Candidate for county commissioner, 1825.

Officer of Detroit Lodge (Masons), 1825.

Elected city collector, 1826.

Candidate for marshal, 1827.

In 1837 Canniff and John Scott had a grocery at 55 Woodbridge Street. Canniff in 1849 signed a petition for the reestablishment of the death penalty for murder in Michigan.

He was called "Judge," for he had been a justice of the peace at some time.

He died March 25, 1875, leaving the following children:

James H. Canniff.

Mrs. Tyler.

Mary Wagstaff.

Elizabeth.

Cass, Lewis.

Marshal of Ohio.

Appointed governor of Michigan Territory October 29, 1813.

Remained governor of the territory until he was appointed secretary of war by President Andrew Jackson in 1832.

While governor he was also superintendent of Indians affairs.

Secretary of war under Jackson.

Minister to France.

United States senator from Michigan.

Candidate for President of the United States.

Secretary of state under President Buchanan.

He died in Detroit June 17, 1866.

Lewis Cass was the son of Jonathan Cass and Mary Gilman. Jonathan Cass died September 1, 1830. He was born at Exeter, N. H., September 9, 1782, and married Eliza (Selden) Spencer. They had children as follows:

1. Eliza Selden Cass, born in 1810 and died in 1832.
2. Mary Sophia Cass, born July 31, 1812, and died January 27, 1882.
3. Lewis Cass, born 1814 and died in Paris February 24, 1878. He married Miss Ludlow in Paris. She lived but about a year after her marriage and died leaving no issue of this marriage.
4. Ellen Cass, born December 3, 1821; died November 28, 1824.
5. Matilda Frances Cass, married Henry Ledyard September 19, 1839.
6. Spencer Cass, born June 4, 1828, and died in the following October.
7. Isabella Cass, married Baron Theodore Marinus Roest Von Limburg.

Lewis Cass returned from his northern trip and reached Detroit, September 10, 1820.

Chabert, Francois Joncaire dit. Born in 1757. He was the son of Gabriel Chabert and Marguerite La Gorandiere. He married at Detroit in 1780, to Marie Josette Chene, daughter of Charles Chene (interpreter), and Marie Anne Bequet, April 10, 1780. He died November 22, 1813. They had several children, among them were:

Marguerite, born in 1781, married Jean Baptiste Beaugrand in 1802.

Marie Catherine, born in 1783, married (1) Francois Dubard dit Lafontaine and (2) Ezra Younglove. Catherine died in 1835.

Francois, born in 1784, married Marie Louise Parnier.

Rosalie, born in 1791, married October 20, 1809, Joseph Loranger. Rosalie died November 20, 1868.

George, born 1793, died August 9, 1825.

Philip, born 1795, married 1826, Therese Campau, daughter of Alexis Campau and Agatha Chene. Therese died before 1841.

Richard, born July 9, 1798.

Henrietta, born 1803, married September 29, 1825, John Bathan Hubbell.

Victoire, born 1805, buried in Detroit February 21, 1820.

Champ, Nathaniel.

In 1826 he had store and bake shop on Jefferson Avenue. He opened his bread bakery on a new plan, "the bread only half the size of common loaves and baked in pans."

He was city jailor in 1835.

His son, William Champ, had a hotel, the "Railroad Temperance House," where the Cadillac Hotel is now located.

In 1837 Nathan Champ lived on State Street.

Nathaniel Champ was born in Virginia, December 22, 1792, the son of John Champ (or Champe), of Revolutionary fame.

Nathaniel was in the regiment of Colonel McArthur in the War of 1812 and was surrendered to the British by Governor Hull on August 16, 1812.

He died February 13, 1870, at Onondaga, Mich.

The children of Jean Baptiste Chapoton and Felice Cessire were:

Chapoton, Jean Baptiste. Born May 22, 1758, married, February 1, 1780, Therese Peltier. He died October 23, 1837. She died July 17, 1795. They had a son:

Antoine, born July 2, 1786, married July 30, 1810, Angelique Moore, daughter of Louis Moore and Mary Moreau. Antoine was buried in Detroit July 30, 1847, and Angelique was buried November 9, 1869. Another son:

Eustache, born February 20, 1792, married May 11, 1819, Judith Adelaide Serat dit Coquillard. Eustache died January 13, 1871, and Judith died June 17, 1885. He owned the lot on Woodward Avenue, the second lot above Congress Street on the west side, and lived there in a log house for many years. Dr. Ebenezer Hurd lived on the next lot south, on the corner of Congress Street.

Chapoton, Alexis, or Alexander, for many years was a prominent builder and contractor, member of the board of public works and a person in whom great confidence was placed, was the son of Eustache Chapoton and Judith Adelaide Serat dit Coquillard. He was born February 2, 1818, married January 5, 1839, Felice Elizabeth Montreuil, and died May 5, 1893. Their son:

Alexander Chapoton, also a well known contractor and builder, and for some years president of the Peninsular Savings Bank, was born October 13, 1839, married Priscilla Marie Anne Peltier, and died September 22, 1906.

Chappell.

A woman by this name, commonly referred to as "Mother Handsome," kept a tavern or road house on the Detroit or Pontiac Road (Woodward Avenue). From various references to her, it would appear that she was at different locations along the line of the road, at different times.

There was serious need of stopping places along the line of the road and such inns were well patronized and appreciated.



Mother Handsome was always kindly spoken of by people who passed along this highway.

Chene, Pierre Charles. Son of Charles Chene and Marie Josette Descompts dit Labadie, born June 20, 1758, married Cecile Campau, widow of Claude Leblond dit Dupont, daughter of Nicolas Campau dit Niagara. Peter Charles died February 24, 1833.

Toussaint Chene (brother of Pierre Charles), born October 31, 1768, married Marie Therese Campau, April 23, 1798, daughter of Jean Baptiste Campau and Genevieve Godet. Marie Therese died June 23, 1823, and Toussaint married, April 21, 1833, Marie Francoise Pare. Toussaint died May 2, 1834.

Gabriel Chene (Sr.), brother of Toussaint, born February 29, 1772, married, January 7, 1793, Genevieve Campau, daughter of Jean Baptiste Campau and Genevieve Godet dit Marantette. Gabriel died February 1, 1830.

Gabriel Chene, Jr. (son of above), born March 26, 1796, married (1) Felicite Seguin dit Laderoute, October 23, 1821, and (2) Marie Ann Campau. June 27, 1848. His first wife died March 21, 1848. Marie Ann Campau, the second wife, was widow of Antoine Parent and daughter of Jean Baptiste Campau and Therese Rivard. Gabriel died July 2, 1867.

The children of Gabriel Chene, Jr., were as follows:

An infant, born July 25, 1822, died in infancy.

Emilie, born July 20, 1823, married Samuel Gagnier.

Charles, born June 20, 1825, married (1) Elizabeth Regina Parent and (2) Catherine Rose Isabella Baby.

Michel Mather, born October 2, 1827, married, January 17, 1849, Anastasia Parent.

Joseph, born February 6, 1830, and died September 11, 1847.

Alexander Gabriel, born November 15, 1831, died March 6, 1841.

Chene, William Bienhereux. Born December 25, 1833, married Henrietta Burnett.

Pierre, born December 13, 1835, married (1) Laura LeMay and (2) Elizabeth Adelaide Tremble. Pierre died in 1906.

Henry, born March 3, 1838, and died September 4, 1848.

A daughter, born in January and died in December, 1840.

Elizabeth, born December 28, 1841, married April 24, 1866, Edmund Baby.

Isidore, born December 6, 1844, and married, January 6, 1866, Marie Louise Martin.

Marie Felicite, born June 10, 1850, buried November 20, 1867.

Gabriel Honorius, born August 12, 1851, married Marie Antoinette Bariller. He died in Montana.

Joseph Alexander, born December 14, 1852, married Emma Clara Bariller.

Felicite, born July 3, 1855.

Marie, born December 1, 1856.

Rosalie Basilique, married Eugene Charest.

Chene (or Chesne), Gabriel. Son of Charles Chene and Marie Josette. His wife was born February 29, 1772.

His sister, Catherine, was his godmother. He married the daughter of

Jean Baptiste Campau. He died January 15, 1830. He had six daughters, as follows:

Josette, married Jacques (James) Campau.  
 Catherine Dandurand, wife of Antoine Dandurand.  
 Cecil Gagnier.  
 Elizabeth Reaume.  
 Anne Bourie.  
 Rose Chene.  
 He had two sons:  
 Gabriel Chene, Jr.  
 Isidore Chene, died unmarried.

Chene, Gabriel, Jr. Son of Gabriel Chene, above, married twice. His children were: Charles, Michael, Gabriel H., William M., Joseph S., Peter, Emilie (Gagnier), Isadore, Mary F., Felicite, Basilique (or Rosalie), Elizabeth (Baby). His second wife was Marianne Parent.

Chene.

Gabriel Chene, son of Gabriel Chene and Geneveva Campau, married Marie Anne Campau June 27, 1848.

Marie Anne Campau was the daughter of Jean Baptiste Campau and Therese Rivard and her first husband was Antoine Parent, to whom she was married June 5, 1832. Parent died before 1848. Chene also had been previously married, his first wife being Felicite Seguin dit Laderoute.

Cicotte, Agatha. Daughter of Jean Baptiste Cicotte and Angelique Poupard, born March 15, 1773, married in 1792 Jacobus Visger (Jacob Vischer). Agatha died January 19, 1840.

Cicotte, Joseph (brother of Agatha). Born January 29, 1777, married (1) July 24, 1804, Therese Livernois, who died January 25, 1806, and (2) Archange Delisle, July 25, 1809. Joseph died January 7, 1841.

Cicotte, James (Jacques). Brother of Agatha, born January 28, 1785, married January 9, 1810, Marie Anne Beaubien, daughter of Lambert Beaubien. James died August 11, 1858. He left two sons, James J. and David Cicotte.

Cicotte, Jean Baptiste. Brother of Agatha, born April 24, 1783, married December 22, 1818, Marie Anne Navarre. The wife's family lived at the River Raisin, though possibly Cicotte was living in Detroit in 1820. He was a witness to the will of Jacques Godfroy, Sr., in 1795, and testified to that fact before the Probate Court, April 24, 1819.

Cicotte, Francois de Asisi. Brother of Agatha, born June 16, 1787, married (1), August 7, 1809, Felice Peltier (widow of Capt. Peter Tallman, U. S. A.), and (2) Jemima Dezanche, January 23, 1849. Francois died September 23, 1859. He was a captain in the War of 1812. He left Edward V., Francis X., John B., sons and four daughters, who become, respectively, the wives of Charles Beaubien, Charles Peltier, Francis W. Lauson and Dr. Ira M. Allen.

Louis, born September 27, 1789, married, November 7, 1815, Veronique Beaubien, daughter of Lambert Beaubien.

Cicotte, Archange. There was no person over twenty-one years of age in Detroit in 1820 excepting Archange Delisle, wife of Joseph Cicotte. She was the daughter of Charles Bienvenue dit Delisle and Therese Campau. They were married July 25, 1809, and she died in Ecorse October 31, 1856.

Cicotte, Therese. Sister of Agatha, above. She married Barnabas Campau and died, leaving two daughters, Emilie Campau and Angelique, wife of John B. Piquette.

Cicot, Archange. Widow of Joseph Cicot. She was a grand-daughter of Agatha Poupard.

Cicot, Francis. Voted in Detroit May 31, 1825.

Candidate for legislative council, 1825. Candidate for Co-commissions, from the Rouge, 1825. On census roll in 1827.

Cicot, Jean Baptiste. Died before February 9, 1833. Michael La Charitie administered his estate. Resigned the office of sheriff of Monroe County, November 28, 1824, and Harry Conant was appointed in his place. Candidate from Monroe, for legislative council, 1825. Nominated for associate justice in Monroe, 1826.

On census roll, 1782 and election list, 1799.

Cicot, Joseph. On census roll, 1827. Sold his farm to Pierre Godfroy, November 5, 1819.

Cicot, Louis. On census roll, 1827. Louis Cicotte died January 14, 1843.

Conant, Shubael.

Born in Mansfield, Windham County, Conn., August 1, 1783. Came to Detroit in 1807 and remained a short time. He came again two years later with a stock of goods and from that time Detroit was his home until his death, July 16, 1867.

He was always prominent in social and business affairs. For many years he was a member of the firm of Mack and Conant. He lived in a log house on the west side of Griswold Street south of Jefferson Avenue and kept bachelor's quarters, for he was never married. He was receiver of the Detroit and St. Joseph Rail Road Bank in 1843. His nephews are John S. Conant and Harry A. Conant. His niece, Martha Conant, married James W. Tillman, and after his death she married Gen. Alpheus S. Williams.

In the War of 1812, Shubael Conant was a sergeant in the company of Solomon Sibley.

Connolly, John. Quite a character in the early Detroit. He was a doctor, sailor and had several peculiarities. He owned and lived on a farm on the west side of the River Rouge, where the salt mine is now located. His wife was Dorothea Lalar, and he died July 31, 1822, at the age of fifty years. His

daughter Catherine, born in Detroit in 1800, married Coll McAllister November 23, 1819.

Connor, Henry. Son of Richard Connor, and born in 1780. Came with his parents and the Moravians traders and Christian Indians to Mount Clemens in 1782. In 1808 Henry married Therese Trombly. Henry died September 15, 1840, and his wife died in 1872. They lived on Jefferson Avenue near the banks of Connor's (or Trombly's) Creek. Henry Connor was on the tax list for 1827. He was chosen a member of the Legislative Council March 9, 1826. He was an Indian interpreter and his Indian name was Wahbeskendip (White hair).

Cook, Levi. He was born in Massachusetts, December 16, 1792. He came to Detroit as early as 1816 and was successful in business enterprises. He was in co-partnership with Orville Cook (a distant relative) in 1819. He was something of a politician, held many important offices and was mayor of the city three terms. He held the office of council commissioner many times. He was first lieutenant in militia on February 1, 1824, and captain May 24, 1824. He was a very large man, over six feet in height and weighing about three hundred pounds. He died at his home on the corner of Congress and Shelby streets, December 2, 1866, leaving no children. His brothers were Fenner and Olney Cook. His nephews were Levi B. Taft and Charles O. Ballou. His niece was Eliza C. Bissell, wife of George W. Bissell. He was the son of Thadeus Cook, and his sister Louisa married Ichabod Cook.

"In a small, wooden, one story building on the north side of Jefferson Ave. about half way between Griswold Street and Shelby Street, a perfect, childless old giant, some six feet three inches high, with a bald head and a wig always awry." This is Levi Cook.

Levi Cook was born in Bellingham, Mass., December 16, 1792. Came to Detroit in 1816. He married Elizabeth Stevens of Boston, May 21, 1818.

Cook, Orville. Levi and Orville Cook were partners in the grocery business in 1820.

Dequindre, Antoine. There were two persons by this name, father and son. It is possible that the father did not live on the American side of the river. He had separated from his wife, Catherine Desriviere LaMorandiere Dequindre, and she was occupying the land now called the Dequindre Farm, it being her property. They had five children: Antoine, Peter, Adelaide, wife of Joseph Campau, Catherine Edesse, wife of Peter Beaubien, Julia (born October 10, 1784), wife of Charles Moran.

The Antoine Dequindre in this item was a son of the above named Antoine and Catherine. He was born June 18, 1782, and died February 23, 1843, leaving children, Antoine, Benjamin, Theodore, Alexander, Matilda (wife of Josiah H. Cobb), Adeline (wife of John R. Wilcoxson), John and Lydia Ann, who was married four times (1) — Stone, (2) Ezekiel McDonald, (3) Robert Beaubien and (4) Charles A. Waldermar. (Antoine Dequindre, alderman 1826.)

Antoine Dequindre had a daughter, Caroline, who at the age of fourteen

years, was killed by a fall, January 4, 1834. Another daughter, Emilie, aged eleven years, died in September, 1834.

Catherine D. L. Dequindre, mother of Maj. Antoine Dequindre, died before January 24, 1825.

Antoine Dequindre, son of Antoine Dequindre dit Pontchartrain and Catherine Desriviere LaMorandiere, was born June 18, 1782, and died February 24, 1843. His wife was Catherine Chapoton.

Dequindre, Antoine. "Joseph Campau was a marvelous French gentleman, all of the olden time and with such friends as Monsieur Pierre Desnoyers, Major Antoine Dequindre, Jean Baptiste Beaubien, Captain Frank Cicott, Charles Moran constituted a society of true, accomplished, real gentlemen and ladies from whom in manners, conversation, sociality, true politeness in business affairs, the new comers of Detroit may well take lessons today."

Obituary notice February 25, 1843, "The Hero of Monguagon is no more! His spirit has fled to happier realms; yet the faithful page of history will transmit to posterity the distinguished bravery and honorable services of Capt. Antoine Dequindre during the late war with Great Britain and particularly the memorable battle of Monguagon."

Antoine Dagneau de Quindre dit Pontchartrain, a son of Louis Cesarius Dagneu de Quindre and Marie Anne Picote, was born in Detroit August 24, 1715. In 1780 he married Catherine Desrivieres de la Morandiere. Anthony died April 5, 1814, and Catherine died May 12, 1817.

Antoine Dequindre (son of Antoine Dagneau de Quindre), born June 18, 1781, married, September 7, 1809, Catherine Chapoton. He died February 24, 1843.

Louis Dequindre, brother of Antoine, born August 18, 1786, married, November 26, 1817, Marie Rose Louisa Desnoyers, daughter of Pierre Jean Desnoyers and Marie Louise Gobeille. Marie Rose died September 22, 1825, and Louis died in 1829.

Adelaide Dequindre, sister of Antoine, born August 21, 1788, married, May 18, 1808, Joseph Campau. She died June 2, 1862, and he died July 27, 1863.

Pierre Jean Baptiste, brother of Antoine, born April 8, 1790, married, August 31, 1819, Susanne Robert. She died May 19, 1824, and he then married, June 19, 1827, Marie Desanges Drouillard. A daughter, Catherine, was born to Pierre in Detroit, July 16, 1820.

Timothy Dequindre, brother of Antoine, born January 1, 1792, married, November 18, 1823, Geneveve Godet dit Marantette. He died June 22, 1827.

Catherine Edesse Dequindre, sister of Antoine, born January 18, 1797, married, October 16, 1824, Pierre Beaubien. He died December 30, 1855, and she died March 15, 1875.

Julia Dequindre, sister of Antoine, born June 20, 1799, married Charles Moran August 21, 1822. Julia died January 16, 1835.

The children of Antoine Dequindre and Catherine Chapoton were:

Antoine, born August 8, 1809, married Susanne Jourchain.

Matilda, born November 6, 1811, married Josiah G. Vincent Cobb.

Adelaide Catherine, born April 9, 1814, married John Randolph Wilcoxson.

Caroline, born February 9, 1819, and died January 7, 1834.

Theodore, born June 24, 1821, married Sarah P.

Emilie Edesse, born October 26, 1823, married Simon Abraham Rivard.

Elodie Anne, born June 26, 1828, she was always known as Lydia Ann and was married four times. (1) — Stone, (2) Ezekiel McDonald, (3) Robert Beaubien and (4) Charles A. Waldemar.

Alexander Louis, born October 25, 1830.

Benjamin, born (?).

Jean, born (?).

Dequindre, Louis. His wife was a daughter of Peter J. Desnoyers. He lived in 1820 on what is now the northwest corner of Jefferson Avenue and Griswold Street. In 1820 this lot was not on the corner, but the first lot west of the corner. Griswold Street in 1820 was only fifty feet wide and in widening it to ninety feet the land on the west side of the street, forty feet in width, was taken.

In 1820 Dequindre was one of the commissioners on the Denison Palmer Estate.

Dequindre, Louis. Brother of Maj. Antoine Dequindre, Jr.

His wife was a daughter of Peter J. Desnoyers. He lived, in 1820, on what is now the northwest corner of Jefferson Avenue and Griswold Street. In 1820 this lot was not on the corner but the first lot west of corner. Griswold Street in 1820 was only fifty feet wide and in widening it to ninety feet, the land on the west side of the street, forty feet in width, was taken.

In 1820 Dequindre was one of the commissioners on the Denison Palmer Estate.

Dequindre, Pierre. Son of Antoine Dequindre, Sr., and brother of Major Antoine, Jr.

Dequindre, Timothy. Died before August 11, 1836. His wife was named Genevieve Ann, and his children were Sarah Ann, Elizabeth and Emilie.

Desnoyers, Louis. Son of Francois Desnoyers and Mary Foran, was born in Canada in 1782. He married in Detroit, November 6, 1820, Francoise Petit. Louis died August 14, 1856. His daughter, Louisa, was born in Detroit September 4, 1821. A son, Pierre, was born in Detroit, May 25, 1823. Apparently the family removed to Macomb County, for the daughter, Isabella, was born there in 1825.

Desnoyers, Joseph. Son of Gregory Loyer dit Desnoyers, born in Detroit January 15, 1784, married, October 29, 1811, Marie Dufour. Their daughter, Lucy, born August 11, 1812, married Reuben Dodge, October 6, 1828.

Desnoyers, Peter. Was the son of Peter J. Desnoyers and was born in Detroit April 21, 1800. His first wife was Caroline, daughter of Judge John L. Leib, "a sparkling, brilliant brunet." They had two children, Edmund and Emilie (Totto). His second wife was Annie Hunt Whipple, daughter of Capt. John Whipple. There were two daughters born of this marriage, Frances Agnes Moran, wife of William B. Moran, and Catherine M. Powers, wife of I. Newton Powers.

Peter Desnoyers held some political offices but was not an office seeker. He was county commissioner in 1825.

In 1837 he was "Attorney and counsellor-at-Law, and U. S. Marshal, 140 Jefferson Avenue, residing at 43 Griswold Street."

In 1837 the office of the register of deeds was also at 140 Jefferson Avenue.

Mr. Desnoyers was a man of considerable means and did not need to exert himself much in a business way. He died March 6, 1880.

Desnoyers, Peter John. Came from France, enticed to visit America on account of land speculation in Ohio, that proved to be a swindle. His first visit was in 1796.

He was a silversmith and became quite prominent in the affairs of the early city. He married Marie Louise Gobeille in 1798.

Their children were:

Peter, born in 1800 (above).

Marie Louise Rose, born in 1801, married Louis Dequindre.

Charles Chrysologus, born in 1803, died young.

Emilie, born in 1805, married George Leib.

Marie Madeleine, born in 1807, died young.

Victoire, born in 1809, married Henry S. Cole.

Charles Robert, born in 1811, married Elizabeth Knaggs.

Francois Xavier, born in 1813, married Louise Baird.

Elizabeth, born in 1815, married James A. Van Dyke.

Ann Caroline, born in 1818, died young.

Josephine Sylvia, born in 1821, married Henry Barnard.

Marie Antoinette, born in 1827, died young.

In 1819 the family lived on the northwest corner of Jefferson Avenue and Bates Street, in a small wooden house, one story high, with two wings. The dwelling part was on the street corner and Mr. Desnoyers' work shop on the other side.

Various village, city and county offices were held by Peter J. Desnoyers during his life in Detroit. He was appointed county commissioner in 1821, October 11th, and resigned the office of commissioner of highways, December 29, 1824.

In 1837 his office was at 31 Larned Street, West, and he lived at 43 Griswold Street (site of old postoffice), where he died suddenly, June 3, 1846. The following is a picture of Peter J. Desnoyers written from recollection in 1877:

"Monsieur Pierre Desnoyers, that fine looking, smiling, sweet voiced, old gentleman, whose 'bon jour! bon jour!' would arrest you as the voice of a lute, whose rosy cheeks, fine mouth, pure teeth and large blue eyes, with that drooping lid, present the portrait of a fine old Frenchman, was born in Paris in the days of the Revolution, about 1783, and educated as a silversmith. He left there when the cry of '*a la lanterne*' was heard in the streets, came to this country and settled first in Canada."

Pierre Jean Desnoyers, born in France August 1, 1772, married, July 30, 1798, Marie Louise Gobeil (Gobeille). He died June 4, 1846, and she died December 14, 1857. They had the following children:

Pierre, born April 21, 1800, married, November 5, 1821, Caroline Josephine

Lieb, daughter of John L. Leib and Margaret Vioner. Caroline died in 1835 and Pierre married Ann Hunt Whipple, daughter of Capt. John Whipple and Archange Peltier.

Marie Louise Rose, born November 12, 1801, married Louis Dequindre. November 26, 1817.

Charles Chrisologus, born 1803, and died 1804.

Emilie Desnoyers, born July 29, 1805, married George Leib, son of John L. Leib. She died in 1838.

Marie Magdeleine, born 1807, and died 1808.

Victoire, born February 12, 1809, married, May 23, 1825, Henry Stephen Cole. He died in 1835, and she died January 13, 1863.

Charles Robert Desnoyers, born July 7, 1811, married, January 8, 1834, Elizabeth Knaggs. She died 1843, and he died 1846.

Elizabeth, born August 1, 1815, married, December 29, 1835, James Adam Van Dyke. He died in 1855 and she died July 10, 1895.

Ann Caroline Desnoyers, born 1818 and died December 23, 1822.

Josephine Silvanie, born May 28, 1821, married Henry Barnard.

Marie Antoinette, born 1827, died 1834.

Drouillard. The Drouillard family is very large, not less, in number, than the Campau's. They can be traced to nearly all of the French families of modern times.

Simon Drouillard, the American ancestor, born in Mareune in 1668, France, came to Canada as early as 1698, for he was married in Quebec November 25th of that year. He died in Detroit October 21, 1733. Many members of the family are to be found at Sandwich, the River Raisin and the Clinton River. Mention will be made only of those who were at Detroit in 1820.

Marie Louise Drouillard, daughter of Charles Bonaventure Drouillard, born 1792, married, June 30, 1814, Louis Loguon. Louis died at Detroit January 9, 1823, age fifty-eight years. After the death of Loguon she married Gilbert Baguall and after his death she married Daniel Thuot dit Duval.

Simon Drouillard, son of Simon Drouillard and Archange La Forest, born February 15, 1795, married Rosalie Emery. He died in Ecorse, August 9, 1851.

Jean Baptiste Drouillard, son of Simon Amable Drouillard and Margaret Martin dit St. Jean, born August 28, 1773, married, June 30, 1795, Elizabeth Le Beau. Jean died in Detroit November 11, 1819. His widow, Elizabeth, is possibly the person mentioned in the census by the name of Isabella Drouillard. She died in Ecorse September 27, 1863.

They had several children; one, Angelique, born May 23, 1796, married (1) Joseph Dubeau, (2) Louis Basil Cousineau.

Another, Susanne Drouillard, born March 21, 1801, married, (1) Francois Le Due and (2) Joseph Sicard at Carufel and (3) Benjamin Vincent.

Another, Monique Veronique Drouillard, born 1803, married Joseph Piette.

Another, Toussaint, born May 18, 1805, married, February 3, 1829, Therese LeBlanc. His name appears in census of 1820.

Another, Elizabeth Drouillard, born November 30, 1811, married Denis LeBlanc.

Another, Euphrosine, born February 4, 1815, married Alexander Cousineau. Dominique Drouillard and his wife, Jane Latour, may have lived in Detroit.



Their daughter, Pauline, married at Detroit April 30, 1816, Joseph Tunicliff of Richfield, N. Y., son of William Tunicliff.

Dubois. The American ancestor of the Dubois family of Detroit was Francois Dubois, who was born in France and came to Canada before 1688. He married, August 16, 1688, Marie Guilbaut.

Etienne (Stephen) Dubois, son of Etienne Dubois and Charlotte Lacelle, born in Montreal, married (1) in Detroit, November 5, 1792, Margaret Descomps dit Labadie, and (2) Susanne Facer, widow of Jean Baptiste Peltier. Etienne is frequently mentioned in the early church records as being present at burials and he was probably the sexton of Ste. Anne's Church. The only persons mentioned in the census roll of 1820 by the name of Dubois were Etienne and Susanne, the husband and wife above mentioned. The cemetery of Ste. Anne's Church was on the plat of ground bounded on the north by present Cadillac Square, west of Randolph Street, east of Bates Street and north of Larned Street. In this plat were located the church on the southwest corner and the house in which Bishop Rèsè lived, while bishop and which was subsequently for some years occupied by the parish priest, located near the southwest corner of Congress and Randolph streets. Congress Street was not opened until about 1834. In 1820 there were many burials in what is now Congress Street. On the east side of Randolph Street in the immediate neighborhood was the house of Jean Baptiste Peltier. His family consisted of himself and wife, Susanne, and an incompetent son, Jean Baptiste Peltier, Jr. The husband died in 1820 and the widow married Etienne (the name in English is Stephen) Dubois, January 7, 1823.

There were other children of Etienne Dubois, Sr., who lived in Detroit at least a portion of the time as follows:

Pierre Dubois, born in Montreal in 1772, died in Detroit February 21, 1857.

Francois Dubois, born in Montreal in 1780, married Elizabeth Oliver, died in Detroit November 9, 1820. The following are the children of Etienne Dubois, Jr.:

Marie, born at the River Raisin, February 6, 1802, married Samuel F. Hopkins; died in Detroit October 8, 1884.

The Dubois family apparently lived in Monroe until 1803, when they returned to Detroit. The following were the children born in Detroit:

Jean Baptiste Dubois, born September 29, 1807, married Victoire Campau. He died July 7, 1874.

Jacques Antoine and Elizabeth Scholastic Dubois were twins, born February 14, 1809; Scholastic married (1) John McDougall and (2) Thomas Fish.

Jacques Antoine married Sophia Campau, daughter of Jacques Campau.

Jacques Antoine was almost universally known as Jacques Dubois. His wife was the owner of the Dubois Farm.

Charles Dubois was probably the best known of the family of later years. He was a familiar character on our streets for many years. He was born June 1, 1812, married (1) Thecla Chicoine and (2) Catherine Chapoton. He lived at 128 Hastings Street and died there March 29, 1901.

Etienne Dubois moved to Ecorse in 1818 and a short time later moved to the River Raisin, where his wife, Margaret, died. He returned to Detroit and married Susanne Peltier, as above mentioned. He died in 1830.

Ducharme, Francois. Born in Quebec, married Charlotte Skemis (Potawatomie). They had several children in Detroit. One daughter, Elizabeth, born in 1814, married in 1835, Frederick Gagnier. He died in 1893.

Farley, John. Captain in United States Army. Killed Lieut. Otis Fisher in a duel fought at Sandwich May 3, 1821. Farley was indicted, but was never tried for the crime. He was the son of John Farley, who died before March 14, 1831, and whose will was probated in New Castle County, Delaware. The son, Lieut. John Farley, Jr., was administrator of his estate. In his will the father mentions his daughter, Maria, wife of William Brewster.

Fisher, Otis. Lieutenant in Eighth Regiment United States Infantry, was killed by Lieut. John Farley of the same regiment. The two officers fought a duel in Sandwich, May 3, 1831, in which Fisher was shot. Farley was the brother of Mrs. William Brewster.

Fisher, Otis. "We have this week the melancholy duty of recording the loss to the army of a distinguished and valuable officer and to this community a much respected member.

"Last Wednesday morning, Capt. John Farley, of the U. S. Corps of Artillery, and Lieut. Otis Fisher, of the 5th Regiment of Infantry accompanied by their seconds, met a short distance below Sandwich and the rencontre took place in which the latter was instantly killed. The ball of his antagonist entered a little above his heart.

"Lieut. Fisher had long been stationed at this post, was extensively known among our citizens, and was very greatly esteemed. His remains were yesterday deposited, with the honors of war, in the military burial grounds; to which place they were accompanied by a numerous procession, composed of the military at this post and a large number of citizens.

"It was unfortunate that the secrecy with which the preparatory arrangements were made, defeated the vigilance of the civil authority; the meeting was expected by some but an opinion had been induced that it was deferred for some time."

Gazette, May 5, 1820.

Girardin, James. Was one of the sons of James Girardin, who died March 26, 1806. The father left him surviving his wife, Josette Drouillard, who died January 23, 1814, and nine children, as follows:

1. Josette, who married Pierre Picotte.
2. Jacques (or James).
3. Florence, who married Joseph Ellair.
4. Francois, married Adelaide.
5. Clotilde, married Francois Letourneau.
6. Esther.
7. Moses.
8. Narcisse, married Adelaide. He was also called Peter N. Girardin.
9. Joseph, married Mary.

James, married Archange Letourneau, February 14, 1820. He died in September, 1826. She died 1875.

The ancestors, James and Josette Girardin, owned a lot fifty feet wide on

the south side of Jefferson Avenue, the third lot east of Bates Street. On the east twenty feet of this lot and on the west twenty feet of the lot, next easterly, there was a brick building four stories high. The store was occupied in 1844 by J. G. Watson, merchant. In 1845 Cullen Brown occupied the west half and James A. Hicks the east half. In 1850 Daniel J. Campau owned the store. In 1878 Alexander Abar occupied the upper stories as a hotel. In 1831 the lot next to the east was occupied by Oliver Miller, and on the west half of the Girardin lot Stephen Wells carried on his book bindery. At a later time (1835) Cullen Brown occupied the Wells portion of the lot.

Pierre Picot (Picotte) was a baker in the employ of William Beard, contractor, in 1813. Picot assisted in cutting timber from the Antoine Beaubien for the use of the United States troops during the war. The timber was used in the bakery. In 1838 Picot was living at Erie, Monroe County.

Groesbeck. There was a family by this name in Detroit in 1820, but the name neither occurs in the poll list or census report.

William Groesbeck (of Holland descent) came from Albany in the year 1788 with Jacob (Jacobus) Visger. Groesbeck married Therese Beaufait, daughter of Louis Beaufait and Marie Therese Marsac, in 1792. They had several children, but there is no record to show when they died, except as stated. They were as follows:

James (Jacques) Groesbeck, born February 13, 1793, married Florence Malboeuf dit Beausoleil in 1804.

Sarah, born December 14, 1797, married Jean Baptiste Chauvin. She died in 1871.

William, born February 14, 1800, married, May 8, 1844, Therese Trombly.

Louis, born July 18, 1802, married, January 14, 1829, Catherine St. Aubin. He died April 19, 1855. His son, William C. Groesbeck, recently died (1915) at 675 Second Avenue.

Charles, born October 24, 1804, married (1) Eleanor Rivard and (2) Mary Trombly.

Hamtramck. Gen. John Francis Hamtramck died April 11, 1803. His family lived in Detroit for some time after his death, but his two daughters married and moved away. None of the family were in Detroit in 1820, but the daughters still owned the family farm (just east of the present boulevard), and they sold it in 1820 or 1821. One of the daughters, Harriet, married Joseph Cross, and the daughter, Julia Anne, married Harvey Lane and was living in Ste. Genevieve, Mo., in 1820.

Hanks. Mrs. Margaret Hanks, widow of Lieut. Porter Hanks, who was killed August 15, 1812, in the attack on Detroit the day before the surrender. In 1819 she lived on the northeast corner of Bates and Atwater streets. Mrs. Hanks was a daughter of Patrick McNiff and a sister of the wife of Maj. Thomas Rowland.

Hunt, Henry Jackson. He was a son of Maj. Thomas Hunt. He was the second elected mayor of Detroit and died while in office in September, 1826. He left no children. His wife was Ann, the eldest daughter of Angus Mackintosh, "Earl of Moy," whom he married in 1811. See Daniel Baker. Henry

J. Hunt helped organize the Protestant Society, December 7, 1821. Associate Justice of the County Court, May 23, 1823.

Ann Mackintosh was the daughter of Angus Mackintosh and his wife, Marie Archange Baudry dit Desbuttes dit St. Martin. Ann was born in Detroit in 1789, and died December 14, 1856.

It is sometimes thought that the method of instructing officials is something new, but the following article shows that it was considered entirely proper in 1820.

“Notice.

“The citizens of Wayne County are requested to meet at the Council House on Saturday, the 9th instant, at 4 o'clock P. M. for the purpose of choosing a committee to correspond with our fellow citizens of the other counties of the territory, in order to ascertain their sentiments respecting the propriety of petitioning Congress to alter the ordinance erecting the Territory of Michigan in such manner as the present situation of the territory requires, and also to ascertain their wishes as to the instructions which shall be given to our next delegate.”

This notice is dated September 6, 1820, and is signed by the following persons, nearly all of whom were well known and influential citizens:

Henry Jackson Hunt, William Brown, Robert Abbott, James McClosky, Jacob Visger, George McDougall, Peter J. Desnoyers, Jeremiah V. R. Ten Eyck, John Hunt, Paul Clapp, Orson Bartlett, Austin E. Wing, Andrew G. Whitney, Calvin Baker, (William Russell), Benjamin Woodworth, Oliver W. Miller, William W. Petit, John W. Hunter, Conrad Ten Eyck, John McDonell, Joseph Campau, John Palmer, Louis Dequindre, Abraham Edwards, Benjamin Stead, Charles Larned, John P. Sheldon.

Hunt, John. Prominent lawyer and judge in the United States Territorial Court. He died September 12, 1826, in an asylum in New York, where he had been taken for treatment. His wife was Martha Larned, sister of Gen. Charles Larned. She died a short time before her husband, leaving five children: Sylvester Larned, Emily Martha, John Thomas, Franklin Larned, Harriet Larned, all minors at the death of the parents. Joseph W. Torrey was their guardian. John Hunt helped organize the Protestant Society, December 7, 1821.

Harriet Larned Hunt married Lieut. Ebenezer S. Sibley in 1831.

John Hunt was appointed ensign of a company in the Second Regiment of Infantry, First Brigade, Ninth Division, Massachusetts Militia, March 18, 1806, by Gov. Caleb Strong.

Hurd, Ebenezer, Dr. Came from Vermont in 1819. He had married “Betsey,” daughter of Judge James Witherell, in 1816. She was the sister of Mrs. Thomas Palmer. Doctor Hurd owned the lot on the northwest corner of Woodward Avenue and Congress Street, where in 1827 he built a two-story brick residence and office. This was one of the first brick buildings on Woodward Avenue north of Jefferson Avenue. He had nine children of whom four lived to maturity, three daughters and one son, Charles L. Hurd.

Doctor Hurd in 1819 lived on southwest corner of Bates and Woodbridge streets, in the house with Austin E. Wing. In 1837 he was associated with Dr. Edwin W. Cowles under the firm name of “Hurd and Cowles, Physicians

and Surgeons, 37 Woodward Avenue." At this time Doctor Hurd lived at 55 Woodward Avenue.

Doctor Hurd was born at Sandgate, January 28, 1779. He died in Chicago, at the home of his son-in-law, Henry A. Seelye, May 4, 1864. He is buried in Elmwood. His wife died May 13, 1855.

Jackson, Charles. He was born in Roxbury, Mass., January 8, 1793, and came to Detroit in 1816. He was appointed Cornet in Militia, February 1, 1824, and was appointed second lieutenant, May 24, 1824. He was contractor, and built the water works at the foot of Orleans Street. He was twice married. His first wife was Anethusa Dodemead and his second wife was Ann Dodemead, who was the widow of Samuel Dyson. Probably the wives were related, but they were not sisters. His daughter, Ann, married (1) Leonard Watkins and (2) Jonathan Thompson. Jackson was on a privateer in the War of 1812. He was a captain in the troops that marched to Chicago at the time of the Black Hawk war. In 1827 he occupied a house, next to David Cooper, on the north side of Cadillac Square near Bates Street.

He was the owner of the property now covered by the Hotel Cadillac. He died in 1869.

Jones, DeGarmo. George C. Bates says that DeGarmo Jones was a drummer boy in 1812. "Sudden and quick in quarrel, with a temper requiring a curb bit, Mr. Jones was a sort of western Vanderbilt, with a great big head, enlarged views, interesting industry, who saw far ahead into the future, and had he lived longer, would have cut deeper and deeper into the tablet of time his career, for he was a most public spirited, enterprising, go ahead man." He was born in Albany, N. Y., November 11, 1787, married Catherine H. Annin and came to Detroit in 1819. He died November 14, 1846.

At the time of his death, besides his wife, Catherine H. Jones, he left three children:

Matilda Cass Jones, born 1833, married Augustus Porter Thompson in 1853. She died in 1865.

DeGarmo Jones, born 1835, married Caroline Sauger, daughter of Henry K. Sauger. He was an officer in the Civil war and died in Buffalo in 1864.

Alice Kercheval Jones, born 1838, married Albert M. Steel. She died in 1887.

DeGarmo Jones was trustee of the "Detroit High School" in 1833. The school was then operating in the old council house. "The rooms are being completely refitted and furnished for school purposes." Of this school D. B. Crane was the principal and the trustees were: Gov. Geo. B. Porter, Eurotas P. Hastings, Maj. Henry Whiting, William Woodbridge, Charles Larned, Charles Cleland, Jonathan Kearsley, Charles Moran, Benjamin F. Larned, Joshua Howard, DeGarmo Jones, Peter Desnoyers and Francis P. Browning. The school was in operation from August 1, 1833. The building was, before this, occupied by Mr. Howe for a classical school room.

DeGarmo Jones was a member of the common council in 1838; mayor in 1839; state senator in 1840. He held many other offices during his life.

Kearsley, Maj. Jonathan. Appointed justice of the peace for Wayne County, September 15, 1824. Helped organize Episcopal Church, March 8,

1825. Prominent citizen. Receiver of the land office. Mayor of Detroit. Lived on northwest corner Jefferson Avenue and Randolph Street in a house which is still standing there.

Keith, William. Captain of the first cutter on the lakes. He commanded the United States Revenue Cutter Alexander J. Dallas in 1816. Captain of the Friendship in 1823. Lived on Grosse Ile.

Knaggs, George. The ancestor married Rachel Sly. They had seven children: Whitmore, William, Thomas, George, James, Elizabeth and Rebecca.

Knaggs, James. Married Jemima Griffin and his first child, George, was born November 27, 1806. They lived on the River Raisin.

Knaggs, Louis Whittmore. Born October 16, 1796, married Monique Laderoute, widow of Henry Campau. Knaggs was a member of the Knaggs family—early Indian fighters of Michigan.

Knaggs, Peter Whittmore. On census roll 1827. Son of Whittmore Knaggs and Joseph Labadie, was born in 1798, married Catherine Visger in 1819 and died in Toledo in 1840.

Knaggs, Whittmore. Born in 1763, died May 5, 1827. Leaving a widow, Josette Labadie, and two sons, George B. and James W. Knaggs. His sons, Whitmore and John, and his daughter, Betsey Desnoyers, died before he did, each leaving children. In his will he mentions Peter W. Knaggs. The family is very extensive and a genealogy has been printed.

Labadie, Pierre. A brother of Antoine Louis, married Therese Gaillard, May 13, 1770. Among his children were the following, who were living in 1820:

1. Alexis, born in 1774, died at Monroe in 1843. He left a widow, Isabella, who administrated his estate.

2. Medard, born in 1776, married Marie Therese Robert. He died at Monroe April 24, 1846.

3 and 4. Josette and Marguerite, twins, born September 8, 1778. Josette married Whittmore Knaggs and died 1853. Marguerite was the second wife of Judge James May. His first wife was Rose St. Cosme. Marguerite died in 1850.

5. Pierre, born 1780, married (1) Elizabeth Delisle and (2) Delia Dumay.

6. Elizabeth, born 1783, married May 16, 1820, Jean Baptiste Bezeau.

7. Monique, born 1787, married Antoine Beaubien. She was one of the early teachers in the school founded by the Rev. Gabriel Richard and a benefactress of the Academy of the Sacred Heart. Her husband was the owner of the Antoine Beaubien Farm. She died December 22, 1851, and he died January 28, 1858.

Many of the families of Detroit can trace their ancestry to Pierre Labadie and his wife, Angeliqne Lacelle, the first ones in this country. Members of the Piquette, Cicotte, Campau, Chene, Knaggs, Dubois, Navarre, Brevoort, La Due Gouin, Visger, and other families, find here a link.

It is said that the second Pierre Labadie built the house known as the

Labadie House on the River Road, near Twenty-fourth Street, in which his daughters, Josette and Marguerite (twins), were married as above mentioned.

The Labadie House at the foot of Twenty-fourth Street was built by Pierre Descomps Labadie. In this house James May married one of the daughters and William Knaggs another of Pierre Labadie. This account is in Vol. 28, p. 597, Mich. Hist. Soc. The house was built in 1786 and was destroyed a short time since to make way for a gas reservoir.

Francois Labadie was excommunicated by Gabriel Richard. See Scrap book 5, page 74, 110.

Francois Labadie was a justice of the peace in Macomb County in 1821.

Labadie, Alexis Descomps. Died before 1824. Among his children were Alexis Descomps Labadie who entered into an agreement, February 18, 1824, to marry Isabella Rousson. He died before September 15, 1834. Alexis, Jr., had been previously married to Agnes Rourgeas and he had three sons by the first wife, to wit:

Alexis.

Jacques.

Pierre.

These three sons and his wife, Isabella, survived him.

Labadie. Charles Labadie married Elizabeth Lemoine. Their son, Pierre, was born at Montreal. Came to Detroit in 1810 and married, August 12, 1823, Felicite Moore.

Both Charles and Pierre (Peter) were in Detroit in 1820.

Labadie, Charles. Died before September 5, 1832, leaving no widow, but some minor children. Francis Cicotte administered his estate.

He is on the census roll for 1827.

Labadie, Pierre. Son of Alexis Descomps Labadie and Marie Francoise Labadie, was born October 22, 1782.

Labadie, Pierre Descomps dit Labadie. Born in France, married Angelique Lacelle. Came to Detroit in 1740 and died in 1782.

Their son, Antoine Lewis, did his share in increasing the population of Detroit. He was born in 1730 and died December 17, 1802. His first wife was Angelique Campau, who died December 11, 1767. After her death he lived for some years with a Sautouse Indian, by whom he had a number of children. They were married by Indian ceremonies and there is no church record. His next wife was Charlotte Barthe, widow of Louis Reaume. They were married October 18, 1784, and she died February 11, 1849. There were a number of children of this marriage. There was, in all, twenty-three children whose names are recorded as follows:

1. Marie Angelique, born February 14, 1706, married (1) Pierre Drouillard, and (2) Louis Peltier.
2. Catherine, born 1761, died 1762.
3. Jean Baptiste, born 1763, married Cecile Chene.
4. Jacques Phillipe, born 1765, killed by the kick of a horse in 1770.
5. Elizabeth, born 1767, married Alexis Laderoute.

## By the Sauteuse Indian

6. Joseph, born 1769, died 1792.
7. Antoine, born 1771, married Marie Françoise Godfroy Balard.
8. Angélique, born 1773, married Louis Dragon.
9. Pierre, born 1775, married Nancy Purday. Pierre was killed at Winchester's defeat at the River Raisin.
10. Therese, born 1777, married Charles Bernier.
11. Cecile, born 1780, married François Metais.
12. Marie, born 1782, married Benjamin Grégoise dit Nantais.
13. Charlotte, born 1783, died January 1, 1784.

## By the marriage with Charlotte Barthe

14. Cecile, born 1786, married (1) Augustin Lagrave and (2) Benjamin François Chevrier.
15. Antoine, born 1787, died very young.
16. Louis, born 1788, married Victoire Berthiaume.
17. Euphrasia, born 1791, married François Petrimoulx.
18. Eleanor, born 1792, married (1) Jean Baptiste Piquet and (2) Duncan Reid and (3) Thomas C. Sheldon. (Mrs. Alexandrine M. Willis was her daughter.)
19. Felicite, born 1794 married John Hale.
20. Elizabeth, born 1796, married Luc Montreuil.
21. Marguerite, born 1798, married Elias John Swan.
22. Pierre, born 1800.
23. Nicolas, born 1802.

Pierre Descompts Labadie married Therese Gaillard, May 13, 1770. Their daughter, Marie Angélique Labadie, was born April 9, 1771. She must have died before 1805, as she is not mentioned in the will.

Alexis, son of same parents, born March 21, 1774, must have died before 1805.

Medard, son of same parents, born January 9, 1776.

The will of Pierre Descompts Labadie and his wife, Therese, is in Burton collection, Vol. 173, page 1. It is dated December 25, 1805. In the will mention is made of his children as follows. Daughters:

Therese.

Josette.

Marguerite.

Elizabeth.

Monique.

Sons:

Berdi.

Medard.

Pierre Descomptes, residuary legatee and executor.

Laferty. The name of the family was originally Vessiere, but like many other French families, the nicknames Laferté finally became the surname.

Louis Vessiere dit Laferte came to Detroit as a tailor and lived on St. Joseph Street in the old city. He was twice married, first to Marie Louis Lafroy and (2) to Catherine Esprit dit Champagne. Louis Vessiere dit Laferte became the owner of what is now known as the Laferte Farm at Vermont Avenue.



Many of his descendants live in the city. He died in 1811. All of the children of the first marriage died young. The following are the children of the second marriage.

1. Louis Vessiere dit Laferte, born 1772, married Catherine Campau, sister of Joseph and Barnabas Campau. Louis Laferte died August 31, 1824, and his wife died in 1854.

2. Alexis Vessiere dit Laferte, born 1773, married Marie Louis Pageot, Alexis was living in Detroit in 1826 and is mentioned in the will of his brother, Joseph.

3. Catherine Vessiere dit Laferte, born in 1775, married Charles Moran in 1794. She died November 3, 1797, and he died October 6, 1815. Judge Charles Moran was their only child.

4. Angelique Vessiere dit Laferte, born in 1776, married (1) Nicolas Janis, who died in 1804, and (2) Alexis Langlois.

5. Therese Vessiere dit Laferte, born in 1778, died in 1795.

6. Marie Anne Vessiere dit Laferte, born in 1779, married James Navarre. She was living in Detroit in 1826 and is mentioned in the will of her brother, Joseph.

7. Joseph Vessiere dit Laferte, born 1780, married Marie Louise Gouyou. Joseph became the owner of the Laferty farm. He died November 25, 1826, and his wife died September 11, 1866. He left three children, all well known in Detroit. They were Alexander and Clement Lafferty and Petronella Trudell, wife of Samuel Trudell.

8. Antoine Vessiere dit Laferte, born 1782, married Felice Bourassa. She died in 1876.

9. Pierre Vessiere dit Laferte, born 1788, married Marie Lafoy. Peter died May 9, 1833, and his wife died 1836. They had the following children: Leon, Justine, and Peter.

Leeuyer, Philip. Appointed register of deeds for City of Detroit, November 14, 1825. He resigned May 4, 1826. Appointed associate justice of County Court, December 19, 1826. Appointed clerk of County Court, Wayne County, December 29, 1826. Justice of Wayne County Court, December 23, 1823. Candidate for the legislative council in 1825. Director of the Bank of Michigan in 1827. In 1819 he had a store on Griswold Street, a little below Jefferson Avenue, where he sold stoves, kettles, ovens, etc.

Leib, John L., was from Philadelphia, where he married Margaret Conner. She died February 23, 1836, and he died April 16, 1838, aged seventy-one years. An application was made to the Probate Court, August 30, 1837, to appoint a guardian for John L. Leib, but no appointment was made.

His children were:

George C. Leib, who married (1) Emilie Desnoyers December 25, 1821. She was the daughter of Peter J. Desnoyers and died May 10, 1838, aged thirty-two years. He married (2) Sarah Light. He became insane in 1851, and Peter Desnoyers was appointed his guardian.

James Ronaldson Leib, born in 1805, died November 2, —, unmarried. He was United States consul to Tangiers in 1834.

Melicent D. Leib (or Melissa Dubois), married William B. Hunt, April 29, 1824. She died February 26, 1841, and he died June 2, 1851, aged fifty-one years.

Caroline Josephine, married Peter Desnoyers. After her death he married Ann H. Whipple, April 10, 1837. Peter died April, 1880, aged eighty years.

In 1818 John L. Leib was presiding justice of the Court of Quarter Session of the Peace, and George Leib was clerk of that court.

John L. Leib resigned as chief justice of the County Court, February 12, 1822. He was reappointed to the same office June 15, 1822, and again resigned March 17, 1823.

He owned the Leib farm above "Bloody Run" and lived on his farm, which he called "vis a vis."

McCarty, William. Lived at the Rouge. Both McCarty and his wife, a daughter of Peter Audrain, were earnest Methodists and were the organizers of the first Methodist Church in Michigan, which was located at the Rouge. Robert Abbott, whose wife, Elizabeth, was the sister of McCarty, was also interested in this religious movement. The other persons who aided in the formation of this church were: William Stacey, Betsey, his wife, and Sarah McComb (widow of Godfroy Corbus).

William McCarty was a captain in militia in 1822, and his name is on the census roll of 1827.

McCloskey, James. Surveyor. Cashier of Bank of Michigan. Resigned as county commissioner September 14, 1821. Accused of embezzling the funds of the bank on May 24, 1825. He was charged with stealing between \$8,000 and \$9,000. He was arrested but never tried. The affair was compromised. It is evident that he was not universally thought to be guilty, for he subsequently held important positions and was at one time a candidate for the office of delegate to Congress. McCloskey was chairman of the board of trustees of the city in 1820.

He married Susanne Godfroy, daughter of Gabriel Godfroy, September 11, 1815. They had several children. One of his daughters, Elizabeth Eleonida, born in 1821, became the wife of Judge and Senator Isaac P. Christianey.

McDougall, George. Son of Capt. George McDougall. Lawyer, sheriff, justice of the peace, judge of probate, lighthouse keeper at St. Clair. Owner of Belle Isle. Grandson of Robert Navarre. Eccentric bachelor. Brother of Robert McDougall. George was born October 19, 1766, and was appointed auditor of public accounts October 4, 1814. Resigned as register of probate September 11, 1821. He was of a roving disposition and erratic and sometimes quarrelsome. He lived in Detroit, Fort Defiance, River Raisin and St. Clair. George McDougall, secretary pro-tem of the board of trustees, gave notice June 1, 1820, that the assize of bread had been fixed at four pounds four ounces for 12½ cents, and two pounds two ounces for 6¼ cents.

In 1820 McDougall had his law office in a room in the Indian Council House, that stood on the southwest corner of Jefferson Avenue and Randolph Street.

The United States Arsenal was built from limestone taken from the quarry on Grosse Ile and was advertised for sale by George McDougall, April 7, 1820. "The sale was to take place next Friday at the Council House." Sale postponed till Friday, April 21, 1820.

The arsenal stood on the northwest corner of Jefferson Avenue and Wayne Street.

McDougall, Robert (or John Robert McDougall). Brother of George (above), was born June 30, 1764. Grandfather of John Barnabas Campau and Alexander Macomb Campau. Robert McDougall had nine children who lived to reach their majority. He moved across the river and received an appointment in the British army. He lived, at the termination of his life, on Woodbridge Street, between St. Antoine and Hastings streets, where he died July 22, 1846. He was buried at Sandwich.

He was a pensioner of the British government and was required to furnish a statement to the British war department in order to obtain his pension. The following is an abstract of the report made by him.

John Robert McDougall entered the army at the age of thirteen years.

He was an ensign May 6, 1777; lieutenant December 12, 1781, and a lieutenant on half pay June 25, 1783.

He performed duty with his regiment till June, 1784, in the 8th Regiment of Foot.

On service fully pay.....	7 years
Half pay .....	45 years

Total .....	52 years
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He was married June 26, 1786, at Detroit. His children were:

Peter, born June 15, 1791.

James, born January 24, 1793.

Archange, born September 7, 1794.

Catherine, born September 26, 1797.

Mary Anne, born March 22, 1799.

Joseph, born February 1, 1801.

Charles, born May 19, 1805.

Veronique, born October 30, 1808.

McKinstry, David C., was the son of Gen. Charles McKinstry. His father lived at Berkshire, Mass., where Bernice McKinstry, the widow of General McKinstry and step-mother of David, died April 2, 1845, aged 76 years. David C. McKinstry for many years was engaged in furnishing entertainments to the citizens of Detroit. He had the Michigan Garden on Randolph Street, above Fort Street, and the Museum on the southeast corner of Jefferson Avenue and Griswold Street; also the circus, on the northeast corner of Library Avenue and Gratiot Avenue. He moved to Ypsilanti and died there. His sister, Sally, was the wife of Judge A. Tremain, of Hillsdale. She died April 17, 1845, aged sixty-five years. McKinstry was Presidential elector in 1836.

Deputy inspector in 1820, located in "Wing's Wharf." One of the commissioners to lay out road from Pontiac to Saginaw, July 19, 1822. The other commissioners were Daniel LeRoy and James D. Doty. McKinstry and Thomas Palmer were the contractors who built the territorial capitol on Capitol Square. They began in 1823 but did not finish until 1829. The contract was completed by Mr. Palmer and the lands in the 10,000-acre tract that were to be given to the contractors were all deeded to Mr. Palmer. McKinstry bought the Methodist Church on the corner of Gratiot and Library avenues and converted it into a theater, the first incident of the kind in Detroit. Lived at 220 Jefferson Avenue in 1837.

McMillan, Polly. Mary McMillan was the wife of Ananias McMillan. Her husband was killed and scalped by the Indians not far from the intersection of Washington and Grand River avenues, September 15, 1814. Her son, Archibald, was at that time taken by the Indians and kept for some time. Immediately after the murder of McMillan, Governor Cass organized a posse to pursue the Indians in order to capture or exterminate the murderers. Several members of this posse were living in Detroit in 1820. The following is a complete list of the pursuers, then all young men: Shubael Conant, Charles Moran, Capt. Francis Cicotte, James Cicotte, Edward Cicotte, George Cicotte, Henry Jackson Hunt, Gen. Charles Larned, William Meldrum, John Meldrum, James Meldrum, James Riley, John Riley, Lambert Beaubien, Jean Baptiste Beaubien, Joseph Andre dit Clark, Louis Moran, Louis Dequindre, Lambert Lafoy, Joseph Riopelle, Joseph Visger, Jacob Smyth, Benjamin Lucas and John Roland.

Mrs. McMillan married a man named Willard before May 16, 1820. She applied to the Probate Court to be appointed guardian of her minor children and gave their names as follows:

Persis, Joseph, Jesse, Ananias, Sally and Archibald.

Persis was the first wife of Lemuel Goodell and died of cholera in 1834.

Mack, Stephen. Member of firm of Mack and Conant. Appointed member of the legislative council February 4, 1824. Director in Bank of Michigan in 1826. Member of firm of Mack, Sibley and Hascall in Pontiac until March, 1826, when the partnership was dissolved and a new one formed by Mack and Solomon Sibley. He died in Pontiac, November 11, 1826, in his seventy-second year. He was born in Lyme, Connecticut, in 1764, and was in the Revolution. Came to Detroit in 1807; was made prisoner of war at the surrender in 1812. He was the founder of Pontiac. One of his daughters, Lovicy, became the wife of David Cooper. Two of his sons were John M. and Almon Mack.

Stephen Mack, in 1820, lived one door west of Barnabas Campau, on the south side of Jefferson Avenue, west of Randolph Street in Detroit.

Almon Mack moved to Rochester, Michigan, in 1830. He was born in Tambridge, Vermont, and educated in Norwich, came to Michigan in 1822, and in 1827 married Alvira Jemison. She died January 21, 1876. Almon Mack was member of Legislature in 1848.

Macomb, Alexander. General in U. S. Army. Born in Detroit, 1782, son of Alexander Macomb and grandson of John Macomb.

Macomb, Jean. Son of Alexander Macomb and Marie Catherine Navarre, was born May 9, 1774. He married Christina Livingston. He was killed in a naval action in 1810. They had several children. Among them was John Navarre Macomb. This is the person whose name is in the lists. He married (1) Czarina Caroline Macomb, a cousin, and (2) Nancy Rodgers. He died March 16, 1889.

Mallet, Joseph (probably Maillet). He was born at Detroit, January 6, 1785, and married Susanne Gagnier, June 20, 1808. His wife died in 1816, and he was buried January 26, 1844. He was a teacher of dancing, and in 1820 advertised that the first "Cotillon assembly would be held at Mr. Wood-

worth's hotel, January 18, 1820." He was married three times. His second wife was Marie Tessier, and his third wife was Catherine Metay (Mettez, Metais), daughter of Theophilus Mettais.

Marsac, Joseph F., was in the battle of River Thames in 1813. Ensign in militia June 28, 1826.

Children: Charles Octavius Rivard Marsac, Mrs. Leon Trombly, Mrs. William H. Southworth, Mrs. Thomas J. McClennen, and Mrs. George Robinson, all of Bay City. Joseph died at Bay City, June 18, 1880, aged about ninety years.

May, James. Born in Birmingham, England, married (1) Rosalie St. Cosme. She died July 18, 1797. He then married Margaret Descompts Labadie, daughter of Pierre Descompts Labadie.

James May died January 19, 1829. The children by the first marriage were:

Ann, who died November 28, 1785.

Genevieve, who died June 17, 1786.

Elizabeth, married Gabriel Godfroy, April 27, 1808. He died in 1848.

The children by the second marriage were:

Ann, born in 1798, married (1) Peter Francis Audrain and (2) James B. Whipple. She died in 1871.

Margaret, born in 1800, married Edward Brooks.

Mary, born in 1802, died young.

James, born in 1805, married Susanne Fournier.

Mary Ann, born in 1804, married Louis Moran.

Peter Benjamin, born in 1808, died in 1809.

Therese Augustine Charlotte, born April 7, 1810, died in 1813.

Caroline, born —, married Alexander D. Fraser, January 3, 1829.

Benjamin, born April 10, 1816.

Samuel William, born February 12, 1819, married November 25, 1842, Silence Cushing. He died in 1914.

James May during a long life occupied many position of trust and importance. He was justice of the peace and judge of the County Court.

The following instrument is in the Burton collection:

"Territory of Michigan.

"To James May, John Anderson and John Whipple, Esqrs.

"Gentlemen:

"You are hereby appointed managers of the Lottery established by an act entitled 'An act for laying out and opening a road from the City of Detroit to the foot of the Rapids of the Miami which enters into Lake Erie'; And you are hereby authorized to execute the same according to law, and entitled to all the Emoluments and priviledges appertaining to the same.

"Detroit 17th January 1809.

"William Hull,

"Governor of Michigan.

"The above gentlemen have resigned."

May, James, Jr. Son of James May, above, was born December 8, 1805. He married Susanne Fournier, January 7, 1829. He died before 1831, and she died September 21, 1834.

Meldrum, John. Son of George Meldrum, who died March 9, 1817, owning the Meldrum farm. John Meldrum, born in 1788, at his death in 1825, left the following children: George, Liza, Matilda Eberts (wife of Robert M. Eberts), John, Ann (wife of O. C. Johnson), and Jane Meldrum. The widow of John Meldrum was named Sarah Lytle, daughter of John Lytle. Meldrum was a member of the State Historical Society.

John Meldrum gave notice through the Gazette in 1820 that he would redeem all lottery tickets issued by him if presented before January 24. He had previously organized a lottery for the benefit of the University of Michigan, but it was a failure and the lottery drawing never took place.

Although John Meldrum is the only person by that name appearing in the lists in 1820, there were several other members of the family living in the Detroit district in that year. The ancestor was George Meldrum, who married Marie Angelique Catherine Chapoton in 1782. Their children living in 1820 were:

1. Marie Anne, born September 2, 1786, married Dr. William McDowell Scott. They were married by the Rev. David Bacon, father of Rev. Leonard Bacon, president of Yale University. After the death of Doctor Scott, Marie Ann married Melvin Dorr. She was frequently called Nancy.
2. John, born in 1788, married Sarah Lytle. He died in 1825 and she died in 1839.
3. James, born in 1792, married Eleanor Boyer, January 14, 1801. He died in 1860.
4. William, born in 1794, married Genevieve Rivard. He died before 1864.
5. David, born in 1800, married Julia Saucier, October 4, 1824.
6. Marie Genevieve, born in 1802, married Abraham Wendell. She died before 1845.
7. Robert, born in 1804, married Marie Ann Moras.

Mettez. The family was quite large, and there are five representatives in the lists in 1820.

Joseph Mettez had two sons, Theophilus and Rene, living in Detroit in 1820.

Theophilus was born in Sandwich district, November 24, 1764, and married Catherine Peliter. They had several children.

Rene was born in Detroit February 27, 1771, and married Elizabeth Riopel. He was a tailor and had a shop in the city. He died March 21, 1845. There were some children of the next generation in Detroit in 1820.

Marie Catherine, daughter of Theophilus, above, born November 12, 1790, married (1) Francis Lepage dit St. Amant and (2) Joseph Maillet. She died in Detroit in 1849.

Theophilus, Jr., son of Theophilus, above, born September 16, 1792, married Marie Gamelin. He died in Detroit, September 19, 1844. He was seventeen years old when the first printing press was brought to Detroit. The issue of the press, those in French, bore the name of Theophilus Mettez. Either this person or his partner set the type.

Bazil Mettez, son of Theophilus, Sr., born in 1796, died in Detroit, March 24, 1836.

Charles Mettez, son of Felix Mettez and his wife, Catherine LeMay, was born October 28, 1804, and died October 31, 1834.

Monique Mettez, daughter of Rene Mettez and Elizabeth Riopelle, born January 19, 1796, married Antoine Lorrain. She died November 28, 1834.

Susanne Mettez, sister of Monique, above, born June 4, 1797, married Jacob Dix (Dicks). She died August 20, 1863.

Monteith, Rev. John. Presbyterian minister and first president of the University of Michigan. Monteith School is named for him.

John Montieth married Sarah S. Granger, daughter of William Granger, of Portage County, Ohio. Mrs. Monteith died October 9, 1821. Her sister, Eliza Granger, died October 1, 1821, and the mother of the two young ladies, Mrs. Granger, died October 30, 1821, all three dying in the space of four weeks in the same house.

The dedication of the First Protestant Church of Detroit took place January 27, 1820. The sermon was delivered by the "Rev. John Monteith, Bishop of the Church." In the afternoon a sermon was preached by Mr. Moses Hunter, a missionary of the General Assembly. The assembly was large and the music was good.

Moors, Jeremiah. One of the vestrymen of the Episcopal Church, March 8, 1825. Ensign in militia June 9, 1826. Assessor in 1826-27.

He was the father of Cyrus Moors, who lived on Cass Street above Lafayette Avenue in 1875. Grand master of Masons. He married Sophronia Kelley, November 30, 1830.

"Jeremiah Moors, mason, 81 Cass St." in 1837.

Alderman in 1842.

Moran, Charles (Judge). Was the son of Charles Moran and Catherine Vessiere dit Laferté. He was born April 21, 1797, and was the only child of his parents. His father died October 6, 1815.

Charles married (1) August 21, 1822, Julia Dequindre, the daughter of one of his near neighbors, Antoine Dequindre. She died January 16, 1835. On August 3, 1836, Charles Moran married (2) Justine McCormack, who was born in Orange County, New York. He died October 13, 1876.

The children of the first marriage were:

1. Catherine Matilda, born 1823, married James B. Watson. She died February 25, 1843, less than a year after her marriage, aged nineteen years and four months.

2. Charles Desrivieres, born in 1825, married Elizabeth Odelia Prior. He died in 1868. Three sons of this marriage lived to manhood: Charles T., Louis N., and Amadeus T.

3. Julia Victoire, born in 1825, married Isaac D. G. Toll. She died in 1865.

4. Marie Josephine, born in 1832, married Robert A. Mix.

5. Virginia Adeline, born in 1834, married Francois St. Aubin. She died in 1867.

By the second marriage there were the following children:

6. Jane M., born 1837, died 1852.

7. James M., born 1841, died 1867.

8. William Benjamin, born 1844, married (1) Elise Emily Van Dyke and (2) Frances Agnes Desnoyers. He died in 1895. His children were Mary C., William A., and Henry D.

9. John Vallee, born 1846, married Emma Etheridge.
10. Catherine Elizabeth, born 1850, married Henry Desnoyers Barnard.
11. Fred Toll, born 1855, married Satella Grace Butterfield.

Moran, Charles. Son of Charles Moran, who located the Charles Moran farm. Charles, Jr., married (1) Julia Dequindre in 1822 and (2) Justina McCormick in 1836. His children were Charles Moran, Mrs. Josephine Mix, John V. Moran, Fred T. Moran, the late Hon. William B. Moran and Catherine, who married Henry D. Barnard.

Another daughter, Catherine Matilda, married James Watson in 1842 and died the following year. Another daughter, Julia, married Isaac D. G. Toll in 1849 and died April 17, 1865. Another daughter, Virginia Adeline, married Francis St. Aubin in 1855 and died in 1867.

Charles took some interest in local politics. Soldier in war of 1812. Side judge in Territorial Court. Member of first constitutional convention and member of Legislature. Born August 13, 1797, and died October 13, 1876.

Moran, Joseph. Brother of Charles Moran, Sr., born in 1763, married (1) Catherine Boyer and (2) Archange Moras.

Moran, Louis. Louis Moran, Sr., died February 20, 1826, leaving a widow, Marie Catherine, and the following children: George Moran, Monique Campau, Louis Moran, Jr., whose wife was Maria May, daughter of James May; Françoise Moran, a daughter, married Francis X. Campau, son of Barnabas Campau; and Philice Moran, a daughter, married Lambert Beaubien. Louis Moran, Sr., was a large property owner and possessed what we now call the Mullett farm and the Louis Moran farm in the city. He was a brother of Charles Moran, the father of Judge Charles Moran, above.

Moran, Maurice. Owner of the Maurice Moran (or Hunt) farm. He was a brother of Louis Moran, Sr., and Charles Moran, Sr. (above). He was born in 1775, married Felicite Meloche and died May 8, 1863. Felicite died January 13, 1835.

One of his daughters married Henry Sanderson.

Moran, Pierre (Pierre Philip Moran, son of Charles Claude Moran), was born January 10, 1772.

Mullett, John. Surveyor. His name does not occur in the lists, though it is quite probable that he was in Detroit in 1820. Detroit Lodge, F. and A. M., was organized in 1821 by John Mullett, Jeremiah Moors, Marshall Chapin, Orson Bartlett, Daniel B. Cole, Elihu Sikes, John Farrar, Charles Jackson, John Garrison, William B. Hunt and Jacob Eilert. The application for a charter was signed by the following additional names:

Spencer Coleman, Burleigh Hunt, Sanford Ruggles, Levi Cook, Henry C. Bronson and Johnsy McCarthy.

Mullett was a tailor by trade and bought out the business of Benjamin Stead. He was employed at that trade in 1822, but subsequently became a surveyor and map maker. The city map of 1830 was made by him. He moved to Ingham County and there passed the latter part of his life.



The family of Navarre, though not one of the oldest, is one of the most prominent in the history of the city and the state. The Detroit ancestor was Robert Navarre, who was born in France in 1709 and came to Detroit in 1729. From the ancestor has descended a long list of persons whose names in the past adorn in the present this page of the story of this part of the country. Although the name Navarre is not frequently met with in Detroit, there are several hundred people in this place in whom the blood of the Navarres courses. The families of Brevoort, Marantette, Macomb, Stanton, Cicotte, Laferte, Moran, Labadie, Trombly, May, Askin, Godfroy, Hall, Watson, Knaggs, Beaubien, Loranger, Bond, Campau, Sibley, and many more reach back to Robert Navarre.

Robert Navarre was the sub intendant, royal notary and register, tax collector and justice of the peace under French regime from 1734 till the end of the French rule in 1760. Under the English he continued to perform all the acts of a similar nature that the Government could permit. In 1734 he married Marie Lootman dit Barrois. He became the owner of what is now known as the Brevoort farm and a portion of the Porter farm at Twenty-third and Twenty-fourth streets. He died in 1791. His eldest daughter, Marie Francoise, married George McDougall (owner of Belle Isle), and was the mother of George and John Barnabas Campau and the late Alexander Macomb Campau.

Another daughter, Marie Anne, became the wife of Dr. George Christian Anthon, who was the father of three noted men, John, Charles, and Henry Anthon.

Charles Anthon was the noted Greek and Latin scholar and lexicographer.

Another daughter, Marie Catherine, was the wife of Alexander Macomb and the mother of Gen. Alexander Macomb.

A son, Jean Marie Alexis Navarre, was born on the Brevoort farm September 21, 1763, during the time the City of Detroit was besieged by Pontiac. He married Archange Godet dit Marantette and died May 22, 1836. He is the only person bearing the name Navarre that appears in the lists.

It is said that there were twenty-six soldiers bearing the name of Navarre that were in the war of 1812 in and about Detroit.

Peltier. The names and members of this family appearing in the lists in 1820 are Charles, Ezekiel, John or Jean Baptiste, Louis and Louison.

It is somewhat difficult to locate all of these records. Louison cannot be found in other records. In records we have, the following appears:

Charles, son of Andrew Peltier, born July 30, 1767, married Archange Casse dit St. Aubin in 1789. She died at Mt. Clemens in 1856. It is probable that he lived in Detroit in 1820, if he did not die before that date. Charles, son of preceding Charles, was born at Detroit June 15, 1794. He married (1) Susanne Dequindre, (2) Therese Godfroy, and (3) Archange Raymond at Detroit, January 7, 1854.

Jean Baptiste Simon (or Jean Baptiste Peltier), son of Andrew Peltier and brother of Charles (first above mentioned), born February 17, 1785, married Catherine Williams, who was the daughter of Thomas Williams and the sister of Gen. John R. Williams. Jean Baptiste died in Detroit January 30, 1841.

Louis, half-brother of Charles and Jean Baptiste, above named, was born in 1798, married (1) Monique Barkume and (2) Therese Riopelle June 16, 1829.

Leo, son of Charles (second above), born March 16, 1799, married June 16, 1821, Cecile Trombly. He died in 1861.

Jean Baptiste Peltier, son of Jean Baptiste Peltier and Catherine Vallee, was born March 8, 1771, married Susanne Facer, July 7, 1800. He died in Detroit July 4, 1821.

Louis Theophile, son of Jean Baptiste Peltier and Catherine Vallee, was born in 1775, married Therese Catherine Renaud in 1802, died in Detroit, April 9, 1855.

Archange Peltier, daughter of Jacques Amable Peltier, born November 14, 1782, married January 11, 1800, Maj. John Whipple, U. S. A., son of Joseph Whipple and Elizabeth Fairfield. Archange died November 27, 1849.

Ezekiel Peltier, son of Isidore Peltier and Sophia Salomon, born May 26, 1799, married January 24, 1826, Veronique (or Monique) Elizabeth Le Duc, daughter of Louis Le Duc and Cecilia Labadie. Ezekiel did not die until after 1846, after he had removed to Monroe.

Peltier, Jean Baptiste. Lived on east side of Randolph Street, above Jefferson Avenue. He had an incompetent son bearing the same name. His wife, Susanne, was the wife of Etienne Dubois August 16, 1824. The father died between June 26 and August 13, 1821. He was the son of Jean Paptiste Peltier and Catherine Valle and was born March 9, 1771.

Peltier, Jean Baptiste, married Catherine Williams, sister of John R. Williams, before October, 1821.

Perkins, Capt. Samuel. Assisted in organizing the Episcopal Church March 8, 1825. U. S. military storekeeper in 1820. The Government storehouse was on the north side of Jefferson Avenue, about the location of Wayne Street. It is thus described in the Herald in 1826: "Upon the evacuation of the Fort in this city, the United States will reserve the brick house, the arsenal and the house occupied by Capt. Perkins."

Richard, Gabriel. Priest of Ste. Anne's Church. Candidate for delegate to Congress May 31, 1825. Elected delegate to Congress in 1825 and served two years. A very capable man and much in favor of educating the masses. One of his brother priests wrote concerning him that he ought to have been made a professor of mathematics in some college.

He was born in France and had received a very severe wound that left a large scar on his cheek. His explanation of the affair was as follows:

"I was a priest in France at the time of the revolution directed by Robespierre. I saw some of the soldiers near my house one day, and heard them asking for me. I knew what that meant, and I jumped out of a rear window. As I landed on the ground a woman in an adjoining house threw a tea pot at me. It broke on my cheek, inflicting a deep wound. I ran out on the street until I was exhausted. Seeing some men digging a ditch, I jumped into it. They were friends and covered up my priest's garb with their coats and vests. I was not seen and my pursuers passed by. I worked in that ditch until I got a chance to leave for America in a vessel."

Riopelle, Dominique. Owner of the Riopelle farm on Riopelle Street. His son by the same name became the owner of the most of this farm, though he was not the only child.

Claude N. Riopelle, son of Dominique, Jr., was a successful attorney of Detroit for some years.

1. Antoine Riopelle, son of Ambroise Riopelle and Therese Campau, born May 14, 1774, died in 1812.

2. Hyacinthe Riopelle, son of same parents, born February 10, 1780, married (1) Frances Meloche, October 27, 1807, and (2) Angelique Bondy April 26, 1813.

Hyacinth Riopelle died before April 1, 1833, leaving a widow, Angelique, and the following seven children:

Adelaide.

Zoe.

Julia.

Elizabeth.

Gregory.

Margaret.

Harriett.

Alexander Frazer was guardian of the children while minors.

3. Jean Baptiste Riopelle, son of same parents, born at Detroit, married May 10, 1808, Therese Maillet. They moved to the River Rouge.

4. Archange, daughter of same parents, born May 25, 1784, married John Dix.

5. Dominique, son of same parents, born September 21, 1787, married January 26, 1818, Collette Gouin, daughter of Nicolas Gouin, and widow of Antoine Bernard. Dominique and his wife owned the Riopelle farm, at Riopelle Street, Detroit. He died May 20, 1859, and she died April 3, 1848.

6. Joseph, son of same parents, born May 10, 1791, married Archange Meloche. She died September 24, 1851.

As Dominique Riopelle (5 above) lived in the City of Detroit, his family is of more interest in connection with the city than the others. He had several children. Among them were:

7. Dominique, who married Elizabeth Gouin and who subsequently came to be the owner of most of the Riopelle Farm.

8. Catherine Edesse Riopelle, born in 1820, married Michel Geoffrey Payment.

9. Angelique married Fabien Peltier.

10. Domatille, Matilda. Born 1826, married Pontiff Gouin. They will be remembered as keepers of a famous "road house" on Jefferson Avenue, a few miles up the river.

Of the next generation, the children of Dominique (7 above), the eldest son, Claude Nicolas Riopelle, born in 1845, was a member of the Detroit bar.

Rodgers, Capt. Jedediah. Master of the steamboat Walk-in-the-Water. He was also captain on the Superior, the second steamer on the Lakes. The Walk-in-the-Water ended her first trip to Detroit May 20, 1819. Job Fish was the first master.

Russell, William. One of the twelve Americans in Detroit in 1796. Part owner of the property at the northwest corner of Jefferson and Woodward avenues, with James Henry. He was a prominent citizen. In 1821 he was president of a public meeting called in Detroit for the support of Augustus B. Woodward for Congress. Two committees were appointed to work in this cause, composed of Charles Poupard, Benoit Chapoton, Louis Le Duc, Charles Moran, Elijah Downer, Col. Francois Navarre, Capt. William Keith, Louis Dequindre, Calvin Baker and William Anderson. Russell married Abby Woodworth, sister of Samuel and Benjamin Woodworth, March 30, 1821. They lived at the southeast corner of Hastings and Woodbridge streets.

St. Aubin, Jean Baptiste (in one place this is spelled St. Obin). He was a son of Jacques Casse dit St. Aubin; was born at Detroit, October 15, 1757; married January 7, 1800, Marie Angelique Brilliant dit Beaulieu. He died September 17, 1845.

St. Aubin, Casse dit Francis. Was the son of Louis Casse dit St. Aubin and was born in Detroit July 26, 1775. He married January 15, 1811, Basalique Campau. He died March 7, 1831, and she died March 9, 1870.

Their children were:

1. Catherine, born in 1811, married Louis Groesbeck, January 14, 1829.
2. Euphemia, born in 1813, married Pierre Provençal, February 1, 1831. She died in 1872.
3. Louis, born in 1816, married (1) Therese Chapoton and (2) Madelein (or Marie Ann) Cottrell.
4. Matilda, born in 1817, married Eugene W. Watson, September 10, 1844. She died in 1893.
5. Phillis (Felicite), born in 1819, married Henry Beaubien. She died in 1893.
6. Marie, born in 1822, married March 7, 1848, William Lee, and after his death she married John Ferdinard Godfroy. She died in Grand Rapids in 1856.
7. Isabella Basilique, born in 1824, married Richard Connor. She died January 26, 1848.
8. Henrietta (or Harriet), born in 1826, married (1) Henry Hooper Cottrell. He was drowned or killed a short time after their marriage, and she (2) married Antoine Moross, January 20, 1851.
9. Francois, born in 1829, married Virginia Adelaide Moran (daughter of Judge Charles Moran). She died in 1867 and he died in 1872.

Sheldon, John P. Appointed captain in militia March 15, 1825. Helped to organize the Protestant Society December 7, 1821. Protests against attempt of A. E. Wing to claim election May 21, 1825. County commissioner, January 14, 1822. Had stationery store on Griswold below Jefferson Avenue. Editor of the Gazette for many years. He was very powerful and sarcastic writer and any who fell under his displeasure was sure to hear from him through the columns of the Gazette. The Herald called him "a fretful and malicious little man." And again it says, "You are anxious to be looked upon as the literary dagger-man of Detroit and you fling your weapons around with indiscriminate

malignity. The great and small are alike objects of your implacable resentment."

Clerk of the legislative council in 1826.

He married Elizabeth Whiting at Rochesterville, Genesee County, New York, November 13, 1818.

Sibley, Solomon, born at Sutton, Mass., October 7, 1769, married Sarah Whipple Sproat, in October, 1802, daughter of Col. Ebenezer and Katherine Sproat. Their daughter, Catherine W., was born in February, 1806, baptized in St. Anne's Church July 25, 1808, and buried in Ste. Anne's Cemetery July 26, 1808.

His children were:

1. Ebenezer Sproat Sibley.
2. Henry Hastings Sibley.
3. Alexander Hamilton Sibley.
4. Frederick Baker Sibley.
5. Sarah A. Sibley.
6. Catherine W. Sibley.
7. Mary C. Sibley.
8. Catherine Whipple Sibley.
9. Augusta Ann Sibley.

Solomon Sibley elected delegate to Congress September 6, 1821. The certificate of election is dated October 25, 1821.

In 1820 Sibley lived on the northeast corner of Jefferson Avenue and Randolph Street.

Solomon Sibley, lawyer, member of Assembly of Northwest Territory, appointed mayor of Detroit. Judge of United States Court. Appointed auditor of public accounts October 4, 1814. He died 1846.

Smart, Robert. "Smart Corner" was the northeast corner of Jefferson and Woodward avenues. The first brick store in the city was erected on this corner. His name is in the list of inhabitants in 1806. In a description of Detroit in 1819 it is stated that Smart owned all the land on the east side of Woodward Avenue from Jefferson Avenue to Larned Street and that it was all vacant down to Larned Street, "where he had an unpainted old house in which he dwelt as a bachelor." He was an "old Scotchman," a retired tanner. He built the store on the corner below in 1822, the first brick store in Detroit.

"R. S. Smart, gentleman, 48 Woodward Avenue," 1837.

Stead, Benjamin. Appointed justice of the peace for Macomb County, September 18, 1821, but never took office, for he died in Hamtramck, September 25, 1821, at the house of D. C. McKinstry.

He began the erection of the second brick home in Detroit, but died before completing the work (see Palmer, page 120). The first brick dwelling was the mansion of Governor Hull. In 1820 Stead was carrying on the tailoring business and had "just received from New York the Newest Fashions." He was also secretary of the Mechanics' Society and was appointed one of the trustees of the University of Michigan. His dwelling and place of business was on the north side of Jefferson Avenue, a short distance west of Shelby Street. The probate court records the following minors:

John Milton Stead, Thomas Jefferson Stead, Benjamin Franklin Stead, and Ann Gazzam Stead, for whom Henry J. Hunt and A. G. Whitney were appointed guardians, May 20, 1822.

Benjamin Stead was born in Leeds, England, October 12, 1776, married Frances Morley at Nottingham, England, April 19, 1798. Left England for America October 12, 1804. His wife and two children did not accompany him, but they came here later. He lived at various places in the United States, and came to Detroit in 1815.

His children, besides those above mentioned, were Mary Stead, who as a young lady was a teacher. She married Shadrach Gillett January 27, 1825.

Frances Stead, born April 28, 1807, married Rev. L. Rouse. She died March 4, 1888.

The Ann Gazzam Stead above mentioned was born in Detroit. April 26, 1817. She married Samuel Zug, and her two children are well known in Detroit, the late Robert M. Zug, president of the Y. M. C. A., and Mrs. Mary G. Nichols, now of San Diego, California.

Ten Eyck, Conrad. Prominent citizen. U. S. marshal, 1838. (Sometimes called "Coon" Ten Eyck.) Member constitutional convention of 1835. City treasurer, 1821.

Conrad Ten Eyck was from Albany, N. Y., and was of Dutch descent. He was born in 1782 and came to Detroit in 1802; in after years he carried on a store located on the southwest corner of Jefferson and Woodward avenues (Curry's Corner). He was treasurer of Wayne County, 1817 to 1825. Village trustee in 1818. Supervisor of Dearborn, 1833 to 1839. U. S. marshal, 1837 to 1841. He died August 23, 1847, leaving the following children: William Ten Eyck, Charles B. Ten Eyck, Catherine Ten Eyck, Mrs. Jane Fisher (wife of Merritt Fisher), Mrs. Maria Schloss, Mrs. Sarah Tompkins and Mrs. Helen Roberts.

Ten Eyck, Jeremiah V. R. Brother of Conrad, and his partner until they failed in business. He lived on the north side of Jefferson Avenue, between Woodward Avenue and Bates Street.

Dr. William Brown made his home in Ten Eyck's family for many years. Appointed register of probate, September 12, 1821, by Governor Cass. Appointed register of probate, December 19, 1826. Register of deeds.

Thibault. The name is spelled in various ways: Thibault, Thibo, Teabo and some other ways.

The name that appears in the lists of 1820 are Bazil, Francois, Lombard (or Lambert), Louis and Prosper.

Bazil Thibault, son of Ignatius Thibault and Madelein LaForest, born April 22, 1798, married Elizabeth Bernard. He died August 29, 1834.

Francois (Francis) Thibault, son of Ignatius Thibault, born August 28, 1783, married Agnes Rivard. He died July 30, 1844.

Joseph Thibault, the son of Joseph Louis Tribault and the brother of Lambert, was born October 18, 1788. He is not mentioned in the list.

He married November 28, 1826, Archange Bernard, widow of Joseph de

Longchamp. She died in 1870. (There was another Joseph Thibault, who died in 1822, leaving a widow, Genevieve, and Louis Thibault, his eldest son.)

Lambert (Lombard) Tribault was the son of Joseph Louis Thibault and Therese Boyer. He was born September 15, 1789, married Genevieve Meni, and died February 18, 1834. One of their children, Catherine Edesse Thibault, born November 25, 1822, married Jean Baptiste Trombly June 18, 1841. Catherine recently (1915) celebrated her ninety-third birthday in Detroit.

Louis Tribault, son of Ignatius Tribault and Catherine Casse dit St. Aubin, was born April 20, 1771, married Archange Bertrand January 30, 1816. Louis died September 29, 1847.

Prosper Thibault. There was a man by this name born in 1759, who married Louise Alavos, a Pottawatomi Indian. They lived on the Raisin River. He died in April, 1810. They had several children, some of whom lived at Detroit. There is no child by the name of Prosper among those whose names are enrolled in the church records.

Thibault, Lambert (Lombard). Married Genevieve Meni. His daughter, Henrietta Maria, married Pierre Gadois. Lambert lived on what is now Atwater Street, near Hastings Street, in 1820. This was just outside the city limits. At that time Atwater Street was the only highway leading eastward from the city to the country. A notice appears in the Gazette of April 7, 1820, that Thibault had moved out of the house in the "Cote du Nord est" and Philip Lecuyer wanted to let the premises.

Thibault, Louis. Appointed administrator of the estate of Genevieve Thibault and of the estate of Joseph Thibault in 1833.

Louis died in 1834 and his will was admitted to probate in August of that year.

In 1819 Jean Baptiste Thibault, "an old Frenchman and retired trader," lived on the northwest corner of Shelby Street and Jefferson Avenue.

Joseph Thibault probably died in 1822. His widow, Genevieve, was appointed administrator and after she died Louis Thibault, the "eldest son, was administrator."

Trombly. John Louis Trombly, brother of Pierre, born October 31, 1781, married Cecile Freton, April 27, 1809, and died May 1, 1844.

Louis Trombly, brother of Pierre, born February 20, 1783, married October 30, 1815, Angelique Poirier. He died March 9, 1858.

Jean Evangile Trombly, brother of Pierre, born October 28, 1784, married Felicite Allard. His name is in census roll in 1827.

Jean Baptiste Trombly, brother of Pierre, born September 1, 1786, married (1) Irene Renaud, October 3, 1813, and (2) April 28, 1835, married Mary Boemier. He died in 1877.

Bazil Trombly, son of Joseph Hector Trombly and Therese Crequi, born July 25, 1799, married Frances Mamoir. He died in 1826.

Joseph Louis Trombly, son of Joseph Trombly and Cecile Marsac, born January 2, 1790, married November 23, 1818, Cecile Crequi. He died July 24, 1838.

Robert Trombly, brother of Joseph Louis Trombly, born June 10, 1798,

married (1) Adelaide Beaubien (daughter of Lambert Beaubien) and (2) Felicite Berthiaume. Robert died August 12, 1871.

Michel Trombly (may be the same as Michaud), son of Louis Trombly and Cecile Yax, born March 22, 1768, married (1) Marie Josette Lauzon and (2) Marie Josette Chapoton.

Tremble. The name is spelled in various ways: Tremble, Trombly, Tremblay. There were several members of the family mentioned in the lists of 1820, as follows:

Evangeline (or Devongell), Gazeton, John, Jean Baptiste, Joseph, Louis, Louison, Micheaud, Pierre, Robert and Thomas.

The family originally came from France, the name being first found in 1657 on this side of the Atlantic. A century later they were in Detroit.

Pierre Trombly was born in 1708 and in 1733 married Madelein Simard. They came to Detroit in 1750 and settled on a farm at Fox Creek. The wife died the same year of their arrival, and ten years later Pierre married Marie Josette Tonti. Pierre must have been looked upon as of considerable importance, for his wife was the daughter of Ann Picote de Belestre, closely allied with two of the commandants of the post who bore the name of Belestre.

From the first marriage (Pierre Trombly and Madelein Simard) came: Louis Michel Trombly, born November 1, 1737, married January 12, 1767, in Detroit, Cecile Yax. He died December 5, 1825.

Joseph, son of Louis Trombly and Cecile Yax, born February 11, 1770, married Cecile Marsac February 2, 1789. She died in 1846.

Gazeton (Cajeten), brother of Joseph, above, born September 11, 1771, married Charlotte Navarre, daughter of Robert Navarre. Gazeton was appointed ensign September 6, 1822, and lieutenant May 20, 1823. (See Palmer, page 151.)

Thomas, brother of Joseph, above, born December 20, 1775, married Euphrosine Catherine Thibault in 1788. He died in 1849.

Pierre Trombly was the son of Francis Joseph Trombly and his wife, Madeleine Meni. He was born June 6, 1780, married Susanne Greffard, March 1, 1808, and died August 28, 1850. He owned land on Lake St. Clair that he sold to Joseph Robert, administrator of the state of Jean Baptiste Celeron, in 1820.

Tremble, John (Jean Baptiste Tromble). Paid highway tax in 1812. On census roll in 1827. Was volunteer in Capt. Henry Bird's expedition to Kentucky in 1780. Was employed in shipyards at Detroit in 1777.

Trombly, Leander. Son of Michel Trembly, born August 21, 1796, married (1) Archange Delaunay and (2) Mary Philips, March 29, 1853.

Trombly, Louison. This name does not elsewhere appear in the records, and it may be the same as Louis.

Trombly, Medard. Born in 1808, son of Rene Tromblay and Cecilia Blay, died before 1853. He married September 9, 1828, Felicite Bourguignon, who was born in 1813. After her husband's death she married Charles Brunet.

Trowbridge, Charles C. Deputy clerk of County Court, 1821. Cashier of Bank of Michigan, 1825.



Charles C. Trowbridge died April 3, 1883. His wife, Catherine, daughter of Solomon Sibley, predeceased him. In his will he mentions:

Clara W. B. Trowbridge, widow of his deceased son, Frederick.

Kathleen and Ann Trowbridge, children of Frederick.

Katherine Sproat Miller, his daughter, wife of Sidney D. Miller.

Elizabeth Cass Wilkins, his daughter, wife of William S. Wilkins.

Mary Augusta Trowbridge, his daughter.

Sarah Sibley Hendrie, his daughter, wife of George Hendrie.

He was always a prominent citizen, greatly beloved by the people, and one in whom they had the utmost confidence. He was not an office holder to any considerable extent, though he was a candidate for the office of governor and was beaten by Stevens Thomson Mason. He was president of the Bank of Michigan.

Trowbridge, Eliza S. Taught school in 1822. Cornelia E. Williams, daughter of John R. Williams and subsequently wife of John Winder, was one of her pupils.

Truax, Abraham C. The election of delegate was held in his house in Monaguagon May 31, 1825. There were ninety ballots cast at the election. The village of Truax was named after him. The name was subsequently changed to Truago and later to Trenton.

Visger, Jacob. Came from Schenectady, N. Y. His Dutch name was probably Visscher. Justice of the peace December 20, 1821. He died before April, 1823, and on June 9, 1823, his son, Joseph, was appointed guardian to Agatha, widow of Jacob. Jacob's will was denied probate. He was justice of the Court of Common Pleas in 1801. Member of grand jury in 1809 that investigated Governor Hull. One of his grandsons, James A. Visger, was deputy register of deeds for many years.

Jacobus (Jacob) Visger came to Detroit in 1788 and married Agatha Cicotte in 1792. Their son, Joseph, was born in 1794 and married Ann Godfroy in 1819. Their daughter, Catherine, was born in 1795 and married Whitmore Knaggs in 1819.

Whiting, John L. Physician. He was born in Canaan, Columbus County, N. Y., in 1793 and came to Detroit in 1817. Married Harriet C. Tallman February 16, 1821. He was secretary of the Mechanics' Society of the Territory of Michigan in 1820.

Was grand secretary, F. & A. M., in 1826. He was always prominent in civil affairs, though not an office holder. His first wife was Harriet C. Talman, who died in 1829. He married Harriet Rees, who died in 1852, and his third wife, Rebecca Rees, was a sister to Harriet. Doctor Whiting died August 4, 1880. In 1837 he was in the forwarding business and lived on the corner of Congress and Wayne streets. His son, George Leffingwell Whiting, died January 20, 1826.

John Whiting, the father of Dr. John L. Whiting, was living in Canaan, N. Y., in 1842.

Williams, John R., was born in Detroit. His father was Thomas Williams, who had moved from Albany, N. Y., to Detroit during the war of the Revolu-

tion. The father was a storekeeper, trader, merchant, keeper of the public records, justice of the peace and notary. He married Cecile Campau, the sister of Joseph, Denis, Barnabas, Toussaint, Louis and Nicolas Campau, all prominent in Detroit.

Thomas Williams had three children: John R., Catherine and Elizabeth.

Elizabeth was never married. She was closely allied with the Catholic Church and was a teacher in schools organized by the Rev. Gabriel Richard, the priest in charge of the Detroit district. It is not understood that she ever became a nun, but she lived the life of one in all senses of the word. The ladies of her time had great reason to thank her and her three companions for the work in educational lines.

Catherine married Jean Baptiste Peltier August 20, 1809. There were two children of this marriage: Simon Peltier and Mary Ann, who married Abraham Fournier.

After the death of Thomas William, his widow, Cecile, married Jacques Lozon. They had one daughter, Angelique.

John R. Williams married his cousin, Mary Mott, in 1804.

John R. Williams was the first elected mayor in Detroit and was reelected many times, though not in succession. "John R" Street is named for him.

He died October 30, 1854. He left nine children, as follows:

1. Ferdinand, born October 26, 1806, died November 11, 1896.
2. Theodore, born July 5, 1808.
3. Gershom Mott.
4. Elizabeth, born March 21, 1812, married Col. John Winder.
5. Thomas (major), killed in battle of Baton Rouge in 1862.
6. Cecile, born and died in 1815.
7. John Constantine, born January 25, 1817.
8. James Mott.
9. Mary Catherine Angelique, born September 26, 1821, married (1) David Smart and (2) Commodore James P. P. McKinstry. She died in Egypt, leaving no children.
10. John Charles Devereux, born September 2, 1823, married Sarah Macomb, widow of Capt. H. W. Stanton. She was a daughter of Gen. Alexander Macomb.

Wing, Austin E., as secretary of the land board, gave public notice January 27, 1820, that the lots in the 10,000-acre tract lying in the rear of the City of Detroit would be sold at auction February 7, 1820, at the council house. Terms: 20 per cent cash, balance on time. The lands were sold at about one dollar and twenty-five cents per acre.

Austin E. Wing aided in organizing the Protestant Society December 7, 1821. Candidate for delegate May 31, 1825. Resigned as sheriff of Wayne County October 19, 1825. Wing was declared elected to Congress in 1825, but his seat was contested by John Biddle. He moved to Monroe, then supposed to be a rival of Detroit, before the formation of the state and passed there the remainder of his life.

He was elected delegate to Congress in —.

Witherell, Benjamin F. H. An extract from the Advertiser of March 14, 1843:

"On Monday the people rejected General Witherell for Mayor by a majority of over 300.

“On Tuesday the legislature abolished Judge Chipman’s court and established another of similar character to provide a place for General Witherell.

“On Wednesday Gov. Barry nominated him to be judge of this court and on Thursday the senate confirmed the nomination.

“Still General Witherell has had much experience as a criminal lawyer, and is without doubt well qualified for the place.

“Besides he is one of the best and cleverest fellows that ever lived, and we congratulate him on his elevation. But he must now be still in politics and above all, must never write any more such ferocious resolutions against his old whig friends as those he got up last fall at Dearborn.

“Promise us, General, and we’ll cry quits, especially after the sound drubbing we gave you last Monday. What say you?”

At the election referred to for mayor of the city in 1842, Zina Pitcher received 793 votes and Benjamin F. H. Witherell received 479 votes, making a whig majority of 314.

The court which was at this time presided over by Judge Henry Chipman was a criminal court called “The District Court for the County of Wayne.” The court was abolished as a political measure to get rid of Henry Chipman and a new court was established in its place, called “The District Court for the Counties of Wayne, Oakland, Washtenaw and Jackson.”

Of this new court Benjamin F. H. Witherell was appointed judge.

He was appointed chief justice of County Court, June 17, 1824. He was appointed prosecuting attorney for St. Clair County, August 30, 1824, and on September 2 resigned the office of chief justice of Wayne County. Resigned the office of prosecuting attorney for St. Clair County, January 13, 1824. Appointed district attorney for Wayne and Washtenaw counties (the second district), April 24, 1825.

Helped organize Protestant Society, December 7, 1821. Judge advocate general, May 4, 1826, to 1837.

Associate justice of County Court, May 23, 1823 (with H. J. Hunt).

Prosecuting attorney for St. Clair County, June 5, 1823.

In 1820 B. F. H. Witherell “attorney and counsellor-at-law,” gave notice, through the Gazette, that he had removed his office from “Cote du Norde” to the corner of Bates and Woodbridge streets.

Witherell, James. Father of Benjamin, above. Came from Pultney, Vermont. Appointed judge of Michigan Supreme Territorial Court in 1809 and came to Detroit. The remainder of his life was spent in this city. Amy Witherell, widow of James Witherell, applied for pension June 6, 1838.

James Witherell was born at Mansfield, Mass., July 16, 1759, and died in Detroit, January 9, 1838. The epitaph on his tombstone now in Elmwood Cemetery reads that “He served his country in the army through the Revolution and afterwards in the Congress of the United States and on the Bench till near the close of his life.”

He owned the land where the Detroit Opera House is now located, and lived there, and it was in the house on this lot that he died. His wife was Amy Hawkins, daughter of Charles and Sarah (Olney) Hawkins. They were married November 11, 1790, and had five children, as follows:

1. James Cullen Columbus Witherell, born July 14, 1791.
2. Sarah Myra, married Joseph Watson, died March 22, 1818.

3. Elizabeth (Betsey) Matilda, married Dr. Ebenezer Hurd. She died May 13, 1855.

4. Mary Amy, born 1795, died March, 1874. She was the wife of Thomas Palmer and the mother of the late Senator Thomas W. Palmer.

5. Benjamin Franklin Hawkins Witherell (above), born in 1797, came to Michigan with his father. He died June 22, 1867.

Woodruff, Israel. Son of Elijah Woodruff and his wife Mary Ann Murphy. He was born about 1800 or 1801.

Woodward, Augustus Brevoort. Judge of U. S. Territorial Court. Planned the present City of Detroit. Woodward Avenue was named after him. He died in 1827 in Florida, never having married.

He was born in New York City and came to Detroit as a judge in 1805, where he remained until 1823. He owned, platted and named Ypsilanti.

Woodbridge, William. Assisted in organizing the Protestant Society December 7, 1821. Secretary of territory from 1815. Collector of customs. Judge of U. S. Territorial Court. Governor of state in 1841. U. S. Senator. Lawyer. Owned the Woodbridge farm. He died October 20, 1861.

William Woodbridge was born August 20, 1780, in Connecticut. His father, Dudley Woodbridge, was a judge in Marietta, Ohio. William Woodbridge married Juliana Trumbull. She was born April 23, 1786, and died February 19, 1860. Her father was John Trumbull (author of "McFingal").

Governor Woodbridge had six children, as follows:

1. William Leverett Woodbridge, who died June 12, 1894, aged seventy-seven years.
2. John Woodbridge, born and died in 1820.
3. Henrietta Sara, born 1824, died in 1829.
4. Dudley B. Woodbridge (living in 1916).
5. Juliana Trumbull Woodbridge.
6. Lucy Maria, died in 1860.

Woodworth, Benjamin. Helped organize the Protestant Society, December 7, 1821. Elected county commissioner, October 17, 1825. Appointed vice marshal October 5, 1814. He owned the principal hotel in the place, at the northwest corner of Randolph and Woodbridge streets, called "Woodworth's Steam Boat Hotel." This was the center of business for many years. Moved to St. Clair County and died there November 10, 1874, aged ninety-one years.

In 1820 Benjamin Woodworth obtained a license to run a ferry boat on the Detroit River. "The ferry is kept nearly a front of the Steamboat Hotel." The hotel was located on the northwest corner of Woodbridge and Randolph streets and the ferry landing was at the foot of the latter street. Samuel Woodworth, the poet who wrote "The Old Oaken Bucket," brother of our Benjamin Woodworth, died in New York December 9, 1842, aged 53 years. During 1812 he published "The War," a weekly newspaper.

## CHAPTER LIII

### AMUSEMENTS OF EARLIER DAYS IN DETROIT

BY CLARENCE M. BURTON

On the 24th day of July, in the year 1701, there landed on the shore of the Detroit River, a company of soldiers and artisans, under the command of Antoine de la Mothe Cadillac. This company consisted of fifty soldiers and fifty civilians comprising all the trades useful for a frontier settlement. Cadillac, the commandant, had been commissioned by the French Government to locate a fort and village on the Detroit River at such a point as would command the waterway from Erie in the Great Lakes beyond, and he had chosen this as the spot for such a fort. From his starting point at Montreal, he had been accompanied by a guard of one hundred Algonquin Indians, and as the forces neared the final stopping place, the number of Indians had increased until a small army of them drew their light canoes upon the sandy beach, and gave their assistance to the founding of a great city.

On the progress up the Ottawa River from Montreal to Lake Nipissing, and thence across that lake to its outlet, French River, and down that river and through the Georgian Bay to the final destination, troubles and disagreements arose among the soldiers and colonists, and some of them were on the point of deserting or returning to their homes. It was rumored among them that Cadillac would never pay them for their services; that he would not permit them to return to Montreal, or bring their families to Detroit. So a hundred rumors of the hardships that must sooner or later overtake them were passed around the camp to discourage their further progress or to prompt them to turn back before their work was accomplished.

Before anything was done on the shores of the Detroit River, Cadillac called all of his people together, immediately upon their landing, and talked to them about these rumors of disaffection. He had been told that the leader and originator of these troubles was the Jesuit Priest, Vaillant, who had been permitted, contrary to the wishes of Cadillac, to go with him from Montreal. He knew that this Priest had been disappointed in not having the exclusive charge of the religious affairs of the company, for he had been allowed to come to Detroit only for the purpose of founding a mission among the Indians, while a Recollet Priest, Nicolas Constantin de l'Halle, was selected as almoner to the settlement.

When Cadillac made known to his people his knowledge of their discontent, and asked them for the causes of it, Vaillant, who was present, found that his schemes had been discovered, and he immediately started for the woods to escape the wrath of the commandant and the people. He proceeded at once to Mackinac and never afterwards appeared at Detroit.

No Jesuit priest ever officiated at the place until within very recent times.

The foundation for the Church of Ste. Anne was begun on the day of the first landing, and we may well believe that the chanting of church services was

started at once, and has been continued without interruption since, for even during the trying times of 1763, when the place was besieged by Pontiac, religious services were punctually attended to.

The early French and Canadian Colonists were mostly uneducated farmers, voyageurs and coureurs de bois, who sought the great west because it gave them opportunities for employment with some hope of bettering their condition in life. The commandant was obliged to make a report of the transactions of the place sufficient to keep his superiors informed as to the situation of affairs, but farther than these official reports, we have very little information regarding the daily life of the people. They wrote no letters to friends or relatives to tell them about the new country they had chosen for their homes. An occasional quarrel between parties reached the Court at Quebec, but very little information can be derived from that source. The Church records are very full and complete, but they are of such a nature that they give little information of the daily life of the community. The first Church of Ste. Anne that had been erected in 1701 was destroyed by fire in 1703, and with it the church record for the two years was consumed. This record contained the entry of the birth of a child to the commandant and his wife, the first white child born in Detroit, or probably west of Montreal. There can be little doubt that the birth of this child was the occasion of great and prolonged hilarity on the part of the entire community, for not only was it the first birth, but it was the birth of a child to the first and most important family in the settlement. From this time forward there are entries of marriages, births and deaths, each an occasion for mirth or sorrow, and the French people then, as now, permitted no occasion for mirth to escape them unnoticed.

The new comers brought guns and gun flints, powder and ball for hunting.

In modern times, by custom brought down from the faraway pioneer life, the one most skillful in using his gun at the annual tournaments is awarded a prize for his ability. That this custom prevailed as far back as the beginning of our history, there can be little doubt, and at such trials of skill we may well assume that they engaged in all sorts of athletic sports, as running, wrestling, rowing, bowling, and arrow shooting. The flint arrow heads that we sometimes, even now, find in the fields around the City, were quite difficult to make, and we cannot believe that the Indians used them on ordinary occasions. These arrows were reserved for special occasions, such as shooting to show their skill, where the arrow could be found and returned to the sender. A bird on the wing could be killed or wounded with such an arrow, but there would be more difficulty in killing, or even seriously wounding an animal of any considerable size.

Twice during the first eleven years of Detroit's history, the place was besieged by the Indians, once in 1705, and again in 1712, and on both occasions the savages sought to destroy the village by shooting arrows carrying balls of fire on the unprotected roofs of the houses. Both efforts failed because of the prompt action of the citizens and garrison in extinguishing the flames and in unroofing the houses. At the outset, the Indians did not have guns or powder. When they obtained guns, as they did within a few years, they were entirely dependent upon the French for powder and they could not conduct a war of any considerable length without the assistance of the French or Canadians. They became skillful marksmen, both with gun and bow, but no more skillful than the French.

The white and red natives mixed together as one people. They sometimes intermarried, but aside from this, the early white men who were trappers, hunters and traders, in the woods, lived with the savages on terms of perfect equality and their traits and habits of life became similar. The athletic sports were common to all natives, but there were some sports more peculiarly Indian in their character, such as rowing, swimming, and arrow shooting. Then there was lacrosse, a game at first peculiarly Indian, but which was soon adopted by the white men. They had dances of various forms suited to various occasions, such as war dances, medicine dances and dances at funerals. In their camps in the woods, to pass away the long evenings, the men had stag dances, such as, in more modern times, were indulged in by the woodsmen in the lumber camps.

The Canadian boatmen were noted for their boat songs, and the long pulls through the placid waters of Lake Nipissing and the Georgian Bay were enlivened by the chorus of voices that kept time to the strokes of their oars and paddles.

"Faintly as tolls the evening chime,  
Our voices keep tune, and our oars keep time,  
Soon as the woods on the shore look dim,  
We'll sing at St. Ann's our parting hymn,  
Row, brothers, row! the stream runs fast,  
The rapids are near, and the daylight's past!"  
—Moore's Canadian Boat Song.

One hundred voices, rising and falling in unison, as they passed through the various rivers and lakes from Montreal to Detroit, gave notice to the savages that the march of civilization had begun. This crude music was a dreadful warning to them, if they had but understood it, that the ownership of the woods and streams, and control of the wilderness was about to pass into other hands, but they did not comprehend. They welcomed the new comers to a home, a settlement, a new colony in the west.

The soldiers who came with Cadillac were Frenchmen who had entered the army in France and were therefore familiar with the soldiers' life in the old country. This life was not one of seclusion, or of toil only, but was interspersed with all the hilarity and joy making that could be obtained in such a situation and in such a life. They undoubtedly played all the games that were common in the day, such as quoits, bowling in the narrow streets of the village, card playing and other similar indoor amusements in inclement weather.

The houses of the first comers were very small and very crude. They were built of small logs set on end and driven into the ground far enough to make them stand firmly upright, and extending above the ground only six or seven feet, high enough to stand in. They were covered with skins, or with split rails, and then with grass or straw. The uprights were placed as closely together as possible and the interstices filled with clay or mud. They were seldom more than from twelve to eighteen feet in width and of about the same depth. There were no floors, except the earth beaten hard by many footsteps. No glass windows were in the place. The window openings were covered with the skin of some animal, this was translucent on most occasions, but the skin would thicken with age and exposure, and it was frequently necessary to scrape it thinner or stretch it more in order to admit any light. The only large buildings in the place were the warehouse and church, and here all of the assemblies were held for entertainments. During the year 1701 there were no white women in the place, but the next year came Madam Cadillac, and with her came Madam Tonty, wife of Captain Alphonse de Tonty, and their children, and servants. From

this time on, the wives of the former residents began to arrive, so that a full and complete community was soon here. There were many Indians, for Cadillac says that he fed six thousand mouths during the winter of 1701-2 and there were men, women, boys, girls, servants, and all that goes to make up a colony. They all attended church on Sundays and holydays, and as there were soon two or three hundred people, it will be seen that it was necessary to have a large building for church purposes.

The warehouse, also, was very large, for it contained not only all the food, utensils, clothing, and other things brought up annually for the citizens and the savages, but also all the peltries and things that were collected to be sent down to Montreal in exchange. It was likely in this building that their indoor dances were held. They planted a Maypole each year before the door of the commandant, and that occasion was also accompanied with dancing, but the kind of music they had is not mentioned.

The soldiers did not act as soldiers in garrison, but as citizens. They were each allowed a small tract of land outside the village enclosure which they cultivated as gardens. Some of these patches along the east line of Randolph Street can be readily traced, though more than two hundred years have passed since their original survey. Hunting and trapping, considered as amusements or pastimes with us, were the means of gaining a living in the time of the original colonists, so that they can scarcely be claimed in this list. Probably every man and boy in the settlement has his old flintlock blunderbuss, capable of making a telling effect at short distance. The owner was skilled in its use and seldom missed his mark. One of the chief employments in the village was the gunsmith, or armorer. Every youth, as well as every man, was skilled in the making of traps for catching wild animals of all kinds whose fur was good. Care was taken not to catch or kill out of season, for the woods were depleted rapidly enough without killing when the fur was worthless. There were no buffalo (or bison) in the immediate neighborhood of Detroit, but when the whites first settled here, there was an abundance of deer, elk, bear, fox and smaller animals.

Everyone fished when fish were in season, which was most of the year. The fish were eaten fresh and none were salted down or exported. The rivers and lakes were so full of fish that none could be sold, either here or at Montreal or Quebec, and it was useless to undertake to export or to preserve them. The fishing was by line and spear only. The Indians made spearheads of flint, shaped something like the arrow head, but larger and much heavier. Even as late as the coming of the Americans in 1796, it was reported that the French people had no seines, though there was abundance of use for them. After Cadillac left Detroit in 1711, an inventory was taken of the personal property owned by him, and in this list was an item for "1050 large fishing hooks, barbed", thus showing the general use of this instrument in the colony.

The great number of flint arrowheads and spears found in and around the village indicate the methods used by the savages in killing game and fish before the distribution of firearms and gun powder among them. A large stock of gun flints and a supply of English muskets and French muskets was carried by the commandant in his storehouse.

A great quantity of goods was sent up to Detroit annually for sale or distribution among the Indians, and in this supply are to be found some things evidently intended for their amusement. In one place we find "one hundred small trumpets", possibly to permit the youthful Indian to blow on and make himself



heard, as do the white youths of today. These trumpets may also have been used in sleighing or coasting parties on the ice and snow, or perhaps as signals in the woods, though the Indian whoop is generally supposed to have been sufficient for the latter purpose. As there was a drum in the settlement, these trumpets may have been used in connection with it to raise a crowd.

The invoice included thirty-six pounds of medium size black glass beads, seventy-six and three-fourths pounds of large black beads, eight and three-fourths pounds of large green beads, streaked, thirty-three pounds of beads in strings of all colors. Evidently most of these articles were intended for sale to the Indians as ornaments, for a piece of gay colored cloth, with a string of colored beads would set off the dusky maiden to advantage, and make her the belle of the camp. The beads were the only form of glass present in these early times. There were no glass windows or mirrors for many years. An item of thirteen dozen small tin mirrors indicates an article used by both whites and Indians in making their toilets and in shaving, if the men of that day shaved at all. In the entire list there is nothing found to correspond with the modern razor, but in the list of property belonging to the Delisle family is included "one fine razor". Knives they had, shoemakers' knives, Flemish knives, woodcutters' knives, Siamese knives, large carving knives and other knives in abundance, but mention is made of only one razor. Some of the presents to the Indians show their propensity for display, such as "a fine shirt with ruffles" and a "red coat ornamented with imitation gold lace". Smoking was a pastime enjoyed by both French and Indians. Tobacco was either raised here or brought here by the Indians from the warmer territory to the south of Lake Erie. A kind of Indian tobacco was made from the bark of the willow tree. Quantities of tobacco were used and there were many pipes or calumets in the storehouse. Some of them were common, every-day affairs and some were elaborate and expensive. Some were simply called "calumets" while others were put down as "large calumets of red stone, with their stems and plumes and stands to hold them." The large ones might have been used at the great council fires where the Indian treaties were discussed and arrived at.

Boats for use on the rivers and lakes could not be considered as instruments for amusement as at the present day, but as objects of necessity, for the only road in summer for all to travel, was the water way, and the only vehicle, the canoe. These boats were made of the bark of trees, birch bark being preferable or, for the larger boats, trunks of trees dug out or burned out by slow fire. Great care had to be taken in all cases to see that the work was perfect, for a boat which leaked was a great annoyance.

In later years one of the great pastimes in the winter was racing on the ice, but not at this early time. The Indians had no horses in this part of the country. If there were any wild horses they were far to the south and west, and were at that time unknown in the vicinity of Detroit.

Cadillac brought three horses to Detroit, but two of them died shortly after their arrival, and the only horse in the settlement in 1711 was the third animal and was called "Colon". All of the work necessary to be done by animals was performed by this horse and four oxen, also owned by Cadillac, and a few other oxen owned by some of the colonists.

In the immediate neighborhood of the village were several quite steep hills that might be utilized in the winter for coasting purposes, and perhaps Colon was employed to draw the coasters' sleds on the river ice, or up these hills or on

the commons where the underbrush was cleared. There were no roads and very few smooth places fit for sleigh riding. This horse was occasionally used for horseback riding, as there were two pairs of old rowels mentioned, useless for any other purpose than to urge on this solitary steed. There were several carts or wagons, but all hand made and heavily built for carrying merchandise, not people. There were some other domestic animals, for notice is made that the hogs and cattle were placed on Ile Ste. Magdelaine, the original French name for Belle Isle, for safe keeping. The island, however, took the name of Ile au Cochons (Hog Island) during Cadillac's time.

Perhaps the use of brandy, or eau-de-vie, as it was then called, could not be considered as an amusement, but it was an indulgence granted to the Canadians and French with only such restraints as they voluntarily threw around it. Its use was forbidden to the Indians. That is, efforts were continually being made by the priests and the government to prohibit the use by the savages, and Cadillac was inclined to carry out this restraint, but he said at the time, that the use of a small quantity of brandy with every meal of fish was a necessity for the white man, and so the stuff was included in the soldiers rations. Cadillac considered himself above the common run of his colonists, and did not associate with them as with equals. He made grants to members of his own family of large tracts of land on the Detroit River, thousands of acres in extent, supposing that they would ultimately become seigneurs, or landed proprietors, living off the rents paid by their tenants for these lands. For himself, he desired the income of the village proper and the adjacent lands, with the title of Baron or Marquis of Detroit. He was disappointed in not obtaining this concession. He imposed a tax or annual rental, payable to himself, on every piece of land he granted to the settlers. There were a few of his companions with whom he was on familiar terms, as with the priests, Captain Tonty and the Lieutenants, Chacornac and Dugue. Their amusements were somewhat different from those indulged in by the "common herd" and we find in Cadillac's home "eighteen swords with handles", probably used for fencing. He was well educated and familiar with the dramatic writings of his country, but it cannot be determined that any theatre or work of that character was undertaken at Detroit, though there are several references in his letters to the drama. He proposed to found a school, or college, at Detroit, to instruct his colonists and the Indians there assembled. He proposed to establish a hospital to be placed under the charge of the Hospitallers, a religious order of nuns, and he further asked permission to form the Indians in military companies and regiments, officered partly by themselves and in part by French Soldiers. All of these proposals, so far in advance of his time, were frowned upon by the French government, and his requests were denied. There was on system adopted by him that outlasted his command and which continued in force some years. When he first came to Detroit, he supposed the entire trade of the place belonged to him, but the Company of the Colony of Canada soon laid claim to it, and a lawsuit followed, which continued for some time, and finally resulted in his favor. After this final determination, he annually sold to all of his people who desired, the right to sell goods to the Indians. These goods all came at one time in the fall of the year, and upon their arrival nearly every house in the Village was filled with the new goods placed on exhibition and sale, to induce the Indians to exchange their furs for trinkets and cloths. This was a sort of annual fair that lasted three or four days at a time. At such times there collected at the place all the Indians in the neighborhood, and there

were thousands of them, and a general good time was held as long as the fair lasted. This fair was abandoned in the time of the command of Tonty, who died in office in Detroit in 1727, for he sold the right of trading to some Montreal merchants and they would not permit local dealers to share in the trade. A great noise was made about the discontinuance of the fair and it may have been revived in later years.

In 1710 Cadillac was appointed governor of Louisiana, but did not leave Detroit for his new post until the following year. His immediate successor was Charles Regnault, Sieur Dubuisson, but he only retained the position a few months pending the arrival of De la Forest.

During the first years of the settlement, the citizens were afraid of the Indians. Indeed, during the entire time of French, English and American occupation as late as 1832, when the Black Hawk War took place, the people living in the village were afraid of the uprising of the natives. The early French, however, became so accustomed to them, and to their ways of living, and so intimate with their home life, that they had considerable confidence in them. A very quiet and uneventful life they led for many years, though the troubles with the Indians in the early times, and the quarrels between the commandants and their Montreal creditors, disturbed business to such an extent, that many of the people moved back to the eastern settlements, and the village decreased in size.

The grants of farm lands that had been made by Cadillac in 1707 and 1708 were annulled by the government, and the titles all reverted to the King in 1716. This discouraged the farmers, for they could not make improvements and build houses upon insecure titles, but in later years, new grants were made to actual settlers. Then began the revival. The farmers raised sufficient to maintain the settlements, but nothing was shipped down to Montreal. The traders purchased goods from below, and sold them for furs, the chief commodity of exchange for a long time, but the orchards of apples yielded a larger supply of fruit than could be used at home, and cider began to be exported.

In 1734, the Royal Notary, Navarre, came here to reside. He was next in importance to the commandant, and his coming gave new life to the society of the settlement.

The second generation was now in control of affairs, and the number of young people in the village was greatly increased. With the years, the villagers had increased their worldly goods. They had horses and saddles, and a few French carts. A road was made along the river bank. Their houses were better constructed and they lived better, and more independent. Most of the farmers lived on their farms part of the time, but retired to the village if the Indians threatened to trouble them. There was a garrison maintained at the post composed of people who were half soldiers and half artisans, for the soldier's pay was very small, and he eked out a subsistence by working at some trade, or as a gardener.

Even in Cadillac's time there were musicians in the garrison, for we have an account of the trial and the execution of a drummer in Cadillac's Company, before they came to Detroit.

Some of the older citizens of today remember at the dances in their childhood, one of the instruments used was a Jewsharp. This instrument is no longer used for such purposes, but when it commenced to be employed is not recorded. In the absence of a better musical instrument, the flying feet might keep time to cleverly manipulated bone clappers.

St. Saviour was the drummer of the garrison in 1748, and in addition to his duties of furnishing music to the townspeople, he announced the public meetings, public auction sales, and other public events, by beating his drum in the principal streets of the Village. This duty of giving public notices was also sometimes performed by a public bell ringer. Notices of importance were given by this bell ringer proceeding through all the streets of the village calling out his news or notice. A written notice was also posted on the church door though it is very probable that only a few citizens could either read or write.

There is mention in the early church records of Jean Baptiste Roucoux, first chanter and teacher in the Christian school, and in the public library in Detroit is an old account book, kept about the year 1750, which contains a piece of music evidently written about that date by Roucoux, or by Etienne Dubois, for use in the church service. Dubois performed the dual services of chanter and sexton.

In was in the Fall of 1760 that the English troops under Major Robert Rogers took possession of the fort and village. What a change this must have been, and how excited the people were. The little community that had existed so completely within itself for nearly sixty years that it had scarcely known what was going on in the great world without, was, in a day, without the firing of a gun, with but the parley of a few hours, converted from the quiet French community into a hustling English settlement. For sixty years Detroit's closest neighbors were Mackinaw, Vincennes and Kaskaskia. She was at peace with the world, for she was unknown to the world. Now all was changed—and changed almost without warning. Armed troops marched into the settlement and took control of the village. Sentinels were posted at night to watch for foes, where no one had thought of watching before. Sentinels were marching all day and all night along the banquette of the palisade. The Indian trade was no longer carried on by the French people, for the new traders—the English, Irish and Scotch—had usurped the business and the former citizens were driven to their farms for a living.

It was not long, however, before a better feeling came between the Canadians and the English. The young and unmarried girls and women of the post soon became acquainted with the young soldiers in the garrison, and they were willing instructors and scholars in learning, each the language of the other. Every effort was made to conciliate the conquered Canadians to make them feel at home with the master nation.

The next year after the conquest (1761) Sir William Johnson paid a visit to Detroit, and his coming was followed by a period of entertainments that lasted until he left the settlement. Each day was filled with the work of seeing the French people and getting acquainted with them, and in meeting the Indians and talking to them, purchasing their friendship, which lasted only as long as they could see the benefit of the purchase price.

Johnson kept a journal of his trip and we find this entry under the date of Sunday, September 6th. "A very fine morning. This day I am to dine with Captain Campbell, who is also to give the ladies a ball that I may see them. They assembled at 8 o'clock at night to the number of about twenty. I opened the ball with Mademoiselle Curie—a fine girl!—We danced until five o'clock the next morning." He had the name of the young lady wrong, but it was quite as near as he could be expected to get the peculiar French name "Cuillerier". This was Angelique Cuillerier, daughter of Antoine Cuillerier dit Beaubien. The

baronet remained some time in the place, and was the subject of repeated entertainments. He writes that he took a ride before dinner towards Lake St. Clair. "The road runs along the river side which is thickly settled nine miles." "The French gentlemen and the two priests who dined with us got very merry. Invited them all to a ball tomorrow night, which I am to give to the ladies." Here again he met the same young lady—evidently by appointment. He writes "In the evening the ladies and gentlemen all assembled at my quarters, danced the whole night until seven o'clock in the morning, when all parted very much pleased and happy. Promised to write to Mademoiselle Curie as soon as possible, my sentiments; there never was so brilliant an assembly here before."

A strenuous life Sir William led in these few weeks in Detroit, but a more strenuous time he would have led upon his return to his old home if his Indian wife (or housekeeper, as he calls her in his will) Molly Brant, had known of his doings at Detroit. It was well for her peace of mind, and well for his personal safety, that she was kept in ignorance, for it is said that she had an ungovernable temper and was a terror when her will was crossed. She was a sister of Joseph Brant, the great Iroquois chief, and was the mother of ten children by Sir William Johnson.

Angelique, the little French girl who, with her pretty face, her jet black hair, her bright eyes, her winning ways and her broken English, had won the heart of the baronet, was not left long to pine for his absence.

James Sterling, a young Scotchman, who had come with the garrison, and who was the storekeeper in the post, soon became the instructor of the French damoiselle in the English language, while he received instructions in French from her. In 1763 when Pontiac was conspiring to surprise and murder the garrison, Angelique learned of his plans, and told her lover, who, in turn, informed Major Gladwin, and the surprise, so cleverly planned, was prevented and the garrison saved.

Sterling and Angelique were married shortly after this, and although they remained many years in Detroit, they were the steadfast friends of the Colonies during the Revolutionary War. Both husband and wife suffered for our cause, and were driven from their Detroit home, never to return.

The news of peace between France and England, of 1763, was brought to Detroit in a very peculiar way. The village was besieged by the Indian Pontiac and his Hurons. So closely were the English confined within the palisades of the village, that they did not dare open the gates or go beyond the portals. George McDougall, who had ventured to go to Pontiac, upon his assurances of personal protection, was a prisoner among the Indians. A letter was brought from Niagara to Major Gladwin, who was in command at Detroit, notifying him of the conclusion of peace between England and France. The bearer of this letter was killed by the Indians, and the note taken from him and given to Pontiac. The latter called upon McDougall to read it, and Pierre Chene Labutte interpreted it to the Indians. McDougall succeeded in keeping the paper, and on the night of June 2, 1763, he let another white prisoner take the letter, and run with it from the Indian encampment to the Fort. This messenger arrived entirely naked, bearing only the very welcome message of peace, at three o'clock in the morning. Upon being admitted to the Fort his message was received and read, and the account states that upon the following evening there was an instrumental concert to celebrate the arrival of the welcome news.

Just a month later, McDougall managed to escape from the Indians, and ran into the fort in much the manner as the messenger who had escaped.

Until the coming of the English in 1760, the affairs of the village were mostly managed by the commandant, but Englishmen had little idea of vesting authority in a single individual. They wanted to be governed by the laws, not by individuals. They wanted trials by jury, not the will of the commandant. For the first few years they had enough to occupy their attention in maintaining a semblance of friendship with the Canadians and Indians, but occasionally some other trouble arose that they had to attend to.

The place was in the Indian Country, and was not subject to the laws of England except as the people applied these laws. Criminals from other places fled to Detroit to escape punishment. Several crimes of magnitude were committed at Mackinac and Detroit, and some executions for murder and stealing took place here. A man named Schindler was accused of selling base metal for silver, and was tried before the local justice and was acquitted by a jury chosen to try him, but the English governor, Hamilton, was so impressed with the man's guilt, that he ordered him drummed out of the settlement. There was, at that time, a quarrel between the governor and the lieutenant who was in command of the garrison, and the latter would not permit the drummer to beat his drum while passing through the citadel where the soldiers were.

At the public execution of hanging of a man convicted of murder, the band of musicians from the garrison surrounded the scaffold and played airs suitable to such a solemn occasion.

During the Revolutionary War, there were parties of Indians and white men constantly going from Detroit to seek out the settlements on the borders of the colonies, destroying the houses and making prisoners of and murdering the inhabitants.

It is not recorded that any instruments of music were taken on these incursions, for their success depended upon their stealth, and a noise might betray their coming and prevent that unforeseen attack that they were desiring. The Indian war-whoop was practiced by both whites and reds, for signals as they required. The scalping of Indians by white men was quite as common as the scalping of the whites by the Indians.

Major De Peyster who was in command in Detroit during a portion of this war, writes May 26, 1780, "Everything is quiet here except the constant noise of the war drum. All the seigneures are arrived at the instance of the Shawnees and Delawares. More Indians from all quarters than ever before known, and not a drop of rum."

De Peyster was something of a poet and several short poems of his relate to his life at Mackinac, Detroit and Niagara. One poem is devoted to carioling or racing on the ice on the River Rouge. Every one who had a horse was present. The festivities of the occasion were under the management of Guillaume La Mothe, a Frenchman who was an officer in the Indian department. A feast followed the race, which was enjoyed by the officers and their wives and guests. Much drinking was indulged in, and the party was hilarious. The poet, with unusual poet's license, had the wild bears and deer come from the woods and watch the pleasure seekers at their camp.

"The goblet goes round, while sweet echo's repeating,  
The words which have passed through fair lady's lips:  
Wild deer (with projected long ears) leave off eating,  
And bears sit attentive, erect on their hips"

"The fort gun proclaims when tis time for returning,  
Our pacers all eager at home to be fed;  
We leave all the fragments, and wood clove for burning,  
For those who may drive up sweet River Red."

De Peyster, although the military commandant, was in truth, the civil commandant as well, for the lieutenant-governor Hamilton, the civil governor, was a prisoner of war at Williamsburg, Virginia, when De Peyster came to Detroit. Hamilton had been governor of Detroit for some three years, when, in the fall of 1778, he concluded to go to Vincennes to drive the rebels from the Ohio Country. He utterly failed of his purpose, and was captured by General George Rogers Clark in the early part of 1779. The French inhabitants of Detroit were never cordially friendly to the British and when the news of the capture of Hamilton reached the place, the French were so elated that they held a three days feast of rejoicing and building of bon-fires to show their pleasure. This was the report made at the time, though it can probably be taken cum grano salis.

We have not sufficient data to tell just when William Forsyth came to Detroit, but we find him at an early date keeping a tavern or place of entertainment on Ste. Anne street in the old village. He owned a lot adjoining the citadel on which he had erected a bowling alley and pleasure resort.

Probably the building also had a billiard table, for we know there were such tables in the country. The lot was wanted by the government to extend its barracks, and Forsyth was compelled to move out, and petitioned Governor Haldimand for damages for the loss of his property. As the bowling alley was a desirable adjunct to the pleasure resorts of the place, it was opened in another locality.

When the War of the Revolution came to a close, it was agreed that Detroit should become a part of the United States, and should be vacated by British soldiers. But Great Britain thought that if she could hold on a few years, the States would quarrel among themselves, and she could repossess herself of the country because of their contentions. She was fooled in this, but nevertheless managed to retain possession of Detroit until 1796. In the meantime, the place was governed by the law makers of Canada, as if it belonged to that dominion. In 1791, Canada was divided into Upper and Lower Canada, and in the fall of 1792, there was held in Detroit an election for members of the Provincial Parliament of Upper Canada. This parliament was divided into two houses, the upper, called the Council, the members of which were appointed, and the lower, the Assembly, the members of which were elected.

In the upper house, there was one member from Detroit, Alexander Grant, known also as Commodore Grant, for he had charge of the entire navy on lakes Erie, Huron and Michigan, during the Revolution.

The members elected to the lower house were William Macomb, uncle to our General Alexander Macomb, and David William Smith, who lived at Niaga. .. Smith attempted, at first, to gain his election as representing the county of Essex but at this election he was defeated by Francois Baby. This election took place August 20, 1792, and after his defeat his friends put him up for election on the County of Kent, which included the village of Detroit. The election was held August 28, 1792, and here he was successful.

The letters I have from him were written before either election took place, and were indicted upon the supposition, or expectation, that he would win at

the Essex election. As this was the first, and only election to parliament, ever had at Detroit, the description Mr. Smith gives of what he expects will take place is quite interesting. "Perhaps I should have done better to have set up for one of the seats in Detroit, as I hear only of Mr. Macomb who is to be proposed; but I did not then know they would be entitled to vote; besides were I thrown out on the 20th, I might have a chance on the 28th. The French people can easily walk to the hustings, but my gentry will require some conveyance; if boats are necessary, you can hire them, and they must not want beef or rum, let them have plenty—and in case of success, I leave it to you which you think will be best for my friends, a public dinner and the ladies a dance, either now or when I go up. If you think the moment the best time, you will throw open Forsyth's tavern and call for the best he can supply. I trust you will feel very young on the occasion, in the dance and I wish that Leith and you would push about the bottle to the promotion of the settlements on the Detroit. The more broken heads and bloody noses there are, the more election like, and in case of success (damn that if) let the white ribbon favors be plentifully distributed to the old, the young, the gay, the lame, the cripple and the blind. Half a score cord of wood piled hollow, with tar barrel in the middle, on the common, some powder and plenty of rum. I am sure you will preside over and do everything that is needful. As far as my circumstances will admit there must be no want, and I am sure you will have everything handsome and plentiful. Elliot, I am sure, will give you a large red flag to be hoisted on a pole near the bon-fire, and some blue colored tape may be sewed in large letters, "ESSEX."

Thus talked the woman to herself when she carried her eggs on her head to the market. She sat them, she hatched them, she sold them for a crown apiece, and then down she fell, eggs and all".

At another time he writes—"Have proper booths erected for my friends at the hustings; employ Forsyth to make a large plumb cake, with plenty of fruit, &c., and be sure let the wine be good and plenty.

Let the peasants have a fiddle, some beverage and beef."

Jean Baptiste Beaubien, one of the founders of Chicago, and a noted fiddler at every dance in the early years of that village, was born in Detroit September 5, 1787. He was a cousin of Angelique Cuillerier.

The change of government finally came in 1796, when the English left and the Americans came in. It was not an unexpected change, and yet it made such an impression on the Canadian citizens who left the place rather than submit to the American rule, that they gave it the name of the "Exodus", a name by which it is familiarly known among their descendants even today.

The new comers were from New York and New England stock, and they brought with them some new ideas, amusements and holidays. Perhaps Christmas and the King's birthday were observed by the older residents, but now came the Fourth of July, and Thanksgiving day, with its pumpkin pies, cider, and doughnuts. If the roasting of new corn and potatoes was unknown in Detroit before this era, it certainly was not afterwards. Stoves were not invented in time to be of general use in Detroit until as late, or even later, than the Exodus. The family baking was not done at home, but at the public bakehouse, but every girl and boy was so familiar with the fireplace and uncovered fire, that the roasting of corn and potatoes was no great novelty, though it was always a pleasure.

Then what of the husking bee, and the privilege of the fortunate finder of



the red ear of corn, who was permitted to kiss the girl of his choice—if he could catch her. Did that come from New England, or was it indigenous to the soil that could yield a corn crop?

The hunting of nuts in the fall by groups of children or of grown folks could not have originated at that time, though it was doubtless engaged in, as it had been for a century before. Of wild grapes and berries of all varieties there was an abundance, and it did not need much of an education to instruct the young folks in the idea of having a crowd to do berrying and enjoy the fun and every day was a pic-nic.

There were probably few, if any, two story buildings in the vicinity of Detroit before 1796, but after that date they began to increase in numbers, and on the occasion of the erection of each new building there was the raising bee of neighbors accompanying the work with a boiled dinner for the crowd, and perhaps something a little stronger than water in the way of beverage.

There was a harpsichord in the settlement some years prior to the opening of the new century. Just when this musical instrument was brought to Detroit is uncertain, but it was there long before the year 1799, for at that date, it was represented to be in a dilapidated condition. It was the property of Dr. William Harpfy. Harpfy was a surgeon in the British garrison, and when the Exodus took place in 1796, he was moved to the new establishment at Malden, and he took his harpsichord with him. Among his most intimate friends at Detroit were John Askin and Commodore Alexander Grant. Grant had been Commodore of the Lakes during the Revolution and was, in 1792, appointed one of the members of the executive council for Upper Canada—a life position. John Askin was an extensive trader at Detroit, and brother-in-law of Grant. Grant lived at Grosse Pointe and there had a castle well filled with young lady daughters. There were ten in all, of whom nine grew to womanhood. Therese (Mrs. Wright), Nellie, Archange (married Thomas Dickson), Phillis (married Alexander Duff), Isabella (married Mr. Gilkison), Nancy (married George Jacob), Elizabeth, (married James Woods), Mary Julia (married Mr. Milles) and Jean Cameron (married William Richardson). The absence of any of the ten from the family circle could hardly be noticed, for the deficiency was filled by the cousins, daughters of John Askin. Of these cousins, frequent visitors at the Grant Castle, there were Adelaide Askin (afterwards the wife of Elijah Brush) Therese, who married Colonel Thomas McKee, Ellen, the wife of Richard Pattinson, and Archange, who became Mrs. Meredith, and removed to England with her husband, who was an officer in the British forces.

The first record we have of this harpsichord is contained in a letter from Dr. Harpfy to his friend John Askin. Harpfy was somewhat eccentric and quite voluble in his letter writing. This letter is dated October 17, 1799, and after dilating on various other matters, he turns his attention to the subject of music, and says "Curse the music. I wish it was sold. I care not for what, as all my wants and wishes to attain are not worth the pains or trouble to my friends. You will favor me if it could be in any way disposed of."

It seems that the subject of the sale of this instrument had been talked over on some previous occasion between Askin and Harpfy, for the latter again writes "In looking over your letter of the 14th. I thank you for your very great kindness in regard to the harpsichord—but I am told it is a mere wreck—therefore, as I have mentioned before, I wish it sold."

What more proper place for such a piece of furniture than the Castle of

Commodore Grant, where it could receive the attention of so many young ladies. Harpfy and Askin concluded that the Castle was in need of just such an article, and one day, when one of the Commodore's boats was at Malden, they slipped the instrument aboard and it was soon landed at Grosse Pointe. Then came the fun. It was so old and dilapidated that it was useless and in the way. No one wanted it. Only the old friendship existing between Grant and Harpfy prevented the former from casting the musical instrument into "outer darkness." Grant complained to the doctor and asked him to take the piece away from his home. Harpfy had occasion to visit Sandwich and wanted to cross the river and see Askin in Detroit, but the ferry was not running very regularly and the doctor was not feeling very well—he had been sick and was now slowly recovering. Instead of visiting Askin, he wrote him a long letter on various matters, and as a postscript, touched on the subject of the instrument. "October 28th, 9 o'clock at night. I really am sorry that the harpsichord was put in Mr. Grant's boat, for he talks about it—Gods how he talks about it". The joke had been carried too far and Grant would not overlook it, or allow it to proceed further. The instrument must be removed, and that at once. So Askin sent for it, and had it taken to one of his storehouses in the village, where it was taken care of. Askin lived on the front of his farm, not far from the intersection of Atwater and Randolph streets. Atwater street was the only highway to the country on the east side, and the well-do-do class of citizens lived in the neighborhood. Here Askin owned several buildings, and, besides, he had several houses and buildings in the village proper. The last we hear of the instrument that came so near being an instrument of discord is a note in a letter from Dr. Harpfy to Mr. Askin dated November 5, 1799, where he writes "I thank you for your care of the harpsichord. I wish it could be sold."

In 1799, there was an election held in Detroit for members of the Legislature, that met at Chillicothe, and Solomon Sibley, then a young attorney at Detroit, was one of the candidates. Voting then was not by secret ballot, as now, but every one gave the name of his candidate as he came up to vote. The voter's name was taken down, and his qualifications for suffrage were also frequently indicated.

At the election referred to, some opponent of Judge Sibley kept such a record of the persons who voted for him and from this list I have taken a few names of persons whose descendants are still here.

Antoine Dequindre, who was, at that time, the owner of the farm extending along the westerly line of Dequindre street, is thus mentioned, "Has given his creditors all he has; the farm on which he lives is the property of his wife".

Christian Clemens, the founder and owner of Mount Clemens "Has no property known."

Ezra F. Freeman, then one of the principal lawyers in the place "Has no property in the Country."

James Henry, an uncle of the late D. Farrand Henry. He was, at the time of his death, one of the wealthy citizens of the place, "Lives at Grosse Isle. Lately liberated from the Indians; lives on the estates of the late Macomb."

Elijah Brush, the founder of the Brush family, and the owner of the Brush farm, "Lately arrived; has no property known."

Sibley was elected over James May, and served in the legislature with Jacob Visgar and Charles Francois Chabert de Joncaire.

This brings us to the beginning of the second century of the life of our City.

Its population had increased from one hundred who came at the start to some eighteen hundred who lived in the place, and along the shore line on both sides of the River.

Now we are well on in the third century of our existence.

We look back upon these happy days and sigh as we remember that the simple life—the simple pleasures—and the simple folks of this long ago, are no longer with us, and cannot be found in the tumult of our great City.

CHAPTER LIV  
CEMETERIES OF DETROIT

BY CLARENCE M. BURTON

The first burial ground in Detroit was located behind and adjoining the little log church of Ste. Anne which was near the northwest corner of Jefferson Avenue and Griswold Street. Ste. Anne Street, which was about twenty feet wide at this place, and from ten to fifteen feet wide in other places, was located within the lines of the present Jefferson Avenue, and the church building, or the front part of it, and a portion of the graveyard, were within the lines of the avenue as they are now laid down. The lands occupied by the church extended northwardly to about the location of Larned Street. This was two blocks in depth of the old village. There was another lot on the east side of the church and then came the easterly picket line of the village. The church was upon a large lot in which the families of the village were buried. Some time ago bodies were dug up from the middle of Jefferson Avenue, near the site of the old church. They were in that part of the old cemetery which was included in the avenue and were overlooked or missed in the excavation and removals made in 1817. Most all of the burials were made in this ground, around the church, from 1701 to 1760. During that time the place was under the French Government and the inhabitants were exclusively Catholic.

In 1760, Detroit changed to British control and the new people were mostly Protestants or non-Catholics. A new cemetery was opened near the intersection of Woodward Avenue and Larned Street for the English inhabitants, and the Catholics took another piece of land between this and Griswold Street. None of the streets named were opened at that time, but the streets are called by their present names so that one can tell the approximate location. There were some burials of English people in the government garden sought of Ste. Anne Street near the eastern picket line, that is about the location of the Michigan Mutual Life Insurance Company building, on the southwest corner of Jefferson Avenue and Griswold Street. Jehu Hay, the last British governor who lived in Detroit, was buried in this spot, and the remains of other persons have been found there. Additional ground, of about one acre, was given to the Protestants by order of the military department in 1797. This was on the northeast corner of Woodward Avenue and Larned Street, an enlargement of the old cemetery. Additional lands were also given the Catholics in what is now Congress Street east of Bates.

The records of the Ste. Anne Church contain the following entry of October 7, 1798:

"At an assembly of the older men of this parish called during the prone of the mass, monsieur the curé informed those present that Colonel Strong had offered one arpent of land for cemetery uses, conditioned that four persons accept it and that the trustees will make the necessary appropriation for the necessary work. The land is of the public domain."

Six months later, April 6, 1799, there is the following entry:

“Having obtained the one arpent of land from the commandant for a Roman Catholic cemetery, each citizen of our church is to furnish ten stakes, and the accounts agreed upon, £13, 5s., are allowed for the work of Joseph Coté and Charles Labadie.”

The Colonel Strong referred to was Col. David Strong, who was in military command of Detroit in 1796 and 1798. An arpent is the French acre, a square of 192 feet, 9 inches, on a side. The entire cemetery was necessarily enclosed in a picket line made of small trees, or stakes set on end in the grounds.

In 1805 the Catholic Church in the village was burned and the lands covered by it were idle for many years. In 1807 the Catholic Church was organized as a corporation under the name of the “Catholic, Apostolic and Roman Church of Ste. Anne of Detroit.” The corporation was supposed to have been the owner of the church site on Jefferson Avenue, although the title stood in the name of the priest, Gabriel Richard. The church petitioned for larger building grounds and for church grounds in 1806.

Acting along the line of the plan laid down for the granting of lots in the new plat of the city, after the fire of 1805, the governor and judges requested the church to surrender the title to their old church lot and, in lieu of it, take other lands. This would have necessitated the surrender of the burial ground on Jefferson Avenue. An assembly was called at the church April 19, 1807, where it was resolved not to give up the old church site, and a committee composed of Charles Moran, John R. Williams and Joseph Campau was chosen to present the remonstrance to the legislature. The remonstrance was received April 20, 1807, and a reply was made the same day.

The following is an extract from the reply of the governor and judges to the committee:

“We shall comply with great cheerfulness with the wishes of the Catholic Society relative to their church. Some time since a committee of that body made propositions for an increased quantity of ground for the interment of the deceased, and a new location in conformity with the lines of the city for a permanent and substantial edifice. We acceded to them with great pleasure, and as our only object is to gratify the members of the society on this subject, if it is their desire to relinquish the new ground and retain the old, we shall have the same pleasure—acquiesce in it. Every arrangement in our power towards their more comfortable accommodations on the old grounds we shall readily assist in. It would be very desirable that no building should be placed in a permanent street, but as the street is wider than heretofore, one-half of it could be spared for a temporary enclosure for a limited number of years without essential inconvenience. If any remains of ancient interments should fall without this line, we should consider it advisable to have them removed within it, even at public expense, as it does not comport with that respect which the living in most all countries are conceived to owe to the dead, that the remains should be carelessly abandoned.”

The church did not, at this time, accept the proposal to exchange, but retained their old site and churchyard. They objected seriously to the opening of Jefferson Avenue and sent to the legislature the following communication:

“To his Excellency, Governor William Hull and the Hon. Judges Augustus B. Woodward and John Griffin, Esquires—Composing the Government of Michigan.

“The memorial of the Inhabitants of the Parish of St. Ann in the Territory of Michigan through their committee, respectfully sheweth. That after having maturely considered the proposal of the Legislature, respecting the relinquishment of the ground held by the Inhabitants of this Country from the date of its earliest settlement, by their French Ancestors as a public Burial and Church Ground Lot, in consideration of other ground delineated by the appellation of the little Square near the Fortress of Detroit, we acknowledge the superior intrinsic value of the ground proposed to us, but owing to the strongest natural ties, which spring from sources that imperiously bind our sensibilities as civilised men, must and do by these presents, decline any alienation whatever of said soil. The committee in support of their opinions adduce the grand fundamental principles of immutable nature, emphatically felt and nobly expressed by the illustrious framers of our invaluable constitution to shew that among the several inalienable rights with which nature and natures God has invested man, is that most essential one of pursuing the means of happiness.

“We appeal to the humanity of our fellow citizens to decide whether it would not evince (in the highest degree) a want of those humane and charitable qualifications which are and ought to be the peculiar characteristic of Christians, were we to abandon for the purpose of a common highway, the earth in whose bosom reposes the remains of our fathers, our mothers and common kindred. O Sympathy! O Nature! where are thy Godlike Virtues, by which the great Author of the Universe has distinguished Man! Confiding once more, not only on the wisdom and magnanimity of the government of the United States, but also, upon the equity and validity of our claim, to the said Church ground, which we and our forefathers have held in quiet possession, under three successive governments, we now apply to your Honorable board for the adjustment of our title and a deed for the said ground lot conformably to an act of the Congress of the United States entitled ‘An act to provide for the adjustment of Titles of Land in the Town of Detroit, etc.’

“A subsequent consideration, no less interesting to our parishioners, is the lot of ground known by the name of the new Catholic burial. Consequently it may not be amiss to explain in as concise a manner as possible the claim that we have to it. About the year 1796 or 97 it was deemed expedient for the benefit and health of the inhabitants of the ancient town of Detroit (considering the great length of time that the small space of ground adjacent to the church has been used as a public place of interment) that a new burial ground should be allotted to our congregation on the then public commons. Accordingly the ground we now hold in our possession was picketed in with the approbation of the Corporation of Detroit and the consent of ——— Hamtramck the Military Commandt. of this place under whose exclusive jurisdiction the Commons were then in some manner considered. Therefore we, the Committee, do now by these presents in the name of the inhabitants of the aforesaid parish of St. Ann, pray that grant may issue for this last mentioned place of interment, as well as for the ancient lot of church ground.

“And Your Memorialist Petitioners as in duty bound shall ever, etc.,

“Detroit the 22nd. April 1807.

“CHARLES MORAN  
“JOSEPH CAMPAU  
“JNO. WILLIAMS.”

The church finally acquiesced in the opening of Jefferson Avenue as that disturbed but a few graves. Nearly all of the remains were removed from the street when it was opened, though a few were not found. Three bodies were uncovered in excavating in 1914 and more in 1921.

No church building was erected in Jefferson Avenue as was permitted by this reply of the governor and judges. The Catholics had no church within the city limits for many years. Services were held in some old buildings in the shipyard at the foot of Woodward Avenue. There was another church, or chapel, on the River Road near Chene Street. After 1808, the chapel of the *Cote du nord est*, just east of the present boulevard, was used, and a building on the Loranger farm at Twentieth Street was also used.

The Matthew Ernest farm (private claim 36) was leased by Father Richard for some years. This is at the present Morrell Street. There were some old buildings here in which an Indian school was conducted and religious services were also held. None of the buildings could be considered as churches. The priest refused to erect a new building on the old church lot on Jefferson Avenue. This refusal caused a quarrel among the parishioners and several of them were dismissed or left the church. Among them were Joseph Campau and his nephew, John R. Williams.

It was not until 1817 that affairs were finally settled between the territorial government and the church. Several changes had taken place in the city government between 1806 and 1817. The territory was governed by a legislative body composed of the governor and the judges of the territorial supreme court. This legislature had practical control of the town. To be sure, the town affairs were looked after by a board of trustees composed of five members elected each year, but they never undertook to do more than look after purely local affairs, such as keeping streets free from horses, hogs and cattle, seeing that the fire buckets and ladders were in repair, and similar duties. The opening of streets, looking after public health and like duties devolved upon the territorial legislature.

In 1809 a new charter was granted to the City of Detroit. A council was elected each year. There were two houses with three members in each house and a mayor appointed by the governor and judges. The first mayor was Solomon Sibley. He resigned after a few months and Elijah Brush was appointed his successor. The whole scheme of local government was deemed a failure and the law was soon repealed, and thereafter the city was under the direct control of the governor and judges until 1815.

During the War of 1812, the British were in control from August 16, 1812 until September 29, 1813. The city was a military camp and very little work of a civil nature was carried on. After the war ended it was a long time before affairs got shaped around in a business way. We had a new governor, Lewis Cass, to take the place of General Hull, but the same judges, Woodward, Griffin, and Witherell, were on the bench and composed, with the governor, the legislative body. A new charter was granted the city in 1815 (similar to the charter of 1802) and now again a body of trustees attended to the trivial affairs of the community and did not interfere with the legislature.

To us at this time it seems quite an anomaly that the important matters of city life, such as the opening of streets, the fixing and regulating of cemeteries, the imposition and collection of taxes, should be taken in charge by a legislative body which governed what is now called Michigan, Wisconsin and the territory

farther towards the west, and that the people who lived in Detroit had no voice in local affairs. These judges and the governor were all foreigners, coming from Ohio, New York, Vermont and Pennsylvania. They were the political appointees of Presidents who were strangers to our country, and only one of them (James Monroe) ever set foot on our soil. There was always great discontent over this state of our government. The "times were out of joint" continually in the quarrels between the people and the government in which they had no part.

As a part of the settlement decided upon in 1817, the church conveyed to the governor and judges the land that was included in Jefferson Avenue and received a conveyance of the remainder of their old church site and burial ground. This land was 132 feet wide on Jefferson Avenue and extended northerly 200 feet to Larned Street. As a part of the settlement, there was conveyed to the church all of the lots lying between Bates and Randolph Streets, extending from Cadillac Square (formerly Michigan Grand Avenue) to Virginia Street. In order to explain what Virginia Street was, we must understand that Congress Street was not opened as it is at the present time. Congress Street (or Virginia Street) ran as at present from Woodward Avenue to Bates Street and then ran in a southeasterly direction to the intersection of Randolph and Larned streets.

All of the land north of this Virginia Street had apparently been used for many years as a Catholic cemetery, but the title to the property was, until 1817, vested in the government. In addition to this grant in 1817, the church authorities were given the use of the "interior triangle," that is the land bounded by Bates, Virginia and Larned streets. In this triangle, they could erect a church and might place the building in Virginia Street if they wished. The fee of the land should not pass to the church, and it could be occupied only so long as it was actually used for church purposes.

There were many burials in the lands north of Virginia Street and the erection of a church in that street and on the "interior triangle" was soon begun. There is a provision in this deed of settlement of 1817 which reads as follows: "It is understood that no further interments be made on the said premises after June 1, 1817." The context makes it difficult to determine what was intended by the "said premises." It is certain that the cemetery (which we will call the Congress Street Cemetery) had been used for many years. It is also certain that the old cemetery on Jefferson Avenue was not used after the 1st of January, 1817. There is an entry in the records of Ste. Anne's Church in 1817, showing how and when the bodies were removed from Jefferson Avenue. This is as follows:

"The first day of the month of May and the fifth of the same month, we the undersigned priest in charge of Ste. Anne's have translated a quantity of remains found in the middle of the principal street, which was at one time part of the old cemetery and located about the old church of Ste. Anne, the removal being made with the proper ceremonies and in the presence of Etienne Dubois and a great gathering of the people. These remains were put into two great square graves near the middle of the present cemetery now in use.

"E. DUBOIS,

"G. RICHARD, Pretre."

Etienne Dubois was the sexton of Ste. Anne's.

Another and important part of the settlement of 1817 was that the government conveyed to the church a piece of land 420 feet in width on the south side of Madison Avenue, extending through to the next street and including the inter-



vening alley, being a little more than two acres. This land is now in part occupied by the Madison and Lenox Hotels. This was granted to the church "to be occupied and used as a permanent burying place for members of said corporation." It was, however, never used for burial purposes.

For the next ten years (until 1827) the Catholics continued to use the Congress Street cemetery and had no other place of burial.

As attention has so far been confined mainly to the Catholic portion of the community, we will now take up the other portions. During the latter part of 1813 and during 1814, just after the British troops evacuated Detroit, an epidemic passed over the place and death took more than its usual toll. This may have been the cholera, but it is not so named in any of the contemporary reports. There was a great number of soldiers in the garrison who died at this time. The burial ground for the soldiers was in the northwestern part of the Military Reserve, in that part of the government grounds bounded on the north by Michigan Avenue, east by Wayne Street, south by Lafayette Boulevard, and west by the Cass Farm line, Cass Avenue. All of this land was wild and covered by trees and brush, excepting as the grounds were cleared for burial purposes. It was in this large field that all of the soldiers had been buried from 1760 until 1830. The field was quite full and the long rows of graves can even now be ascertained by the excavations occasionally made in this quarter of the old town.

Beyond this land, towards the west, comes the Cass farm, which was owned by the Macomb family until 1816. Some persons, hunting for a more romantic or secluded burial spot than the soldiers' quarters, occasionally chose a place under the trees or in the groves of the Cass farm, and we now, once in a while, come across remains which were placed as far over as Second, Third or Fourth Streets in this neighborhood. Old graves and human remains have also been uncovered as far down as Fort Street near Wayne and Cass. This soldiers' cemetery was never formally vacated, but as the lands came to be used for business purposes or residences, the old graves were unceremoniously opened and the contents either thrown upon the dump heap and carted off, or, by gentler hands, collected and conveyed to one of the city cemeteries, where they were laid in trenches—unknown, unnamed, forgotten.

Although there were many Protestants in the city, they were of various denominations and each had its community or association. They were not consolidated and did not work in unison. They used, in common, the burial ground on the northeast corner of Woodward Avenue and Larned Street and as they began to occupy this land before the streets were laid out, there can be no doubt that there were many burials within the lines of those streets that have never been disturbed and will be uncovered in the years yet to come.

The First Protestant Society (now generally known as the First Presbyterian Church) was the first Protestant organization within the city. In 1817, this society applied for a donation of land for a church site and the governor and judges very generously gave them the Protestant cemetery, which was useless for any other purpose and the society cleared the space on the corner of the two streets above mentioned and erected the first church building in 1817. On the northerly, southerly and easterly sides the church was hemmed in by graves and surrounded by grave stones. After they had used this building for a few years, they sold it to the Irish Catholics and it was moved to the northwest corner of Bates Street and Cadillac Square. It was stationed at this place for a

number of years and in it were conducted Catholic church services in the English language, while the services in Ste. Anne's church were conducted in French.

In 1826, both Protestant and Catholic cemeteries were practically filled. The city was growing rapidly and as it was considered unsanitary to permit further burials within the city limits, it was determined to seek other quarters farther from the center of business.

The Military Reserve, extending from Larned Street to Michigan Avenue and from Griswold to Cass was donated by the general government to the city in 1826. In this ground was the old fort, built in 1777 by the British. The center of the fort was about the location of Shelby Street. The esplanade stretched from the fort nearly to the little creek that ran through the present Congress Street. On the esplanade, or glacis, of the fort, near the location of the present Griswold Street and Moffat Building, the soldiers and sailors who had been killed in the battle of Lake Erie in 1813, and some of those who were killed at the River Raisin massacre in 1813, were buried. The occasion of the disinterment of the bodies at Put-in-Bay and their re-interment on the glacis of the fort in 1817 was an occasion of great pomp and ceremony in Detroit. The Rev. Sylvester Larned, the silver-tongued pulpit orator, was invited here to deliver the oration on the occasion and a great concourse of people from all over the country was present. Nine years later the remains were again disturbed and the work caused an epidemic of disease in the place which carried off many people. Among others, the mayor, Henry Jackson Hunt, died. The reason for the work at this time was the grading down of the fort grounds to prepare the property for division into dwelling lots and the opening of streets.

The story of the Clinton Park cemetery is interesting as a unit in the history of cemeteries. The common council on December 8, 1826, directed the mayor to call a meeting of the freemen of the city "respecting the procuring of a suitable site for a new burial ground." The freemen's meeting was a source of power at that time. It was called frequently and passed upon the current work of the city. Its advice was generally closely followed, for if its desires were not carried out by the council, no moneys would be granted by the freemen at their annual meeting. It stood in the same relation to the council that the board of estimates stands at the present time.

In this instance, the freemen's meeting was called at Military Hall December 16, 1826. A committee, consisting of Eurotas P. Hastings, DeGarmo Jones, and Shubael Conant, was appointed to select a suitable site for a burial ground. This committee reported December 30, 1826: "In favor of purchasing a certain lot of five acres belonging to Dr. William Brown, lying on Adams Avenue and adjoining the farm of Governor Cass, the same being offered for the sum of eight hundred dollars." This report was accepted and it was resolved that the city be authorized to purchase a suitable site for a burying ground for the use of the city, "provided that payment can be made by other means than that of taxation."

At the same time the meeting requested the council to prohibit further interments in the present burial grounds after May 1, 1827. The council, contrary to their usual custom, paid no attention to the resolutions of the citizens, but directed alderman DeGarmo Jones to call upon Antoine Beaubien and ascertain upon what terms he would sell a suitable site for the cemetery. Before any report on this subject was made, a committee of citizens, some of them not members of the council, was appointed to inspect the city and suggest

general improvements. The members of this committee were: Gov. Lewis Cass, John Biddle, John R. Williams, Peter J. Desnoyers, Jonathan Kearsley, John Mullett, and David C. McKinstry. The report of this committee is quite extensive, as they investigated many matters and departments of the city life and made many suggestions for improvements.

The one part which we are now interested in was the cemetery. They recommended that suitable grounds be purchased and that the lot be divided between the Catholics and Protestants, and that the use of the present quarters be discontinued. They recommended that the present grounds and also the squares and other public spaces and the vacant streets should be planted with trees by the city. This report was accepted by the council.

It would appear from the records that the report of DeGarmo Jones regarding his negotiation with Mr. Beaubien was not satisfactory and he was discharged from that duty. Antoine Dequindre was appointed in his place. The new committee reported that they had purchased from Mr. Beaubien two and a half acres and had paid him \$500. This was nearly the amount Doctor Brown asked for twice as much land much more favorably located.

It is difficult now (as it probably was at that time) to tell why the Clinton Park site was chosen. It was in the woods. There were no streets leading to it or in its neighborhood. The approach to it was over a narrow lane, commencing at Jefferson Avenue and leading straight up along the westerly line of the Antoine Beaubien farm. This lane was a private way, not graded, paved or cared for. It was closed by a gate at Jefferson Avenue and during a considerable part of the year was quite impassable on account of the mud and bad road. Antoine Beaubien, Sr., the owner of the property, was in his dotage and not competent to transact a difficult business. His only son and heir was Antoine Beaubien, Jr., a kindly French gentleman, who was above all suspicion of doing anything that was wrong, either with the city or with any individual. The price paid for the two and a half acres was \$589.30.

The mayor, Jonathan Kearsley, submitted a resolution relative to a pledge by the city for the payment of that amount to be borrowed from the Bank of Michigan.

The legislative council of the Territory of Michigan was in session and an amendment to the city charter was then before that body. As the amendment provided for the ownership of a cemetery by the city, the common council awaited the action of the legislative council before making any effort to conclude the bargain with Mr. Beaubien. A resolution, as mentioned, was passed March 31, 1827, reciting the purchase of the land, and that to pay for the same it was necessary to borrow \$500 from the Bank of Michigan for ninety days. It was resolved that so much of the proceeds of sales of pickets, buildings and land belonging to the city, which have been or may be sold, as may be necessary to pay said sum, be pledged to the bank, and the city treasurer was directed to retain from said moneys sufficient to pay said account when it became due. The deed from Antoine Beaubien is dated June 1, 1827 and runs to the city by its then corporate name of the Mayor, Recorder, Aldermen and Freemen of the City of Detroit. The land conveyed was in the form of a square, five chains or 330 feet on a side and lying on the easterly side of an alley or lane which was thirty feet wide and ran along the westerly line of the Beaubien farm, from Jefferson Avenue. This alley appears to have already been laid down, and the city was granted the free use of it for passing and repassing to the land

conveyed. The premises were to be used as a burial ground and place of interment for the dead. The city agreed to build a fence around the land and maintain a bridge over the ditch crossing the alley and construct a board gate to the fence at Jefferson Avenue at the entrance of the land. The consideration for the land was \$589.30. Before the deed was executed, Mr. Beaubien claimed that he had agreed to sell two and a half arpents of land instead of two and a half acres, and as there was some difference between an arpent and an acre, the city agreed to pay for the difference, which amounted to \$89.30. Subsequently, in 1837, Antoine Beaubien, Jr., son of the first-named Antoine, deeded to the city that part of the alley lying between Clinton Street and Gratiot Avenue, and also those portions of the land below Clinton Street which formed the various cross streets. The lane itself was decided to be the property of Mr. Beaubien in the suit brought by the city to determine the ownership of it.

While negotiations for the purchase of the cemetery lot were proceeding, the council passed an ordinance prohibiting further burials in any of the old cemeteries. This at once compelled all new interments to be made in the new grounds.

Thus the purchase of the Beaubien tract was made and the city took possession of the land. It was paid for out of city funds and the property belonged to the municipality. The catholic portion of the community was quite extensive at this time and the council was persuaded to set aside one-half of the land for the exclusive use of the catholics. The other half was reserved for all non-Catholics. The first burial was that of Friend Palmer (father of the late Gen. Friend Palmer) who died May 29, 1827. In June the city recorder, Eurotas P. Hastings and Alderman Peter J. Desnoyers were directed to divide the burial grounds and lay them out.

The population of the city increased very rapidly between 1825 and 1835 and the little graveyard was being filled. Again it was determined that something must be done to relieve the congestion.

The old burial ground around Ste. Anne's Church was not used after the Clinton Park cemetery was opened. In 1829, an ordinance was passed regulating burials. The interesting portion of the ordinance was the provision for charges for interments. A sexton was annually appointed or elected. He was authorized to charge \$1.50 for digging a grave and burying a corpse, 25 cents for delivering a coffin to the house of the deceased, \$1.25 for furnishing horse and carrying corpse to the grave, and 25 cents for tolling the bell.

In 1833 there was considerable agitation among the people to remove the remains from the old burying ground on Woodward Avenue to the new Clinton Park grounds. Some of the people got excited and undertook to clear out the old grounds forcibly. There were other citizens quite as determined to leave the old grounds alone for the present. Those who were determined upon making the removals went at the actual work and it was not long before some were arrested for that which the others considered desecration of the graves.

In 1832 the agitation was begun to open Congress Street as it now runs. This effort was resisted by the Catholics for some time. Bishop Rese, in his remonstrance, said that it had been determined to erect on this ground and to "throw open a large, splendid and elegant public building, such a one as would be an ornament to your beautiful and rapidly growing city." Another remonstrance, filed with the city clerk on June 30, 1834, is signed by many persons.

Among these names are those of the Sisters and the little girls of the "Female Academy of St. Claire's Seminary."

In 1833, the Catholic Church filed a petition with the governor and judges, setting forth that in consequence of the ordinance prohibiting further interments in the Congress Street cemetery and the increase in the number of burials, it would soon be necessary to obtain other grounds for that purpose. They said that Madison Avenue lots in Section 9, granted to be occupied as a Catholic burying ground, were entirely unsuited for the purpose of interment, the earth being at most seasons of the year covered with water, and the grant being otherwise inoperative in consequence of an ordinance of the city inhibiting interment within the limits of the city. The church asked that the Madison Avenue lots be given to it in fee freed from the condition contained in the original deed that it should be used solely for burial purposes. The church also asked that the interior triangle on which Ste. Anne's Church was already located should be given to it in fee as Randolph Street had already been opened along the easterly side. The entire petition was granted without condition and a new deed was executed to the church corporation February 25, 1834. It was at this time that efforts were being made to open Congress Street and it seems somewhat strange that in settling matters with the church no mention was made of Congress Street, but that affair was left to be accomplished in a much harsher manner two years later.

The men who thus gave away the city's rights in the entire interior triangle and the two or three acres of land on Madison Avenue were Gov. George B. Porter and the judges Solomon Sibley, George Morrell and Ross Wilkins. It had become necessary, however, for the growth and benefit of the city, that Congress Street should be opened and the graves removed. Action was taken in 1836 in the courts and the street was opened by that means.

As we have already seen, the little two and a half acre cemetery on the Antoine Beaubien farm, which was used in part by the Catholics and the other part by the non-Catholics, was so full that additional room had to be provided. The cholera seasons of 1832 and 1834 greatly increased the number of deaths and congested the grave yards. The report of the city sexton for the year between April 1, 1832 and March 30, 1833 shows that there were 136 Protestants buried, of whom sixty were cholera victims, and 165 Catholic burials, or 301 deaths in twelve months.

It was in 1834 that the Guoin Farm was purchased by the city. This farm was the property of Charles Guoin and in the closing of his estate that portion of the farm lying northerly of Gratiot Avenue was sold at auction and the city, on May 31, 1834, became the purchaser for the sum of \$2,010. The land purchased consisted of two parts, the rear concession consisting of 37.55 acres, and that part of the first concession lying north of the Fort Gratiot road (Gratiot Avenue).

This tract extends along the easterly side of Russell Street from Gratiot to Harper Avenue. A portion of the front of this farm was laid off for immediate use and burials ceased to take place in the other cemeteries. There was considerable complaint constantly made that the grounds owned by the city were not properly cared for. It was another instance of municipal ownership, with the usual careless, inefficient and incapable public servants.

A sexton was appointed or elected each year. For many years the same man acted in this capacity. It was discovered after a time that he was selling

lots and misappropriating the receipts. This was the charge against him and the council committee, to which the matter was referred, found it to be true. The removal of the offending officer did not fully settle the matter. It was believed that a cemetery owned by a private corporation would be better taken care of.

Some of the prominent and wealthy citizens in 1846 purchased the land we now know as Elmwood Cemetery and commenced the preparation of the ground for cemetery purposes. Forty-one acres were first bought for \$1,858, raised by subscription. Burials began to take place at once, long before the grounds were ready for general use. Among those originally interested in this enterprise were Henry Ledyard and Alexander D. Fraser. The articles of the association of the cemetery company were not executed until 1849 and it is from that date that the association existed. The organization was not instituted to make money, but to furnish places of sepulchre, with proper care of the grounds. Every lot owner was, to the extent of his purchase, interested in the entire grounds. No dividends are ever paid and all of the income not necessarily used on the grounds is accumulated to buy other grounds when needed. The visitor to that place cannot avoid contrasting the beauty of the grounds and the neat and tasty method in which everything appears with the disgraceful neglect that is seen in the municipal and public burial places throughout the county and in the neighborhood of the city.

The Catholic population was quite as earnest in its care of the city of the dead as were the non-Catholics. Attempts had repeatedly been made by the congregation of Ste. Anne to have the Catholic portion of the Clinton Park Cemetery kept in order. The bishop and the church authorities alike neglected this spot. The neglect was probably induced by the knowledge that it was the duty of the city, which owned the land, to keep it in order.

The church of Ste. Anne included the French portion of the community, but another Catholic community, generally called the Irish Catholic, or English-speaking Catholics, purchased the property on the northwest corner of Cadillac Square and Bates Street. They bought the old Presbyterian Church and moved it to this lot. It was then called Trinity Church. It was this community that first desired to have a Catholic Cemetery that they could call their own and manage as they pleased.

In 1841 this church society bought the lands now known as Mt. Elliott Cemetery and according to the custom of the church had the property conveyed to Bishop Frederick Résé, who was the first Catholic bishop of the Detroit diocese. The first purchase consisted of eleven acres and was made August 31, 1841. The conveyance was made "in trust for the exclusive use and benefit of the Irish Roman Catholic congregation of Trinity Church of Detroit." The management of the cemetery was perpetually vested in persons to be from time to time selected by the lot owners. Additional lands were purchased of William Adair in 1864 and the title taken in the name of Peter Paul Lefevre, who was bishop coadjutor, as Bishop Résé did not die until 1872. In 1865, Mount Elliott Cemetery corporation was organized and the property and control of the cemetery was conveyed to it. The income from the sale of lots is used for taking care of the grounds. The cemetery was named for Robert T. Elliott, one of the original projectors and whose own burial, the first in the new cemetery, occurred September 12, 1841.

In 1849 Bishop Lefevre asked the council to prohibit further interments

in the Catholic portion of the Clinton Park cemetery and on June 26th public notice was given of the discontinuance of all burials in that cemetery.

Two years later Alanson Sheley, who had purchased a portion of the old Woodward Avenue Cemetery, gave notice that he intended to excavate the ground for the erection of new buildings and interested persons were requested to remove the remains of relatives and friends.

In 1854, after the Clinton Park Cemetery had ceased to be used for new interments, St. Antoine Street was opened through it from south to north. This disturbed a large number of graves and as they were disinterred the remains were removed to other cemeteries. The value of the land taken was inconsiderable and no value was attached to it as it was the property of the city, but the private rights of lot owners was estimated by the jury at more than \$3,000.

In 1855, a committee of the common council consisting of the mayor, Henry Ledyard, and the aldermen, Anthony Dudgeon and Alanson Sheley, after some investigation, reported in favor of vacating the Russell Street cemetery and purchasing a new site. In this report, which was adopted, it is stated that the cemetery occupied fourteen acres which were then valued at \$14,000, and that other suitable lands could be bought for \$150 to \$200 per acre. Another committee, consisting of the mayor and Aldermen Ingersoll, Duncan and Thompson, was appointed to receive proposals for a new site. They advertised for proposals and received a number of bids, but no selection was made. Nothing further was done at this time, but other committees were appointed April 1, 1856 and March 9, 1857, for the same purpose of selecting a new site, but nothing was accomplished.

In April, 1857, Mayor Oliver M. Hyde, in a communication to the council, said: "I wish to call your attention to the condition of the old cemetery ground, now in the third ward. Its appearance is a disgrace to the city authorities."

Another attempt was made in September, 1857 to get a new site and the city advertised for proposals for twenty acres of land within or near the western city limits. Proposals were received, but nothing accomplished.

Gen. Henry A. Morrow, who was at that time recorder, in a communication to the city council May 28, 1861, said:

"It is little short of disgraceful to Detroit that its cemetery should have been allowed to fall into the ruinous and dilapidated state in which we find it at present. It was once the place of interment for the whole city and in it are deposited the remains of many worthy and respectable people. When the city sold lots in the cemetery it was with the implied pledge that the grounds should be and remain sacred for cemetery purposes. This pledge has been entirely overlooked or disregarded. Not only has the ground been neglected and the fences allowed to go to ruin, but a portion of the land has been appropriated for other purposes. The city has the power, without doubt, to prohibit further interments in the city cemetery and it would be its duty to do this if the public health or convenience required such a step. But it is still used for the almost sacred purposes of burial and yet all care of it is neglected.

The House of Correction was placed on lands north of the portion used for cemetery purposes in 1861, and in 1862 the inspector of the House was directed to take possession of that part of the cemetery lying in front of the House of Correction between James Street and the southerly line of Silver

Street for the purpose of a park. The bodies were removed, the lands fenced in and used for a park under the charge of the inspector.

The first suggestion that the city was not the absolute owner of the Clinton Park cemetery was made in 1867. At that time William Gray was the city counselor and at the request of the council he rendered an opinion that the title of the city was complete. The question was again raised a year later and another opinion was obtained which will be mentioned later.

St. Antoine Street divided the cemetery into two parts, the one lying east of that street being partly vacant or denuded at the time of the opening of the street. The western portion was supposed to be fenced in and taken care of by the city, but was much neglected.

St. Mary's Church, on September 3, 1867, asked permission to use a portion of the cemetery on the Beaubien farm, on which "to erect a school house and church for the use of Catholic colored children." This land was long since abandoned as a burial ground, and the council to whom the petition was directed was in favor of granting the request, but at the next meeting, September 10th, a protest against making the grant was filed and the subject was referred to a committee which reported adversely. A few days later Alderman Howe introduced a resolution which was adopted October 1, 1867, dedicating that part of the cemetery lying north of Clinton Street as a park to be called "Clinton Park." About the same time the board of education resolved to ask the city for the cemetery as a site for a school building. William D. Wilkins was then president of the board and he presented the petition to the council on October 7, 1867. The board of health also sent a communication to the council asking that both cemeteries be vacated as soon as possible.

Although Woodmere Cemetery was not opened until some time later than this, the lands had already been located and at the invitation of the owners, a committee of the council consisting of Aldermen Francis Adams and William Purcell visited the grounds and located a site for the removal of the remains from the city cemeteries. This was on November 14, 1867.

In the following spring, as nothing seemed to be doing in the way of using the Clinton Park cemetery, George Oldekop filed a petition March 10, 1868, for permission to use the northerly part of the land for a number of years for the purpose of erecting a public hall. His petition was denied and a resolution was passed directing that the remains still in the cemetery should be removed before June 1st following.

The council, on April 7th, passed a resolution to convey to the board of education for a school site, the portion west of St. Antoine Street between Clinton Street and Gratiot Avenue. The mayor, William W. Wheaton, vetoed the resolution, but advised that the school be placed on the east side of St. Antoine Street, reserving the west side for a park. He said, "The parcel on the west side is large in extent and far more than is necessary for a site for the school house."

On the day preceding this veto, the board of education had received opinions regarding the title to the property conveyed by Antoine Beaubien in 1827. One opinion was rendered by Theodore Romeyn and William Gray and the other by George V. N. Lothrop. All three lawyers agreed that the title of the city was perfect and unassailable so far as claims of Beaubien or his assigns. In the habendum of the deed to the city it was stated that the property was conveyed to the city, its successors and assigns "to be used and occupied as



a burial ground and place of interment for the dead." This, they said, was not a condition of limitation and did not prevent the city from using the premises for any desired purpose.

Mr. Lothrop, however, in his opinion, went a step further and stated that the lot owners or families of those who were interred, had an additional and very sacred right in the premises, which the courts would maintain and protect. He advised that the city obtain releases from the lot owners before doing anything that was inconsistent with these rights.

The bishop of the Catholic Church had asserted an ownership of a portion of the premises and that claim was also passed upon by the lawyers. Mr. Lothrop said that no evidence had ever been produced to show that the Catholics had held the lands adversely or that they had any personal rights in their land. Messrs. Romeyn and Gray, while admitting that there was never any deed of cession, stated that they were "informed that from an early day and for more than twenty years, a part of the tract had been exclusively used for the purpose of interment by the Catholic Church of its own members and to the exclusion of all other persons." They advised that this possession was adverse and was sufficient to make the title good in the church.

As the first petition of the board of education had failed to pass the mayor, a new petition was filed in June for a deed of a part of the Protestant portion for a site for a Union School building.

During the lifetime of Bishop Lefevre there was never much love lost between the Catholic and Protestant portions of the community. He had the faculty of creating religious disturbances on all occasions. He did not have the undivided support of the members of his church and many of his actions were not approved by them. He sent a communication to the council on June 23, 1868, offering to surrender his entire claims on condition that the portion west of St. Antoine Street should be used as a park and that the portion (of the Catholic part) on the east side should remain in his name as trustee for St. Mary's hospital. While the proposal of the bishop was before the council, that body on July 21, 1868, received a resolution to give to the board of education the portion of the Protestant cemetery west of St. Antoine Street. The vote on the proposition stood nine to six and the matter was laid over under the rules. It did not come up again for action until September 15th, when the resolution was adopted and the controller was directed to execute a deed for the premises to the school board. Again the mayor vetoed the proposal because, as he said, the property should be sold and not given to the board.

A proposal was then made to lease the land to the board for ninety-nine years at \$10 per year. This was adopted September 29, 1868. Again Mayor Wheaton vetoed the measure, saying that "the leasing of public property for a nominal sum is, in my opinion, the same as donating it."

Then the board of education presented a request that the city fix a price on the property and permit it to be sold to them. Maxwell M. Fisher, and a number of other citizens, presented a petition on August 11, 1868, asking the city to dedicate the cemetery grounds for a market. The petition was denied because the lands were too small, but the committee to whom the matter was referred recommended that a market be located at the corner of High and Russell streets for wood and hay. Another petition of the board of education was presented October 13, 1868, asking the council to sell the site to the board.

Some members of the council backed up the mayor, evidently intending that no school house should ever be erected on the land.

The proposal of Bishop Lefevre to dedicate a portion of the land for a public park was accepted December 1, 1868, and the thanks of the council were extended to him for his generous gift. When the deeds were finally presented for exchange, it appeared that the deed from the city to Bishop Lefevre was dated August 3, 1868, although not executed until the 5th of December. By this deed the city conveyed to Peter Paul Lefevre and his heirs the south half of the old cemetery lying easterly of St. Antoine Street, to be held and used by him and his successors, assigns or representatives for the use and benefit of St. Mary's hospital and the inmates thereof. There was also a dedication dated August 7, 1868, by Mr. Lefevre as bishop of Zela and coadjutor of the bishop of Detroit, of the portion west of St. Antoine Street, to be used as a public park forever and for no other purpose, to be called Clinton Park. There are conditions attached to this conveyance that the property should be a public park to be called Clinton Park, that the city should always care for it as a park and keep it in suitable condition, that the land east of St. Antoine Street which formerly constituted part of the Catholic burying ground should be conveyed to the bishop for the use of St. Mary's Hospital, and that the city should provide new grounds for the burial of the remains in the old ground and should forthwith remove them. In order that no further question might arise regarding the ownership of the land, the corporation of Ste. Anne's church made a dedication of the same land for park purposes. This ended the controversy over the land at that time and it only remained for the city to vacate the premises. The formal dedication of the park took place August 7, 1869.

A great many bodies were removed by friends and relatives of the deceased, and others were removed by Valentine Giest, the city sexton. Removals on a large scale began October 1, 1869, and the work was completed November 12th of the same year. Mr. Giest removed 1,892 bodies, of which 1,490 were from the Catholic portion. His bill for services was \$2,337.

Woodmere Cemetery was formally opened July 14, 1869, and the council attended the opening ceremonies in a body. In the part set aside for the city in this cemetery were placed nearly all of those that were removed from the Protestant part of the old cemetery, but the Catholics were provided for in Mt. Elliott. The disinterment of bodies in other parts of the city has gone on for years and probably will for years to come. The Woodmere Cemetery Association had been organized in July, 1867, and among those interested were: John J. Bagley, David Preston, Moses W. Field, M. S. Smith, Eber B. Ward, Elon W. Hudson, Charles I. Walker, David M. Richardson, Lemuel H. Davis, Bela Hubbard, Daniel Scotten and Jefferson Wiley.

A body was uncovered in digging a cellar on Cass Street, August 6, 1869, and a few days later twenty-one bodies were taken out of Cass Street and turned over to Mr. Giest to be conveyed to Woodmere. In the same month twenty-five more bodies were found in Cass Street. These are only a few of the many that have been found there, some of them as far down as Fort Street.

Detroit was settled by Europeans in 1701 and has been a village, town and city since that date. Its initial population consisted of one hundred white men, but before the first year of its existence had expired there were women in the community and from that time it followed the rule of other settlements. There was a church, there were stores and workshops in the village and many

dwellings, all of logs, at the early day, but of various sizes and designs. There were marriages, births and deaths and a very fair record of all these has been kept and is available. For more than one hundred years, all of the transactions of the settlement were confined within the little enclosure which was never longer than two blocks of the present city, extending from Griswold to Wayne Street and never wider than from Woodbridge, where the river ran, to Larned.

From 1701 to 1760, the people were all French and all Catholics. There was very little caste or distinction among them. Soldiers and civilians were equal, devoted themselves to the same classes of work, associated without distinction and attended the same social gatherings. Their families intermarried and their children were brought up as companions and with an equal degree of education, which was very meager at best.

They had one burial place in common for the community and that was controlled by the church and was one of its departments. In many respects their lives were of Acadian simplicity. To be sure they had their quarrels and suits at law and arbitrations of disputes and military oppression on occasions, but their lives were simple and their wants were few. Then came the English and Americans and all this simplicity was disturbed and changed. Now there were three classes in the place—the French, the English and the soldiers. The French soldier was a civilian. He had his house and family and was a laborer at some occupation. The English soldier was always a soldier. He lived in the barracks, had no family and was moved from one station to another, with his company or regiment. The newcomers, English and Americans, came to make homes and live here the remainder of their days. They were traders and artisans. The soldiers did not associate much with the civilians and the French associated with neither. When a soldier died, he was buried in a yard reserved for soldiers and the English civilians had a cemetery by themselves. From 1760 there were three separate graveyards occupying lands contiguous to the dwellings and business streets.

Detroit was a frontier post. It grew in population so slowly that it is not to be wondered that no one foresaw that it would be a large city. The people did not notice its growth and made no preparations for the future in any adequate manner. The place was created a city by legislative act while it still remained west of Griswold Street and south of Larned Street, and it was a great improvement and displayed considerable civic progress to cease to use the cemetery on Jefferson Avenue and to begin the use of the new grounds at the intersection of Congress and Bates. Many years and much effort were wasted to remove finally the remains from Jefferson Avenue to Congress Street. So with each succeeding removal, it has taken many and repeated efforts of portions of our citizens before anything could be accomplished. In the downtown districts of today we walk over the remains of past generations. How many human beings still lie buried, unknown and forgotten in our city's streets!

In addition to the several public cemeteries that are mentioned, there were several private cemeteries that have been removed or lost. There was a private cemetery on the park lots in the field near the Central Methodist Church. This was owned by Gen. John R. Williams and in it were interred only the members of his family. The Brush family had a burial ground of their own in the Brush garden on Randolph Street between Lafayette and Fort. There was a cemetery of considerable extent on the river bank on the front of the Church Farm, just east of the boulevard bridge. There were four large Indian

villages in the immediate neighborhood of the settlement established by Cadillac in 1701. These villages remained for many years and of course there must have been many Indians who died in them and who were buried along the line of the river. The Pottawatomi Indians were located near the foot of Twenty-fourth Street and several bodies have been uncovered in that neighborhood. The largest cemetery was in the sand dunes that, even in modern times, lined the shores of Detroit and Rouge Rivers near their junction. This land is now within the city limits and the explorations there are narrated in Bela Hubbard's "Memoirs of Half a Century."

The Indian war was carried on by the Fox Indians in 1712. The Indian war camp was on the hill where the Moffat Building is now located. Many Indians were killed and their bodies were buried nearby. When the Fox Indians were defeated and had surrendered, they passed the night of their imprisonment in the valley of the creek that ran through Congress Street, along the line of that street at Woodward Avenue and farther east. They escaped and retreated during the night, but were overtaken the next day and a great battle took place along the Fox Creek, now within the city limits. It was estimated that more than a thousand persons were killed. Their bodies were deposited near Fox Creek, which derives its name from this battle. Many remains have been found and many more will be found in the future. In the location of the large cemeteries such as Elmwood, Mt. Elliott, and the German Lutheran, considerable enterprise was displayed in choosing places remote from the city, but the wonderful increase in population and in size has made these places practically useless for the future. There is something sacred about the resting-place of the dead and we are unwilling to disturb it. The places mentioned must remain as they are and the corporations owning them will probably always maintain them. Of the newer cemeteries, Woodlawn, Grand Lawn, Evergreen, Woodmere, Forest Lawn and Mt. Olivet, several are already enclosed within the city lines, but the time will probably come when all burials within the limits of the city will be forbidden.

Within the past quarter century, associations have been organized which have acquired for burial purposes large tracts of land remote from the centers of population. The selections have, in all cases, been of areas having a forest growth and susceptible to a high degree of landscape development. The first of these was Forest Lawn Cemetery in North Detroit, six miles from the city hall, with the Norris plank road on one side and a continuation of Van Dyke Avenue on the other. The grounds, comprising 130 acres, were acquired in 1888.

Woodlawn Cemetery of 240 acres is on the west side of Woodward Avenue near the 8-mile road and was dedicated in 1898. Seven years later the Evergreen Cemetery Association was incorporated and acquired a tract of 276 acres south of Woodlawn. Still more recently, in 1906, the Roseland Park Cemetery Association was organized and opened grounds, 220 acres in extent, adjoining Woodward Avenue near the 12-mile road in Oakland County. Still more remote from the city is Grand Lawn Cemetery, fronting Grand River Avenue in Redford Township, thirteen miles from the city hall. This is the largest cemetery in the vicinity of Detroit, and is beautifully situated on high and rolling ground.

Among the older burial grounds in the city is the Lutheran Cemetery of ten acres on Mt. Elliott Avenue between Palmer and Farnsworth. It was dedicated on Pentecost Sunday, 1868. There are ancient Jewish cemeteries adjoining

the Lafayette Avenue side of Elmwood, and on Smith Avenue near Chene Street. The Jewish Congregation Beth El also has a tract set apart for its use within Woodmere Cemetery grounds.

Recent statistics show that the approximate number of interments in some of the larger cemeteries are: Woodmere, 76,000; Elmwood, 38,000; Forest Lawn 16,000; Holy Cross, 13,000; Evergreen, 6,500; Woodlawn, 6,000; Grand Lawn, 2,500; Gethsemane, 1,500; Roseland Park, 1,200; Machpelah, 600; Oakview, 300; and all others 60,000.

CHAPTER LV  
GRISWOLD STREET

BY CLARENCE M. BURTON

Many of the older residents of the city will recall the old buildings that stood on the northeast corner of Griswold and Larned streets, and which, in their later years were commonly designated as "Cobweb Hall."

To look at the old buildings one would scarcely believe that they had seen better days, and that where cobwebs covered the walls, and spiders and bats made their homes, in the years gone by the fashionable and the educated people of the place were wont to collect for enjoyment and social pastime. The old buildings had long since passed their usefulness. On the south side where now stands the Equity Building, once stood some low, one-story log buildings, used for dwellings and shops.

On the destruction of these buildings and of a low brick building, which succeeded them, there was erected, by Asahel Smith Bagg and John McLeod, a then beautiful building, intended and used for offices, and called the Rotunda Building. It took its name from the interior circular light space into which the offices of the lawyers opened.

Directly across the street, westerly, the dwelling house and orchard of Peter Desnoyers has given place to the government building, called the post office, now called the customs-house. This also was a large and splendid building in its day. Diagonally across the street were some small frame buildings, used for second-hand book stores and occupied by small tradesmen. These also were swept away in time and their places filled by the modern structure known as the Campau Building.

Litigation over the title to "Cobweb Hall" prevented the improvement of that corner and it remained as an eyesore long after more modern buildings surrounded it, and it came to be shunned and almost considered as a ghost walk, deserted by the friends of its youth, and the buildings left to decay.

Like many other sections of our great city, this corner has a history, interesting and romantic. To bring back to its site the troops of men and women who passed its doors or entered its gates in the past would be to bring before us the names of the thousands of persons who have lived in Detroit since its destruction by fire in the early part of the nineteenth century.

This is too great a task to be undertaken and all that we can hope to do is to skim over the surface of this interesting history.

On the eleventh day of June, 1805, a devouring fire swept the Village of Detroit and destroyed every building save one, within the picketed enclosure. The village that had stood for more than one hundred years, occupying the small tract of land between the present Griswold and Wayne streets, extended back from the river only as far as Larned Street. There were a few buildings north

of the latter street, but the land was low and marshy, bordering on the little brook that ran westerly along the southerly line of the present Congress Street.

Around the little village was a line of pickets made of small trees set firmly in the earth and extending 12 or 15 feet above the ground. This picket line crossed the brook and extended to the corner of the fort, which had stood on the hill behind the village since 1777, as it was built during the time of the Revolutionary war. When the fire of 1805 took place the entire village, of some five hundred people, was houseless and homeless. The weather was mild, and many of the people slept in the open air. Others found refuge in the fort and in the farm houses along the river front. The personal belongings and furniture in the houses had been saved from destruction, for the fire occurred in the day time and the people had sufficient notice to carry their movables to a place of safety.

#### NARROW STREETS IN THE OLD VILLAGE

The streets in the old village were very narrow, being most of them from 10 to 15 feet wide. The only wide thoroughfare was Ste. Anne Street and that was probably about 20 feet wide in front of the church, and elsewhere not over 15 feet in width. It was proposed to begin at once, rebuilding the village. If the proprietors rebuilt on the lots owned by them, the new village would contain the same narrow streets and shallow lots. Many of the people were willing to do this, but some objected and a public meeting was called to discuss and determine the matter. The new governor, William Hull and the judges, Augustus B. Woodward, John Griffin and Frederick Bates, urged the people to delay rebuilding until authority could be obtained from Congress to plat a new village with wide streets and larger lots.

During the winter of 1805-6, both Hull and Woodward went to Washington and procured the passage of a proper bill through Congress. The bill that was finally passed gave the governor and judges the power to lay out a new village plat and authorized them to convey lands to every lot owner in the old village, so that each should have as much land as he had before held. Additional provision was made for every person who lived in the old village before the fire, whether a lot owner or not.

Every person over the age of 17 who resided in the village before the fire, was given a lot in the new plan. In order to carry out this provision of the law, all of the lands between Randolph Street on the east and Wayne Street on the west, and extending as far north as Adams Avenue, were given to the governor and judges to be platted and allotted by them. The only lands exempted from this grant were those occupied by the fort, and the grounds reserved for military purposes.

A village plat was made, dwelling sites were soon allotted, and it was not long before houses began to dot the surface of the new city. There were no frame houses in the old village; all were of logs. There were no great sawmills then to cut timber into boards, and it was necessary to use the logs as they came from the forest, with the little trimmings that could be done with ax and adz. Much of the timber was obtained at Black River (now Port Huron), and the woods were soon filled with woodsmen cutting trees, and laborers were floating the cut timber down the river and through the lake to build up a new and a greater city.

## FIRE DESTROYS MANY HOMES

Among the many people who were living in Detroit, at the time of the fire and who were rendered houseless by that event were John Bentley and Mary, his wife.

They had lived in the village for some time, and he had been collector of the village taxes in 1803, and had held other offices. They had with them in their home, their daughter, Sally, who was the wife of Thomas Nowlen, and her children, Sally and Fanny. Both John Bentley and his daughter, Sally, were entitled to donation lots in the new village plat, and he presented the following petition to the governor and judges:

“To the Honorable the Legislature of Michigan:

“John Bentley, being one of the sufferers by fire on the 11th of June, 1805, and then residing in the old town of Detroit, prays for a donation lot agreeably to the act of Congress.

“And your petitioner will pray.

“JOHN BENTLEY.

“Detroit, 3rd November, 1806.”

A lot was awarded him just outside of the old picket line and on the northeast corner of what was then laid down as the intersection of two unnamed streets. These streets were subsequently named Larned and Griswold.

The lot was 50 feet wide and 100 feet deep. It was not very favorably located. Most of the new buildings were planned to be erected on the new main street (Jefferson Avenue) and below that street towards the river. A few lots were granted on Court House Street (Woodward Avenue) and a building was either then, or shortly afterwards, erected on that street for the purpose of holding court.

Griswold Street was only fifty feet wide between Larned Street and Jefferson Avenue and it was many years before it was opened to the full width it now maintains. Bentley erected a small log house on the northerly side of his lot, leaving the space next to Larned Street for garden and greensward. When the final plan of the city was made this land was designated as lot 103 in section 2. In due course of time Bentley applied for a deed for this lot and it was ordered to be executed to him December 17, 1808. He maintained this house as a tavern, for he paid \$20.00 for a license December 27, 1808. The license was granted by three Justices of the Peace, George McDougall, James May and James Abbott.

He did not live long in the house, but sold it, with its log house complete on May 11, 1809, for \$460.00 to Bridget Belcher.

At the same time that Bentley had applied for his lot, his daughter Sally made a similar application worded as follows:

“To the Honorable the Legislature of Michigan:

“Sally, wife of Thomas Nowlen, being living with her family at her father’s house (John Bentley), on the 11th day of June, 1805, prays for a donation lot agreeably to the act of Congress.

“SALLY NOWLEN.”

“Detroit, 3rd November, 1806.”

The above petition was taken into consideration and a lot awarded to Mrs. Nowlen located on the north side of Bates Street between Farrar and Randolph



streets, fronting on the little park that was subsequently known as "Deer Park." The little park is now occupied by the Metropolitan police headquarters.

On this lot Mrs. Nowlen erected a dwelling house and her father, mother and her two children, Sally and Fanny, went there to live when John Bentley sold his dwelling house to Mrs. Belcher. It is not possible now to tell when John Bentley died, but probably before 1816.

Mrs. Nowlen had some difficulty in obtaining a deed for her lot, and she placed the matter in the hands of Robert Smart, a prominent citizen of Detroit, and through his exertions received a deed in November, 1816. The new house was next to the lot upon which the Scotch Presbyterian Church was built, and of this church Robert Smart was one of the trustees. Whether the Bentley and Nowlen families attended this church is uncertain, but that Smart was then and always continued to be their friend, is apparent from his will.

The two girls, Fanny and Sally Nowlen, grew to womanhood in the little house on Bates Street, and in due course of time both were married. Fanny married Abraham Noyes, January 11, 1824. They had at least one daughter, Mary Ann Noyes, who was born in 1828, and who married Hiram Higgins, October 23, 1842. Fanny Noyes died August 20, 1834, of cholera and Abraham Noyes died in May or June, 1842. Hiram Higgins was a surveyor by profession, but in the latter part of his life became a clerk in the shoe store of Leander L. Farnsworth, who was his brother-in-law, when that store was located where the Majestic Building now stands. Selina Ann Higgins, the daughter of Mary Ann Higgins was born in 1843 and married George Campbell, June 19, 1865. Her mother died October 19, 1858, and her father moved to Salem, Michigan, and died there January 9, 1894 at the age of seventy-two years.

#### SALLY NOWLEN

Sarah or Sally Nowlen was born in Detroit, October 31, 1804, and married John Scott, May 15, 1825. Scott was a contractor and builder, who was born in Peterborough, N. H., November 29, 1795, and had lived in Detroit some years. His father was a lieutenant and his grandfather a captain in the Revolutionary war. Some of the larger building contracts of the little city had been awarded to him and had been successfully carried out.

He was the contractor and builder of the City Hall, which stood on the easterly side of the Campus. This was a large building for the times, and was completed in 1835. He superintended the construction of the waterworks at the foot of Orleans Street in 1838, and was the contractor and builder of the magazine and government works on the Mullett Farm, near Gratiot Road.

It was to these works that the remains of old Fort Shelby were removed after that fort was abandoned in 1826. Mr. Scott's work was completed in 1831. He was one of the ten men who owned and subdivided the lands on the west side of Woodward Avenue, north of the Grand Circus Park. This tract extends from Woodward to Cass Avenue and from Adams Avenue to Montcalm Street. He was also prominent in local political affairs during his entire life, served as alderman several terms and was quite a large real estate owner in the city.

There were four children born of the marriage of John Scott and Sally Nowlen: John Scott was born February 22, 1826, and died May 9, 1841; William Scott was born October 12, 1828, drowned in Detroit River; David Scott was born October 27, 1830, and died of cholera September 14, 1834; James Scott was born December 20, 1831, and died March 5, 1910. Mary Bentley, the great-

grandmother of these children had died after the birth of James Scott, the youngest of the quartet.

In 1831 she purchased a lot on the Charles Moran farm on Franklin Street, then a fairly good quarter of the city, and died there November 1, 1846. Shortly after her death there were two documents presented to the Probate Court for allowance, both pretending to be her last will. In one of these wills, which is dated April 5, 1846, the entire estate with the exception of "one purple merino dress" is left to Mahalan Presley, wife of Solomon Presley, for life with remainder over to her daughter, Maria Fidelia Presley. So far as can be ascertained the devisees were in no way related to the testator.

The other will was dated July 18, 1843, and in it Mary Bentley, gave all of her estate to her great-grandson, James Scott. At this time James was the only survivor of the four children of John Scott. When the matter of the two wills came before the Probate Court, December 21, 1846, the Presley will was disallowed and the Scott will was sustained.

David Smart, who was the nephew of Robert Smart, above mentioned, was the executor of the will that was admitted and he handled the estate for James Scott, who was then 15 years old.

A few years before this, and while John Scott, the elder brother of James, was still alive, Robert Smart made his will. He had lived in Detroit for many years, and had been a very prominent and influential citizen and a man of considerable means. His will is dated October 26, 1839, and he did not forget the various members of the Nowlen Family. His will was probated November 4, 1839, and the executors were John Biddle, Charles Moran and Darius Lamson, three as prominent men as there were in the city.

The bulk of his property was given to his brother, John, and sister, Christine Smart, and his nephew David Smart. To Mary Ann Noyes, afterward Higgins, he gave \$5,000. To James Scott and John Scott, sons of John Scott, he gave \$2,000 each, and to their grandmother, Sally Nowlen, he gave an annuity of \$300 for her life.

Sarah Nowlen, the grandmother of James Scott, died December 3, 1851. David Smart was the executor of her will. Her granddaughter, Mary Ann Higgins, was the principal beneficiary under her will. Mrs. Higgins was financially involved and James Scott in 1853, just after becoming of age, and entering into his inheritance, assisted her out of her trouble by advancing money to save her from the loss of her home.

#### ROBERT SMART

When Robert Smart died, the legacy of the two children, John and James Scott, was paid to their father, John Scott, and remained in his hands unto his death which occurred September 1, 1846.

After the death of John Scott's first wife, Sally Nowlen, he married Jane A. Abbott of Peterborough, N. H., and she survived him. In his will he made provision for her support in the form of an annuity, and gave the remainder of his property to his only surviving child, James. John Scott was a man of considerable property for the time. In 1834 he purchased from Isaac Thornton Todd, an Irish gentleman and large property owner in the old country, a lot on the corner of the Campus and Woodward Avenue. This property is now occupied in part by the grocery store of G. & R. McMillan and by the store

owned by the late James Scott. It was in his home on this lot that James Scott was born.

On the southerly part of this property John Scott built a store, but he subsequently lived in a house situated on the southerly side of Fort Street west of Shelby Street on one of the lots formerly occupied by the City Water Works.

## JAMES SCOTT

The early life of James Scott was passed partly in Detroit, his father having died when James was fifteen years old. The executors of his father's will were Abraham C. Caniff of Detroit, and E. Lakin Brown of Schoolcraft. James never had a legal guardian after his father's death, though the executors acted in that capacity so far as looking after the boy. He went to school in Detroit in the rooms that were used in the building on the southwest corner of Bates and Larned Streets. He also went to school in Peterborough, living with some of his father's relatives in that place.

He passed a part of his time with E. Lakin Brown, who had married his cousin, Amelia W. Scott, at his home in Schoolcraft. At his Schoolcraft home the two boys, James and John, lived for a time before the death of their father. Mr. Brown was decidedly taken with the boys. He was a member of the Legislature in 1841 and attended its sessions in December that year. He has this to say regarding the older of the two boys:

"John was a beautiful boy of twelve or fourteen years. When I came home from the Legislature to Schoolcraft, I found him sick with rheumatism of the heart. His father was sent for and he came and remained until after the death of his son—a loss that affected us all deeply." And again he refers to James Scott as follows: "I must also mention another member of my family during these years.

"John Scott, of Detroit, my wife's uncle, died in 1846, and in his will I was appointed jointly with Abraham Caniff, executor of the estate. He left a widow and only son, James, of whom I was subsequently guardian. The estate was quite large and the labor and responsibility considerable. James came to live with me soon after his father's death and remained several years."

Nearly all the time between 1850 and 1876, James Scott lived in Detroit, though he made frequent long visits to other parts of the country, and, on one occasion it is said that he lived on the Mississippi River for two years. He was unmarried. He inherited from his father all the lands he owned at the time of his death. On the fifteenth day of March, 1876, he married Alice M. Yates.

Before this time he had led a free and easy life, not burdened with many cares and with little to inspire him to a life of frugality or enterprise. At his death he left his entire fortune of nearly half a million to the city of his birth.

The lady he had chosen for a wife was of good family and lovely character.

Alice M. Edwards was the daughter of Abraham Edwards and his wife, Ruth Hunt. The Hunt family had always been conspicuous in the history of Detroit and the members of it held offices of honor and importance for many years.

Thomas Hunt, the first member of the family in Detroit, who was born in Watertown, Mass., in 1754, was a soldier in the Battle of Lexington, and was wounded at Bunker Hill. He came to Detroit with Wayne's army in 1796, but his family did not come until 1800. He was stationed at various military posts about the western country and died in 1808 at Bellefontaine, Mo. His wife was Eunice Wellington. They had eleven children. The seven sons were Henry

Jackson Hunt, Thomas Hunt, Jr., George Hunt, Samuel Wellington Hunt, William Brown Hunt, John Elliott Hunt, and Charles Cotesworth Pinckney Hunt.

The four daughters were Ruth Fessenden Hunt, wife of Abraham Edwards, Abigail Hunt, wife of Col. Josiah Snelling (after whom Fort Snelling was named), Mary LeBaron Hunt, who married Tunis S. Wendell, and Eliza Hunt, wife of James G. Soulard of St. Louis.

Several of these children were associated with Detroit in olden and modern times. Henry Jackson Hunt married Ann MacIntosh, a daughter of Angus MacIntosh (sometimes referred to as the Earl of Moy). Hunt was at one time in partnership with Lewis Cass in real estate purchases and was always the friend of the governor. He was engaged in trade with his brother-in-law, Abraham Edwards for some years. He was the second elected mayor of Detroit and died during his term of office in 1826. Governor William Woodbridge, writing of Henry J. Hunt and his wife in 1815, says that they were the handsomest couple in Detroit.

George Hunt lived in Detroit many years, but died in Connecticut. He was the owner of what is known as the Hunt farm and it was his wife, Eloise L. Hunt, who gave to the Ladies Protestant Orphan Asylum the premises now occupied by that society on Jefferson Avenue.

John Elliott Hunt was born in Fort Wayne, Ind., but lived much of his early life in Detroit. In 1822 he married in Detroit, Mary Sophia Spencer, the sister of Mrs. Lewis Cass. He moved to Toledo where he died in 1877.

One of his daughters, Elizabeth Cass Hunt, became the wife of Edmund Askin Brush of Detroit. Mrs. Brush recently died at the home of her granddaughter, Mrs. Frelinghuysen in New York city. Mrs. Brush was one of the benefactors of the Protestant Orphan Asylum.

A granddaughter of John E. Hunt, Isabella Rowena Hunt became the wife and later the widow of Alfred E. Brush, a grandson of John E. Hunt, of Detroit, and a son of Edmund Askin Brush. Mrs. Alfred E. Brush has recently become the wife of Paul Verhaeghe.

Samuel Wellington Hunt was also in the regular army. He died quite young, leaving four children. One of his sons, Henry Jackson Hunt, second, was governor of the Soldiers' Home at Washington for several years. Another son, Lewis Cass Hunt, was brigadier-general of volunteers during the great rebellion and died in 1886.

William Brown Hunt was born in Detroit, in 1800, and died in this city. He married Milicent, one of the daughters of Judge John L. Leib, and lived, as some of his descendants still live, on the Leib Farm. He was a man of affairs, and something of a politician. He was one of the original members of the First Protestant Society, now the First Presbyterian Church. He was superintendent of the poor, and county auditor for several years.

He, with John Farrar, had charge, on the part of Wayne County, of erection of the county building on the southeast corner of Congress and Griswold streets in 1845. He was the father of George Wellington Hunt and the late Cleaveland Hunt, of this city.

Charles Cotesworth Pinckney Hunt was born in Detroit in 1802. At that time his father was in command of the garrison in the fort. Although his younger years were not spent in this city, he came here about 1818 and remained for several years, living with his brother, Henry Jackson Hunt. He lived for a time with his brother, John E. Hunt and at a later time with his sister, Mrs.

Soulard and died in Chicago in 1892. He was married and had several children, but neither wife nor children survived him.

Ruth Fessenden Hunt was the eldest daughter of Thomas Hunt and was living with her father in Fort Wayne, Ind., when she married Abraham Edwards in June, 1805. She lived at various places with her husband, as is narrated in his biography, and died at Kalamazoo. An interesting sketch of the pioneer life of Mr. and Mrs. Hunt is in the Michigan Pioneer and Historical records, in volume 12 on page 148.

Abigail Hunt was born at Watertown, Massachusetts, in 1797, before her mother moved to Detroit. She moved with her father's family to Fort Wayne, Detroit, Mackinac, Fort Wayne, a second time and Bellefontaine, where her father died in 1808. She then returned to Massachusetts, and a home was made for her with her grandfather, Samuel Wellington. She was living in Detroit, with her brother, Henry Jackson Hunt, where she met Capt. Josiah Snelling, who had come from Ohio with Hull's army at the time war was declared against England in 1812.

Detroit was surrendered to the British General Brock on August 16 of that year and just four days before that event, Captain Snelling and Abigail Hunt were married. He had been previously married. Snelling was carried a prisoner to Montreal, but was subsequently exchanged and was one of the principal witnesses in the military trial of Governor Hull. Snelling was promoted through various military offices to that of colonel. He occupied numerous military posts and built Fort Snelling, which was named for him or his wife, who was idolized by the army. He died in 1828.

His widow then returned to Detroit and lived there for some years. In 1841, while living with her brother, John E. Hunt, she married Rev. J. E. Chaplin. She died on September 7, 1878. At one time in her life she was a large landowner in Detroit and among other properties she owned one-half of the Van Dyke or Hamtramck Farm mentioned below.

Mary LeBaron Hunt was born at Fort Mackinac in 1803, but after her father's death spent her time in Detroit, at the home of her brother, Henry Jackson Hunt. She was educated in Cincinnati. She was twice married. Her first husband was Captain Gleason, of the regular army. He lived but a short time after their marriage. Her second husband was Tunis S. Wendell.

Mr. Wendell was for many years one of the successful business men of Detroit. He had a store on Jefferson Avenue, near the corner of Bates Street. He was a stockholder and one of the directors in the Farmers and Mechanics' Bank. He died in 1854 and Mrs. Wendell died at the home of her daughter, Mrs. Alice Hunt Curtis, wife of George E. Curtis, in 1872.

Eliza Mitchell Hunt was the youngest child of Col. Thomas Hunt. She was born in Detroit in 1804, and after the death of her father was reared in the family of some of his relatives in Boston. She married James Glaston Soulard and died in Galena, Ill., in 1894. She did not spend any considerable portion of her life in this state. She had many children and left numerous descendants.

Abraham Edwards was the eldest son of Aaron Edwards and was born at Springfield, N. J., November 17, 1781. He studied medicine and was licensed to practice in the fall of 1803, and in June of the following year was appointed by President Jefferson, garrison surgeon and was sent to Fort Wayne, where, as stated above, he met and married Ruth Fessenden Hunt, the daughter of

the commandant. His three eldest children, Thomas, Alexander and Henry, were born at that place.

In 1810, on account of the illness of his wife, Doctor Edwards resigned his commission and moved to Dayton, O., where he took up the practice of medicine and in 1811 was elected a member of the Ohio Legislature, representing Montgomery County. On the 12th day of March, 1812, he was appointed captain in the Nineteenth Regiment of Infantry.

Just before war was declared with Great Britain in 1812, Gen. William Hull was directed to collect an army of regulars and volunteers and march through Ohio to Detroit to protect that place and the frontier. At Dayton this army was joined by Captain Edwards with his company.

As a vacancy existed in the medical staff of the Fourth Regiment, Mr. Edwards was selected to fill it and he marched to Detroit and remained with the army in the capacity of hospital surgeon until the surrender of that place to General Brock, August 16, 1812.

Edwards was taken prisoner at the capture of the city, but was paroled and permitted to return to his Dayton home, where he was exchanged shortly afterwards. As a captain he was ordered to Chillicothe where he superintended the recruiting service until November, 1813. Gen. Lewis Cass, in command at Detroit after the evacuation by Procter and the battle of the Thames, ordered Edwards to proceed to Detroit with 200 men of the Nineteenth Regiment and he arrived during the month of December.

A court-martial had been called for the trial of General Hull at Albany, in the winter of 1813-14, and Edwards accompanied Cass and the other officers to that place. At a later date he went to Washington, where he was appointed deputy quartermaster-general with the rank of major and was placed in charge of the quartermaster's stores at Pittsburg. Here he remained until the close of the war.

On the reorganization of the army on a peace footing he was offered the position as captain in the line, but concluded to leave the army and returned to his private practice. In October, 1815, he moved his family to Detroit. In 1816-17 he was elected president of the board of trustees of the city, and in that capacity received President James Monroe on his visit to Detroit in 1818.

From the time of the organization of Michigan Territory in 1805, the legislative department was in the hands of the governor and judges, appointed by the President. There were attempts from time to time made to change this form of government so as to allow the people to have a voice in the selection of their Legislature.

In 1823 this was accomplished by the passage of a law which permitted the election of 18 men from whom the President of the United States was to select nine persons to form the legislative council.

#### FIRST ELECTION OF LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL WAS IN 1823

At the first election held under this law in 1823, Abraham Edwards, Solomon Sibley, Louis Beaufait, Ebenezer Reed, William Brown, Wolcott Lawrence, Hubert Lacroix, Laurent Derocher, Benjamin F. Stickney, Francis Navarre, Harry Conant, Stephen Mack, Roger Sprague, Joseph Miller, John Stockton, Zephaniah W. Bunce, William H. Puthuff and Robert Irvin, Jr., were elected and their names sent to the president.

Out of this number the president appointed the following nine persons to

constitute the first legislative council of Michigan: Abraham Edwards, Stephen Mack, William H. Puthuff, Wolcott Lawrence, John Stockton, Roger Sprague, Zephaniah W. Bunce, Hubert Lacroix and Robert Irvin, Jr.

Of the body so constituted, Abraham Edwards was chosen president and was elected to the same office by the succeeding councils for eight years. He also held the office of Indian agent for the Indians of Northern Indiana and St. Joseph County, Mich., and was appointed register of the land office for the western district of Michigan.

Up to this time he made his home in Detroit, and was sheriff of Wayne County in 1824 and 1825. His new office of register compelled him to spend his time at Kalamazoo, and he removed to that place and continued to reside there until his death, October 22, 1860.

Mrs. Abigail Snelling, the sister-in-law of Abraham Edwards, was part owner of a farm now within the city limits of Detroit, known as the Hamtramck farm, which was formerly owned by Gen. John Francis Hamtramck.

On the river front of this farm was a comfortable log house, which was occupied in 1827 by Edwards with his family and in this historic house, Alice Edwards, his daughter, was born on November 23, 1827.

When her father became a resident of Kalamazoo she went to that place to live with her parents and continued to reside there many years. She was thrice married. Her first husband was James J. Campau, a son of Joseph Campau of Detroit, of whom more hereafter. By this marriage she had three sons, Theodore, Joseph J. and James J. Campau. Her first husband died at the Biddle House in Detroit, October 29, 1865. After his death she married Abraham P. Yates at Kalamazoo, December 26, 1867.

After the death of Mr. Yates she became the wife of James Scott, March 13, 1876, at Buffalo, N. Y. She died in Detroit, March 3, 1900.

The writer is greatly indebted for information regarding the above named persons, to the researches of the late Robert B. Ross.

When the village was destroyed by the fire of 1805, the plans for the new city were on a larger and more extensive scale than the old village. It seemed to those who were laying out the new city that they had included enough land to last the place for a century and that it was not probable that the village would ever be extended beyond the limits as then set.

A general plan for the entire city and for a continued expansion, was prepared and sent to Washington in 1807. There was also prepared at the same time detailed plans of several of the sections in order that village lots could be sold and built upon without delay.

A considerable part of the new village plat was claimed by the United States for military grounds, and in 1809 this land was surveyed and a plan of it made by Governor Hull and sent to Washington.

By examining these two maps the detailed map of 1807 and the map of the military reserve made in 1809, it will be seen that Griswold Street was planned to be opened fifty feet wide between Jefferson Avenue and Congress Street only. There was no street to correspond with Griswold Street platted between Congress Street and Michigan Avenue. North of Michigan Avenue there was a street running at right angles to that avenue, and extending to State Street, but not in the location of the present Griswold Street.

The plan of the military reservation made in 1830 gave the location of Griswold Street between Fort Street and Michigan Avenue. On the easterly

side of the street at Jefferson Avenue was lot 4 and on the westerly side was lot 5 in section 2 of the width of sixty feet. Lot 4 was fifty feet wide and was donated by the governor and judges to John Dodemead and his wife, Ann. They conveyed it to their son, James Dodemead, March 13, 1806, and he sold it to his brother-in-law, Charles Jouett for \$2,000, February 16, 1808. The consideration indicates that there was a building on the lot at that date, and both deeds recite the fact that the building was erected as early as March 13, 1806.

#### FIRE DISTURBS TITLES IN THE OLD TOWN

After the great fire the titles in the old town were very much disturbed by the proposal to widen some of the streets and abolish others, and very little building was carried on for some time. Buildings began to be erected for business purposes as far up as Berthelet's Market at the foot of Randolph Street, and the buildings for offices, stores and dwellings appeared between that place, Randolph Street and the present Griswold Street, along Randolph, Bates, Griswold, Woodbridge, Atwater and Franklin streets and Woodward Avenue below Jefferson Avenue.

It was not until a later date that business buildings or dwellings were erected above Jefferson Avenue.

It is possible that land on Jefferson Avenue commanded a better price in anticipation of a better class of buildings and if that was the case, it might account for the valuation of \$2,000 placed on lot 4 in 1808. Two years later Jouett sold the lot to Richard Pattinson for \$100. This, of course, was a very low price.

From other matters connected with this sale it seems that either Jouett or Dodemead had become indebted to Pattinson or to some persons he represented, and this lot was set over to satisfy that debt. Jouett was at the time, an Indian factor and had moved from Detroit to Chicago, where he was still in the Government employment.

A letter written by him on the occasion of this sale indicates that the parties had had some trouble over their accounts and that this was the best way in which to settle the matter. The consideration expressed in the deed may not, then, have been the real consideration for the transfer. The letter from Jouett reads as follows:

Chicago, 13th, June, 1810.

SIR: The proposals made by Richard Pattinson, Esquire, of Sandwich, of the 3rd ultimo, respecting the final settlement of a debt due him from Messrs. John Dodemead, James Dodemead and Doctor Joseph Wilkinson, of Detroit, Michigan Territory, I have examined. Although it may in a pecuniary way injure me, I have, nevertheless, from a desire to see this business brought to a close and yourself, Mr. John Dodemead and Doctor Joseph Wilkinson discharged from a heavy debt, determined to invest you with a power of attorney to convey to Richard Pattinson, of Sandwich, all the landed property I purchased of you when I was last in Detroit. I do therefore by these presents authorize you to convey to him all the property as specified in deeds made by you to me in the winter of 1807 and 1808, reference being had to the records of Detroit. This therefore is your authority, provided Richard Pattinson conforms his settlement to his proposals of the 3rd May and gives up all the obligations he holds of you, John Dodemead and Doctor Wilkinson, or in lieu thereof a formal quietus.

C. JOUETT.

To Mr. James Dodemead.



Charles Jouett married a daughter of John Dodemead; Doctor Wilkinson's wife was also a daughter of John Dodemead and James Wilkinson was his son.

CAMPAU PURCHASES THE LOT FOR \$1,500

On July 19, 1811, Pattinson sold the lot to Joseph Campau for £600 or \$1,500. The conveyance, which is in French, states that there was a "house and other buildings" on the lot.

Lot 5 was sixty feet wide. It was at the easterly extremity of the old village plat on Jefferson Avenue. It was sold by the governor and judges to Peter Audrain for \$120, February 4, 1807, and by him conveyed to Joseph Campau for \$200, February 21, 1812. At that time there was no building on the lot, but Campau erected one on a stone foundation, having under the building a cellar of considerable size.

In the rear of lot 4 were lots 65 and 66, now occupied by the Equity Building. Lot 65 was donated to Urcella Cadorette, December 14, 1808. She sold it to William Watson for \$50 in 1809. The next owner was Richard Smyth in the same year, and in 1811 Joseph Campau bought it for \$100. There was no building on it at that time.

Lot 66 was donated to James Dodemead in 1809, and he sold it to Joseph Campau in 1811 for \$75 with no improvements.

Across Griswold Street, westerly, lot 67 was donated by the city to Catherine McNiff in 1809, and by her sold to Joseph Campau for \$100 in 1814. The lot was fifty feet wide, but when it became evident that the opening of Griswold Street would only leave twenty feet of the lot, Mr. Campau undertook to purchase the lands westerly of lot 68 along the south line of Larned Street. This property belonged to Ste. Anne's Church. There were several lots and Mr. Campau bought them all in 1834 for \$2,543.57.

JOSEPH CAMPAU BIG LANDOWNER

In the older City of Detroit, and up to the time of his death in 1863, Joseph Campau was the wealthiest citizen and largest landowner. He was born in this place February 25, 1759, and by the process of purchasing, renting and seldom selling had accumulated more property and owned more productive real estate than any other man in the state. His possessions on Griswold Street were only a sample of his land holdings all over the city and territory.

He lived on the south side of Jefferson Avenue between Griswold and Shelby streets in a log house, which in modern times, was covered with clapboards and which remained for many years after he had passed away as a reminder of the old village that had seen such wondrous changes in his life.

This house was built upon a piece of ground that he had owned before the fire of 1805. During many years before its destruction it was painted yellow and its picturesque style and conspicuous color made it a great attraction on the street. No one saw it without inquiring regarding its history and the name Campau was familiar to every one.

Joseph Campau's wife was Adelaide, the daughter of Antoine Dagneau Dequindre and his wife, Catherine Desrivieres La Morandiere. She was born at Detroit, August 21, 1788. They were married May 18, 1808, and had twelve children as follows: A son, born April 28, 1809, and died May 16, 1809; Joseph, born April 8, 1810, died unmarried; Adelaide, born November 23, 1811, married John Johnson; Daniel Joseph, born November 18, 1813, married Mary Palms;

a son, born August 29, and died August 29, 1815; Catherine D., born October 15, 1816, married Francis Palms; Denis Joseph, born March 18, 1819, died unmarried; Jacques Joseph, born February 21, 1821, married Alice Edwards—he died October 29, 1865; Emilie born February 13, 1823, married George W. Lewis; Theodore Joseph, born April 26, 1825, married Eleanor L. Messels, died March 10, 1875; Matilda V., born June 8, 1827, married Augustus B. Chapoton; Timothy Alexander, born September 10, 1829, married Millie Howarth.

Adelaide Campau, the mother of these children, died May 30, 1862.

Joseph Campau continued to reside in the yellow building above mentioned until his death in 1863, and after his death, his two sons, Theodore and Denis, occupied the building for some years as an office and residence. When Theodore was married he moved to a home on Madison Avenue, and left the old home to Denis, and in this place the latter died August 15, 1878, unmarried.

When it was proposed to widen Griswold Street to ninety feet, its present width, Mr. Campau owned all the land that was to be taken for that purpose. The street was already fifty feet wide and the remaining forty feet which was to be taken from lots 5 and 67 was the private property of Mr. Campau and he refused to relinquish his rights to the city without compensation and they could not agree upon the amount.

#### THE STREET IN 1826

Up to 1826, the state of Griswold Street was as follows: It was fifty feet wide from Jefferson Avenue to Larned Street; sixty feet wide from Larned Street to Congress Street; closed between the latter street and Michigan Avenue, and had no adequate opening between that avenue and the capitol building which was on Capitol Square.

The platting of the military reservation in 1830 opened the part between Fort Street and Michigan Avenue and left it to the city to obtain by purchase, dedication or condemnation the property claimed by Campau, south of Larned Street, and the part between Congress and Fort streets.

The opening between Michigan Avenue and State Street was brought about by straightening the street and exchanging the old street, which was vacated, for parts of new lands owned by various parties. In the earliest plats of the place the streets were not named, and when it became convenient to attach names, they were selected from the presidents, prominent men and public local officials.

Thus we see Washington, Jefferson, Adams, Madison, Monroe, Lafayette and others from these sources. The names Woodward, Bates, Woodbridge, Atwater and others were taken from local officials. The name Griswold was taken from Stanley Griswold, who was secretary of the territory in 1807 and 1808 and who, in that interval was, at one time, acting governor.

#### THE MILITARY RESERVATION

In 1826 the land occupied by the old Fort Shelby extending from Griswold Street to the Cass farm, was given by the general government to the City of Detroit. This was platted into lots for dwellings and it was found necessary or proper, or convenient, to alter the original plan of the city and run Griswold Street through as it is now laid out, ninety feet wide. In the plan of the subdivision of the military reservation the north and south streets were named as follows: Griswold, Shelby, Wayne, Lafayette and Cass, while the east and

west streets, north of Jefferson Avenue, were Larned, Congress and Fort. The street north of Fort Street (now called Lafayette Boulevard) was not at first laid down or contemplated, nor was it stated where the Lafayette Street named in the original plan was to be located. The name only is given.

#### PLATTING THE RESERVATION

In the first plat of the Military Reserve between Larned and Congress streets, Griswold Street was laid down as only sixty feet wide.

On April 30, 1827, the common council resolved "that the three tiers of lots on the easterly side of the military reservation be reserved from sale until a decision shall be made as to the widening of Griswold Street."

At the same time plans were being made to control the waters of the little creek that was the line of the present Congress Street. In the spring of the year this brook was full to overflowing and a wide strip of land was made useless for building purposes by this yearly inundation.

#### RIVER SAVOYARD

At the same session of the common council of April 30, 1827, it was resolved that the members of the council should meet on the following morning "on the military reservation to examine the River Savoyard with a view to alter its course." The result of this inspection was that it was resolved to deepen the course of the brook from its outlet, through the farm of Governor Cass, as far as the military reservation and that the drain be extended through the reservation in the alley between Larned and Congress streets to Griswold Street. In order to reduce this plan to a certainty on the 5th of May, it was

"Resolved, that the ditch of the River Savoyard shall commence at the northwest corner of Mrs. Deveaux's lot and run thence in a straight line to the lane between Larned and Congress streets, at the westerly side of Griswold Street, thence on the northerly side of said lane to the easterly side of Shelby Street, thence on the southerly side of said lane to Cass Street, thence across said street to the present ditch, thence along said ditch to Governor Cass' line."

The Deveaux lot was on the southeast corner of Congress and Griswold streets, the lot subsequently occupied by the courthouse.

The ditch was to be two feet deeper than the present ditch, three feet wide at the bottom and five feet wide at the top. The contract for doing this work was let to James A. Armstrong.

#### PROVIDE FOR DRAINAGE

The surface waters of the entire city passed through this ditch and as they were thus taken care of, the lands along the margin of the ditch were made suitable for occupancy.

The next thing was the reorganization of the plan of the city so as to straighten and open the streets. An act was passed by the legislative council of the territory, April 4, 1827, which permitted the common council of the city to replat all of the lands lying north of Larned Street and west of Woodward Avenue.

Plans were not, at once, drawn up for this purpose, but the matter was discussed at the freemen's meetings and in the council. The council on July 25, 1827, passed the following resolution:

“That Griswold Street, between Larned Street and Fort Street, be laid out and opened to the breadth of ninety feet and turnpiked.”

It was proposed to carry out this boulevard as far as the courthouse, or Capitol north of State Street. A jury was ordered called September 12, 1827, for the purpose of assessing the damages for this opening. It was also resolved to widen Larned Street to sixty feet by adding ten feet upon the north side from Randolph Street to Griswold Street.

Negotiations with Joseph Campau were had, looking to the widening of Griswold Street, between Jefferson Avenue and Larned Street. In order to accomplish this work it was necessary to take forty feet in width of the two lots 5 and 67 above mentioned, one fronting on Jefferson Avenue and the other on Larned Street.

#### CAMPAU MAKES PROPOSAL

On October 1, 1830, Joseph Campau made the following proposal to the city:

“To remove the obstruction on Griswold Street, I propose as follows: To throw into Griswold Street forty feet, to make the lower line of said street direct and straight from Jefferson Avenue to Fort Street, on the following conditions: I will receive forty feet of the Desnoyers or Dequindre lot and the lot on Larned Street supposed to be forty feet by fifty feet, and supposed to belong to Mr. Stone, and I will pay to the corporation for and the buildings, fences, etc., on said forty feet, the sum of \$500.”

The council did not accept this proposal, but made, as a counter one an offer to deed to Campau the lot adjoining T. S. Wendell, and cancel a debt of \$150 due from Campau to the city and give him \$507.25 in lots at the minimum price, making a total of \$1,657.25.

The failure of the city and Mr. Campau to agree on the opening of the street influenced the citizens to take the matter up and a petition signed by fifty-seven freemen was handed the council on January 21, 1831, praying the council to proceed at once and open Griswold Street ninety feet wide from Jefferson Avenue to the Capitol. Notice of this was given through the newspapers and those who might suffer damages were requested to file their claims with the city clerk before the 15th of the following month.

On the 17th of February the council ordered a venire issued to call a jury to assess the damages for opening a ninety-foot street between Jefferson Avenue and Larned Street. This street would take parts of lots 67 and 5 in section 2, belonging to Mr. Campau. The venire was set aside at the request of A. S. Porter, recorder, and another issued on February 19.

#### NOT SATISFIED WITH DAMAGES

The jury awarded Mr. Campau \$1,500 damages for his property so ordered to be taken, but they fixed the width of the street at sixty feet and not at ninety feet as proposed. Public subscriptions were taken to defray this expense and the sum of \$430 was thus raised. The balance was arranged for in the form of a loan at the Bank of Michigan and the entire amount was tendered to Mr. Campau. DeGarmo Jones and John Palmer were the committee appointed to transact the business with him.

Mr. Campau was not satisfied with the award thus made him and applied to the Supreme Court for redress. The amount of the award was tendered to

him and upon his refusing to accept it the marshal was directed to proceed with the opening and to remove the buildings, fences, and other obstructions.

Campau applied for thirty days' time in which to remove the buildings but his request was denied. He now filed a petition, numerously signed, asking the council to delay further action until the matter could be heard in the Supreme Court. This was not granted and the marshal was ordered to proceed with his work at once and to complete the opening by the 15th of April, 1831.

On the 4th day of April the city election took place and the following persons were elected: Mayor, Marshall Chapin; aldermen, John Farrar, George A. O'Keefe, Alonzo Merrill, David French, John Palmer, Elliott Gray and Oliver Newberry. The outgoing mayor, John R. Williams was a nephew of Joseph Campau and presumably watched after the affairs of his uncle as closely as possible, though he never was influenced to vote for him in any of the matters before the council.

The new council appointed Elon Farnsworth city attorney.

A supersedeas from the Supreme Court prevented the city from proceeding to remove the buildings from the street and on April 14, the council resolved that it was inexpedient for the new council to interfere with the orders of the old council. This left the marshal to proceed at his own risk, and inasmuch as he was prohibited by the order of the Supreme Court from taking action, he let the matter rest until that court could decide the affair.

The case in the Supreme Court was decided in favor of Mr. Campau, June 13, 1831, and the city by resolution of June 18, 1831, determined to appeal the case to the United States Supreme Court. In the meantime Elliott Gray and Oliver Newberry were appointed to negotiate with all of the owners along Griswold Street, for the purpose of opening the same to the Capitol.

#### PLAN OF THE MILITARY RESERVATION

The map, or plan of the military reservation, made by John Mullett, was not submitted to the council until June 29, 1831. John Mullett, owning lot 59 in the line of Griswold Street released it to the city February 18, 1832, upon the payment of \$450.

At the April election in 1832, Levi Cook was elected mayor and John Hale, Henry V. Disbrow, Thomas S. Knapp, Abraham C. Canniff, Walter L. Newberry, John Roberts and Thomas Rowland were elected aldermen.

The alley next north of Jefferson Avenue and east of Griswold Street was opened June 20, 1832, and the jury declared that Joseph Campau was not entitled to any damages for such opening. The jury consisted of Thomas Palmer, David C. McKinstry, Michael Hale, Henry Howard, William S. Abbott and Stephen Wells. Campau at once gave notice of an appeal from the verdict. It was decided on the appeal that the common council had a right to proceed with the matter, but a new jury was called and Campau was awarded \$87.00, January 7, 1833.

#### ANOTHER ATTEMPT TO OPEN STREET

Another attempt to open Griswold Street from Jefferson Avenue to Larned Street was begun August 2, 1832. The notice stated that the west side was to be widened forty feet, making the street ninety feet wide. A jury was called on the 6th of the following month to determine the necessity of widening the street by adding forty feet on the west side between Jefferson Avenue and

Larned Street, the damages to be assessed upon the property to be benefited by the opening. The same jury was to take action upon opening the alley running northerly from Larned Street between Griswold Street and Woodward Avenue.

The verdict of the jury was that for the opening of Griswold Street Joseph Campau was entitled to \$2,160 and nearly half of this sum, or \$1,075, was raised by private subscriptions and the remainder was borrowed on the city's credit. The subscriptions that had previously been obtained were used for the purpose of making up the necessary amount and a new paper was passed around for additional subscriptions. The second paper has been preserved and it is as follows:

"We, the subscribers, agree to advance the sum set opposite our names, in addition to subscriptions formerly made, for the purpose of aiding to make up the amount of damages awarded to Joseph Campau for the enlargement of Griswold Street between Larned Street and Jefferson Avenue with the understanding that what further may be made by the firms of Sharp and Tuttle and Boyd and Suydam of New York is to be divided equally between each of the subscribers on this paper in proportion to their several subscriptions. Detroit, 26th September, 1832.

F. P. Browning, \$35.00.

John Palmer, \$25.00.

Dean and Hurlbut, \$15.00.

The Corporation subscribes to this paper upon the terms above stated, \$85. Henry V. Disbrow, John Roberts and John J. Deming were appointed to tender this sum of money to Mr. Campau and to notify him that he must remove all obstructions from the street before October 3d. The money was collected in specie, a difficult commodity to obtain at that time, and the tender to Campau made, but he refused to accept it, as he had already appealed the case to a higher court.

The council becoming impatient, ordered the marshal to, at once, sell the buildings, pickets, stone and other obstructions in Griswold Street and open the same and repair the sidewalk on the west side. That no time might be allowed Campau to seek further delay through the courts, the council directed that this work be done in the afternoon on the day on which the resolution was offered. The orders of the council were carried out and the building on lot 67 cut in two.

Two weeks later another resolution was passed requiring that the movable material, such as timber, stone and rubbish, be moved from the street and piled in the alley. The people who had contributed money to pay Campau asked that their contributions be returned to them. This was done only upon condition that each contributor should give to the city an approved indorsed note for the amount of his contribution, payable on demand.

#### CAMPAU APPEALS AGAIN

Campau was not idle during this time, but had again appealed to the court and the proper notice of such action was served on the clerk on December 5, 1832. The city attorney at this time was Alexander D. Frazer, but William A. Fletcher and Henry S. Cole were employed to assist him in the suit in the Supreme Court. The attorneys thus representing the city were as good as the city contained.

In the Circuit Court the action of the jury was sustained and a new award by another jury was then called for. Another suit, in the Supreme Court in Chancery, was begun by Mr. Campau. The bill in this case was filed March 16, 1833, and in it much of the history of the former litigation was given.

The first important fact, not already recited concerns the fire of 1831. At that time Campau had buildings erected on Jefferson Avenue on both sides of Griswold Street, on lots 4 and 5. The following account of that fire is taken from the Detroit Journal and Michigan Advertiser of Wednesday, January 19, 1831.

#### THE FIRE OF 1831

“Another destructive fire”—On Sunday last, about 1 o'clock P. M., a fire was discovered in the building on the corner of Griswold Street and Jefferson Avenue belonging to Mr. Joseph Campau and occupied as stores by Mr. Heartt and Mr. Wendell. When first observed, the part tenanted by Mr. Heartt was filled with smoke. In twenty minutes the whole building and the adjoining shop of Messrs. Dean and Hurlbut were destroyed. The flames spread to the next dwelling house, owned by Henry S. Cole, Esquire, and rented by the Misses Moon and Doct. Henry, which it consumed, and also the offices of Messrs. Cole and Porter. It was finally stayed by the high brick end of Mr. Brown's house.

“During its progress, some live cinders were blown across Jefferson Avenue and found their way under the door of Messrs. W. L. Newberry and Company's store. The fire communicated to a broom and umbrella near by and had the discovery been delayed but a few minutes the whole contents of the store must have been destroyed.

“A similar accident happened to the store of Mr. John Palmer. Had the fire in either case taken effect the destruction would have been very extensive. The fire caught in the second story of the building upon a beam in which a chimney was built up, into which both stovepipes passed. Some imputations have been cast upon one of the occupants which are altogether unwarranted and unjust, and deserve to be met with a stern and indignant rebuke.

“Mr. Heartt, who had recently opened a hardware store here, has sustained the heaviest loss, about one-half only of the value of his stock having been insured. He lost all his books, papers, money and clothing. The Misses Moon have suffered considerably, but it will be easy to replace the amount, and we trust this will be done.

“Messrs. Cole and Porter and Doct. Henry, we are happy to know, saved almost everything movable about their premises, and the office and the dwelling house owned by Mr. Cole, were insured. The loss of Messrs. Dean and Hurlbut was considerable as was also that of Mr. John Farmer, whose property was in the upper story of their shop. Mr. Wendell has been very unfortunate; he has twice before been burnt out. His goods in the store were removed, but everything in the cellar and in the second story was destroyed.

“Mr. Campau had no insurance. It was unfortunate that only one of the engines could be made to work with effect. The three would have been well supplied with water, for the line to the river was, nearly the whole time, well formed and kept and did good service. Very efficient aid was rendered by several gentlemen who crossed the river on the ice, from the Canadian shore,

for which we would express the general sentiment of gratitude. The total loss is estimated at \$8,000; the amount insured at \$4,000."

There is no statement, in this account, that the building owned by Mr. Campau on the northwest corner of Griswold Street and Jefferson Avenue was destroyed in this fire, but in his petition he says that he had a building on this lot and that it was destroyed by fire, and that the walled cellar was still intact and he was about to rebuild on it a large and expensive brick building.

He also states that he had a frame dwelling house on lot 67, and that the city authorities cut the building assunder and drove the tenant into the street. "His enclosures and other fixtures were razed to the ground and sold or destroyed, and the section of said house disposed of for the trifling sum of \$25." The price offered him for his property was entirely inadequate. He said that he could readily obtain \$5,000 for that part of the lot on Jefferson Avenue which was proposed to be taken and he had been offered and refused \$8,000 for the two parcels and considered them worth \$10,000. For all of this he was only awarded \$2,150.

Henry Chipman represented Mr. Campau in this suit. The following is indorsed upon the bill of complaint:

"In the matter of the within bill of complaint being duly considered, the injunction prayed for is denied.

"ROSS WILKINS.

"April 29, 1833."

This ended the litigation and the city took forcible possession of the land and opened the street as it has been since maintained.

Several persons were interested in the opening of the other portions of Griswold Street, but they were usually settled with without the litigation that was had with Mr. Campau. It took several years, however, before the street was fully opened. Some of the lands were already owned by the city and in these cases there were no private owners to be dealt with.

Shortly after the military reservation came to be owned by the city, it was divided into lots and sold for dwelling purposes. In the Journal of January 5, 1831, appeared the following:

"City Improvements—We are informed that it is the intention of a number of our enterprising citizens to commence a building on the lots recently purchased by them in Griswold and Fort streets, in the spring. If the plan which has been spoken of be carried into effect, we shall see, at the close of another year, a number of handsome stores finished in modern style, and one or two public buildings on these avenues. The approach to the Capitol will be greatly improved by the erection of such structures."

And again, a week later appeared the following:

"Griswold Street—We understand an application will be made to the Legislature for an appropriation to aid in the opening of this street to an equal width from the Capitol to Jefferson Avenue. The access to the Capitol has been so much improved by the opening of the street at the expense of the city, and will be so much more improved by individual operations the next spring, that we think there is not only good ground for the present application, but that the granting of it will be but an act of justice, and for the benefit of the territory."

Such a petition was presented to the legislative council on the 25th of Jan-



uary, 1831, by John McDonell, a member of that body. The object was to obtain a grant to aid in purchasing the Campau property at Jefferson Avenue. The bill passed to a first reading and was lost sight of.

In the new plan of the Military Reserve, made in 1830, Griswold Street was laid down as ninety feet wide from Larned to Congress Street.

In that section lying between Congress and Fort streets, the private owners were John McDonell, James Abbott and David Cooper. All three were prominent citizens. McDonell in later years lived on the northwest corner of Shelby and Fort streets in one of the large buildings that had been in the old cantonment. His dwelling was torn down to make way for the Whitney Opera House and that in turn was destroyed to be replaced by the present new post office. McDonell held many public offices in the city and was at one time president of the legislative council.

David Cooper in 1814 owned one of the lots lying directly in the line of Griswold Street. He also owned lot 20 on the northwest corner of Congress and Griswold streets. Before Griswold Street was opened he sold to John Clarke. Mr. Cooper's son, the Rev. David M. Cooper, said that his father lived in Griswold Street. It is very likely that the house owned by David Cooper was either built or moved to the west side of Griswold Street and was later owned and occupied by Barnabas Campau. Mr. Cooper subsequently built on Michigan Grand Avenue (Cadillac Square) a fine brick residence, which was converted into the "Central Market," and was recently taken down to be replaced by the fine store of Messrs. Gregory, Mayer and Thom. Mr. Cooper died July 27, 1876, a very wealthy man, aged eighty-six years and was buried in Elmwood Cemetery.

There was another lot in the line of Griswold Street owned by Nancy Geel, wife of Abraham Geel. The title to this land also came into possession of Mr. James Abbott and from him passed to the city with his other lands.

James Abbott was at all times a prominent citizen. His father, James Abbott, was a merchant when Michigan was under British control, and had remained with his family in Detroit when it passed to the Americans in 1796. The younger James was a merchant, landowner and local officer. He was also the postmaster for many years. The older citizens will remember the brick house in which he lived on the site of the present Hammond Building. Notice of the letting of the contract for this building appeared in the Journal, August 26, 1835. It was described as "A three-story dwelling house, including the basement, forty-four by thirty-two feet, cellar seven feet slide under the whole."

In this house Mr. Abbott died in 1858. His family continued to reside in the same place until a few years since. The house fronted on Griswold Street and the great brass railings, polished every day until they shone in the sunlight, attracted the attention of every passerby on the street. But more of this anon.

It was in 1837 that Griswold Street was finally opened through the Abbott property. In February Mr. Abbott agreed to relinquish all claims for lands taken to open Griswold Street on condition that the alley south of Fort Street should be changed to conform to the alley on the west side of Griswold Street. The deed from Mr. Abbott to the city was prepared by James A. Van Dyke, city attorney, and was accepted March 1, 1837.

## CONGRESS STREET STRAIGHTENED

Congress Street was at this time being straightened and graded between Bates and Randolph streets. It ran through the old French Catholic burial ground, east of Bates Street and Alexander Chapoton superintended the removal of the bodies to the new cemetery, now Clinton Park. Mr. Van Dyke also prepared the proper deed of conveyance from Ste. Anne's Church to the city for the opening of Congress Street and it was accepted at the same session of the common council March 1, 1837.

## OPEN NORTH OF MICHIGAN AVENUE

Proceedings were begun in 1836 to open the Griswold Street north of Michigan Avenue. The persons interested were John R. Williams, Jonathan Kearsley and Jonathan O. Howland. Amicable settlements were had with Williams and Kearsley. Williams was granted the old street lying west of the present Griswold Street in exchange for his land and he paid the city \$200 in money.

Some trouble was encountered with Howland. The proceedings to take his land was carried through the courts and concluded, but so long a time elapsed between the date of the award and the tender of the amount of damages due Howland, that he was justified in refusing to accept it.

Proceedings were then again started to condemn the land. In the meantime other rights had intervened. John Chamberlain fenced up the street, claiming to own it, and Major Torry gave notice that he was the owner of part of it. All of the parties were finally settled with and the street opened as we now have it.

## LOG-WAY UP GRISWOLD STREET

The opening of this street was a necessity. The capitol building was located on Capitol Square and there was no way of reaching it except to pass up Woodward Avenue to State Street and then across back from that avenue along State Street.

Most of the people lived west of Woodward Avenue and it was quite out of the way to reach the Capitol by the road mentioned. The want of sidewalks and paved streets in the early days was great, and for some years there was a log-way on which people walked up Griswold Street.

In the very wet season of the year this log-way was difficult to walk over, as the logs, partly floating in the water, would roll over under the feet of the traveler and he had to make a quick move to gain a firmer foothold.

General Friend Palmer, who came to Detroit in 1827, thus describes Griswold Street as he remembered it:

"Griswold Street from Jefferson Avenue out, had but a very few buildings on it and none at all beyond the State House, in 1830.

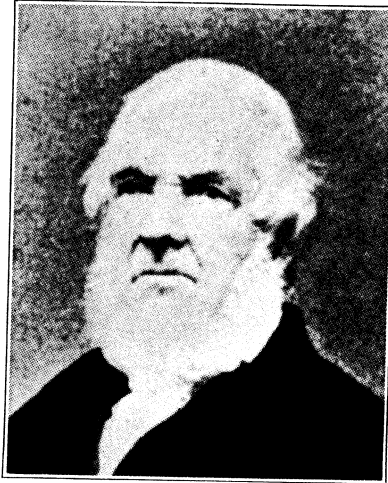
"The dry bed of the Savoyard with its well defined banks, crossed the street diagonally from Congress Street to the alley by the old post office building; across it on that side was a small wooden bridge with a hand rail on either side of it. This same bridge was in evidence when the Savoyard was a live thing, so I have been told.

"Thomas S. Knapp, the sheriff, lived about the center of the east side of the block in a cottage surrounded by fruit trees and flowering shrubs.

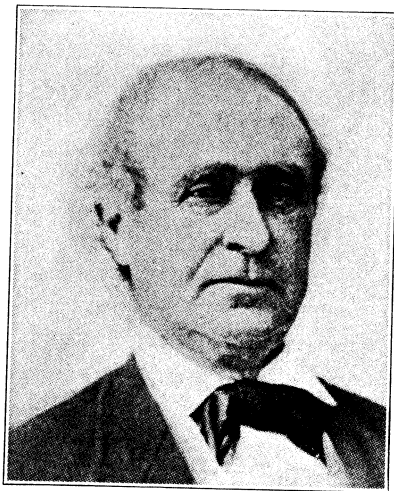
"On the corner of the alley in the rear of Ives Bank, Edwin Jerome, our one-



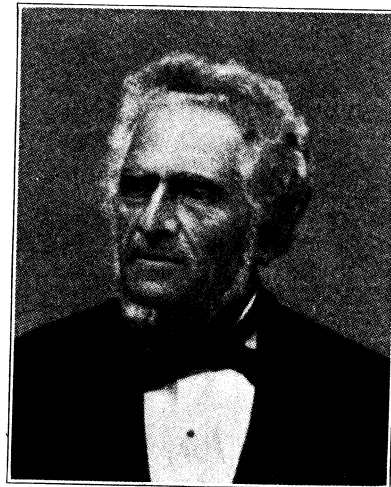
Elliott T. Slocum



Shubael Conant



Chauncey Hurlbut



Frederick Buhl

OLD PORTRAITS OF PROMINENT DETROIT MEN



time schoolmaster, had a grocery store, assisted by his brother, 'Tiff' Jerome. The latter died a few years ago in Saginaw, almost, if not quite, a millionaire.

"On the corner of Larned Street, where is now the Campau Block, was an old wooden building with a cupola on top, in which there was a bell. The bell was used to call together the children who attended the school kept there by Mr. McKinney and his wife. They kept school there until the building was sawed in half, and one half with the bell was sold to John Farmer and moved away. F. and T. Palmer once occupied this building with their stocks of goods before the completion of their brick store on the corner of Jefferson Avenue and Griswold Street (1821).

"In 1827 there was a short section of cedar pickets standing in Larned Street, midway between Griswold and Shelby streets, the sole remains of old Fort Pontchartrain.

"Later on, Peter Desnoyers occupied, until his death, the fine brick building (where is now the old post office building) which was built by Francis P. Browning. His office was in a small wooden building adjoining on Larned Street. Here he also had the remnant of his old stock of goods from his Jefferson Avenue store. Uncle Peter was a genial gentleman, fond of a joke and a good anecdote. Mr. Desnoyers built two other houses on this lot on Griswold Street. Doctor Terry occupied one of them and Doctor Farnsworth the other.

"Henry V. Disbrow had a house a little further along on Griswold Street and Lewis Goddard, at a later time, built a small brick residence on the southwest corner of Congress Street.

"Goddard kept a store at the southeast corner of Jefferson Avenue and Griswold Street in 1832. He died in 18—. After his death Barnabas Campau occupied the house until his fine new residence on Woodward Avenue between State Street and Grand River Avenue was completed.

"Further up Griswold Street on the south side of the present Moffat Block, James Williams lived in a fine brick building and on the upper end of the block, on the corner of Fort Street, John Palmer in 1829 built a grand brick residence.

"Across the street James Abbott had forty or fifty hives of bees in the rear of his house."

Thus far we have examined the records regarding the opening of the street. Now we will return to Jefferson Avenue and note the changes in the buildings and see who were the occupants.

The new wooden building on the northeast corner of Jefferson Avenue and Griswold Street erected in 1831 after the fire in January of that year was occupied by T. Dwight and Company. This was later occupied as a book store and bindery by A. H. Stowell. On May 14, 1834, Alexander Hamilton Stowell and George Ricks Griswold formed a partnership to carry on the book business at this place, but the partnership only lasted until July 29, of the same year, when it was dissolved and Mr. Stowell carried on the business alone. At one time Mr. Stowell had as a partner Sidney L. Rood, and they had a bindery on the second floor. Mr. Stowell for a long time lived on the same street near Grand River Avenue, where the Y. M. C. A. Building was erected later.

The Journal of February 25, 1833, contained the announcement that the firm of Dean and Hurlbut (Jerry Dean and Chauncy Hurlbut) was dissolved and that Jerry Dean would continue the business of selling saddles, harness and leather goods "at the old stand, corner of Griswold Street and Jefferson Avenue."

In 1845, and possibly at an earlier date, Robert Banks, a colored man, had a clothing store in this building.

Just north of Banks' store was a small one-story building with roof sloping to the street, which Mr. Campau leased April 14, 1837, to Thomas Stokes Mason, and William Stokes, Jr., confectioners, for three years. The house was one and one-half stories high and one of the conditions of the lease was that the tenants should improve the property by making two openings in the front of the building on Griswold Street and put in two good sash and panelled double doors with panes of glass, eleven by sixteen inches and make and finish off in good style a store with good counters and shelves all around the room and put drawers under the counter and take down the chimney and rebuild it in some other place so as to take up less room. They were to lathe and plaster the interior and clapboard the front of the house. "The store is to be finished in the same style as one belonging to said Joseph Campau now let to D. J. Campau and at present occupied by H. A. Nagle, Confectioner." This building was at one time occupied by Daniel Horan. After this lease expired the building was, for a time occupied by Pat. Collins.

Between the above building and the alley was a space fifteen feet front on Griswold Street by thirty-seven feet in depth. Patrick Hollan had a lease of this for ten years from September 4, 1837. In 1845 Orrin Warriner, a tailor and dyer had a shop here. He advertised that he "dyed to live."

John S. Bagg, Asahel Smith Bagg and John H. Harmon next rented the entire lot from Mr. Campau for thirty years from April 30, 1849, for \$30,000, or \$1,000 per year. They agreed to remove the buildings then on the lot and erected a four story brick building thereon in 1849 and 1850.

"Just as the new owners of the buildings were planning to tear down or remove the buildings a fire (fortunately or unfortunately) accomplished the work for them. In the early morning of March 28, 1850, a fire broke out in the building occupied by P. Collins as an eating saloon and consumed the entire block of wooden buildings on the northeast corner of Jefferson Avenue and Griswold Street. The buildings east of the corner buildings of Bagg and Harmon were owned by Charles and John Piquette. They were occupied by R. Marsh, jeweler, and Doctor Mott, druggist. Bates and Henderson, tailors, and Roe and Company, oyster depot, were also in this building. The next store had formerly been occupied by James A. Cargill as an auction store, but at the time of the fire the store was vacant. Next along Jefferson Avenue came L. Rankin's shoe store and Robert Bank's clothing store."

Messrs. Bagg and Harmon, lessees of the now vacant corner of Griswold Street and Jefferson Avenue were the proprietors of the Free Press and it was in the building that was soon erected on this site that the paper was removed when the building was completed. John Atkinson, painter, had his shop next door north of the Free Press. The occupants of parts of the building have been too numerous to chronicle, since this building was first used. This building was taken down in 1917 and a hotel (Norton House) erected on the site.

The present Equity Building occupies two lots, 64 and 65, extending from the alley north of Jefferson Avenue to Larned Street. The history of the title has been already recited. There were several buildings on these lots. The southerly building, next to the alley, was used for a paint shop by William Skell. The next building was used by James Doolittle, a baker and subsequently by David S. Osborn, also a baker. From this point to Larned Street and thence

easterly along Larned Street to the alley next to Woodward Avenue there was a row of small log houses occupied at various times by Mathew Oliver, plasterer, William Connerton, Charles Bartley and others.

#### THE CITY HALL USED AS A THEATER

John S. Potter was conducting a theater in the building at the southeast corner of Gratiot and Farrar Street, the old Methodist Church, when that building burned in 1849. After the fire he tried to obtain the right to occupy the city hall with his theater but his application was denied. He proposed to A. S. Bagg to erect a building for a theater on the site of the present Equity Building and the buildings on the south side of the lot that had been occupied by Osborn and Skell were torn down.

They began the excavations for the new theater and had progressed a little way when Potter got entangled in debt and ran away. The new building was abandoned. The hole filled with water and as there was no way for it to run off, there was soon a small lake that the boys paddled in and floated logs and pieces of wood. After a time the common council notified Bagg to abate the nuisance and a way was made for the water to escape into the sewer at Woodward Avenue. That ended the boys' fun along that line. Where the buildings were torn down, a row of one-story brick buildings was erected.

On the corner of the alley William Clear had a billiard room. Clear had formerly been located on the corner of Jefferson Avenue and Shelby Street. William Lambert, tailor and clothes cleaner, was also in this building, which was called "Bagg's Block." On the corner of Griswold and Larned streets James Westaway had a copper and tin works. This was probably the first tin manufactory in the northwest. About 1851 or 1852 John McLeod and A. S. Bagg tore down all the buildings on this site and erected the Rotunda Building.

John S. Newberry, a member of Congress and James McMillan, United States Senator, purchased the property and erected the present building. It was first called after their names and subsequently was called the Newberry Building. It was in the fourth floor of this building that the Bell Telephone was located for several years. A few years ago Edward W. Voigt took the property in settlement of a long controversy over the ownership of the Interurban car line extending to Farmington. A large amount of property owned by Mr. Voigt was lost in the enterprise, but he accepted this building as a settlement of all controversies and considering it as his equity in the transaction, he gave the building that name, "Equity."

On the northwest corner of Griswold Street and Jefferson Avenue was a two-story frame building, on a stone foundation, having a basement that was used for a saloon or refreshment rooms. These places were frequently called "retreats" or "shades" in the early day.

This was the second building on the lot and was erected after the street was opened. In 1837 John B. Piquette had a store at 97 Jefferson Avenue, probably this lot. He was a jeweler and manufacturer of gold pens. Around the corner on Griswold Street (No. 29) Sidney L. Rood had a book bindery. Edwards Brooks was also at this place upstairs. He is put down as a land agent and was a famous auctioneer. At the next number (31) George M. Bull had his law office. He was one of the first lawyers to have an office on the street above Jefferson Avenue.

General Friend Palmer says that his father occupied a store on the southwest

corner of Larned Street and Griswold Street, with a stock of goods, in 1821. This was the building that occupied a portion of the present street and was cut in two by the city marshal. The building had been used as a schoolhouse and it had on it a bell which was sold at auction to John Farmer. Mr. Farmer was a school teacher and had a private school on Bates Street, at the intersection of Farmer Street. After the Campau Building was cut in two it seems to have been allowed to fall into disuse, as no mention of any occupant on that lot is made in the directory of 1837.

In 1846, Mr. William Carson, Sr., who was born in Ireland, came to New York city and there met Mr. John B. Piquette. The latter persuaded Carson to come to Detroit and open a restaurant at the corner of Jefferson Avenue and Griswold Street, beneath his jewelry store. Mr. Carson and his family lived in the building known as "Cobweb Hall" but conducted business in the Piquette Building until 1851 or about that time. It was called the "American Coffee House." The "Piquette" Jewelry Store remained on the ground floor, but in 1850 and 1851 was under the management of Charles Piquette.

In 1851 William Ives, Caleb Ives and Stephen H. Ives, obtained a lease of the entire lot and a small part of the lot adjoining on the west, from Joseph Campau, for a period of twenty-eight and one-third years for a total rental of \$15,916.66. The lessees were within one year to build a brick building on the entire lot, to have one store on Jefferson Avenue and two stores on Griswold Street. The present building was erected that year under the terms of the lease.

In 1850 S. H. Ives and Company, exchange brokers, were at 98 Jefferson Avenue. This was the door next west of the corner.

Albert Ives was then carrying on a grocery on the south side of Jefferson Avenue, between Cass and First Streets.

In 1852 S. H. Ives and Company had moved to 151 Jefferson Avenue in the new building and Albert Ives of the firm of Ives and Tomlinson, was making soap and candles on the south side of Atwater Street near Bates Street. Albert Ives was born in Wallingford, Connecticut, September 26, 1810, and came to Detroit in 1837. He was engaged in various pursuits in this city. The banking business with which he was connected was started in 1847 by S. H. Ives and Company, composed of Stephen H. Ives, a cousin and Caleb Ives, a brother of Albert Ives.

In 1854 S. H. Ives retired and Albert Ives assumed his place in the new firm of C. and A. Ives. In 1864 Caleb Ives withdrew and the firm name was changed to A. Ives and Son, the new partner being Albert Ives, Jr. Within a short time another son (Butler) was admitted and the firm name was changed to A. Ives and Sons.

The banking firm of "A. Ives and Sons" bore an enviable reputation for many years and it was on this corner that they remained until the final failure a few years ago.

Albert Ives had grown old in the work and had been compelled to retire from old age. It was then the business declined. The business enterprise and the life of Mr. Ives went out together. It was stated, at the time of his death, that he knew nothing of the failure of the bank, supposing that he left a prosperous business behind him.

Lewis H. Ives, portrait painter, had a studio in the third floor over 151 Jefferson Avenue.

The north half of the lot before the Ives Building was erected was occupied



by a one-story building in which was a shoe shop run by a man named Lee. Edwin Jerome had a grocery store here at a later period. Mullen and Hanley (Edward Mullen and John Hanley) opened a tailoring establishment just north of Jefferson Avenue on Griswold Street in 1846.

John and G. D. Gregory had a saloon the first door above Jefferson Avenue in 1852-3. This was a two-story building and the Detroit Fire and Marine Insurance Company had their offices in the second story. This Insurance Company is not the same company as the present Detroit Fire and Marine Insurance Company. It was incorporated.

Directly across the street was the Detroit Free Press.

The second store on the west side was occupied by the dry goods store of H. S. Belcher.

The next is the alley and across the alley on the north side John Snooks had a "furniture warehouse." The Snooks Building was torn down by John W. Daly (afterwards city marshal), who put up another two-story frame building in its place.

Albert Ladsberg had a lease of the property from 1863 to 1867. He had the "New York House of Refreshments" at 51 Griswold Street in 1855.

In later years this was occupied by George W. Pattinson as a secondhand book store. Pattison was a printer, editor and newspaper man. He was well read and somewhat eccentric. I think he lived in Grand Rapids before he came to Detroit. His father was a minister. In more recent years Pattison's book store was on the south side of Michigan Avenue, west of Griswold Street.

Next to Pattison's book store was a vacant lot frequently used by Osborn for his wood pile. Mr. Campau leased this at one time to Charles Tryon, counselor, Tryon he was frequently called. His lease was for ten years from April 10, 1848, but he only kept the property till 1853. John L. Whiting and Charles S. Adams were the next lessees, but it is probable that these parties built on the lot, for Whiting and Adams occupied the upstairs over No. 53 Griswold Street in 1855. It was a brick building. Lansing (Edward A.) and Anderson next occupied it for an insurance office.

Just north of this was the "City Bakery" kept by David S. Osborn, and a famous bakery it was. Even now some of the older residents recall the good things purchased at this corner. In another place will be found a description of the building that was on this corner before Osborn built, which was cut in two by the city authorities. Mr. Osborn had occupied a store on the east side of Griswold Street, nearly opposite, but moved across in 1847 to the west side. He lived over the bakery on the west side.

Joshua Buffum owned the bakery in 1859.

In 1857 it became known that the new post office building would be located on Griswold Street, and Mr. James A. Roys, who was then keeping a news depot and book store in the Mariner's Church on Woodward Avenue, endeavored to get a place on Griswold Street as near as possible to the post office.

The post office was located in the Mariners' Church until the Griswold Street building was completed. Mr. Roys purchased the lease of the building on the southwest corner of Griswold and Larned Streets, paying a bonus of \$600, an enormous price at that time, for the property. His lease ran for five years from March 1, 1857, but he did not move into the building until April 21, 1860. The notice of his purchase of the Buffum lease appeared in the Tribune of November 11, 1859.

Tribune, November 11, 1859:

“Sale of a lease. The lease for two years and a half of the two-story house and lot, formerly occupied by J. Buffum, baker, at the corner of Griswold and Larned streets, was yesterday sold at auction for \$600 cash. J. A. Roys was the purchaser. When the post office is removed to its new quarters, we presume Mr. R. intends to remove his News and Periodical Depot to this eligible location.”

He remained there until the building was torn down.

On the north side of Larned Street we first meet the lots known as the Military Reserve. In the first plan of the reserve, the lots on the northwest corner of Larned and Griswold streets were numbered 18, 19 and 20, fronting each fifty feet on the north side of Larned Street. Griswold Street was only fifty feet wide. When it was decided to make the latter street ninety feet wide, a new plan was laid out and the lots were made to face on Griswold Street and was numbered 1, 2 and 3. This is where the old post office or Federal Building, is now located.

These lots were at one time designated as a site for the City Hall, but as that plan was not carried out, they were offered to the Methodist Church Society in exchange for their Farrar Street property. The proposition was submitted to the mayor (John Biddle) and aldermen, Peter J. Desnoyers and Jerry Dean, as a committee of the council, but the trade could not be carried through and the lots were then sold to Francis P. Browning.

Mr. Browning was one of the most enterprising merchants and prominent citizens of the place. It was he who had applied for the donation lot for the Baptist Church in 1828 and he was one of the leading members of that church organization.

Mr. Browning erected a fine two-story brick building on the lots now occupied by the customs house, and occupied it for a short time.

During the year 1833 he advertised the property for sale but found no purchaser. Mr. Browning's advertisement for the sale of his property appeared in the Courier of April 17, 1833, as follows: “The new two-story brick house on the corner of Griswold and Larned streets, together with the lot on which it stands, and the lot and the building adjoining on Larned Street. These will be sold separately or together as may be desired. The property is in a perfectly finished state, with pavements, etc.” He died of cholera in the summer of 1834 and in order to close up the estate in the Probate Court the property was sold to Peter J. Desnoyers in 1835.

General Friend Palmer in writing of this house and its owner says: “This fine mansion was built by Mr. Browning for his own use. He was a merchant well known here many years for the philanthropy and the zeal with which he supported his political opinions. He was also the head and front of the Baptist Church here, and he was, besides, an abolitionist of the most radical stamp.” “Mr. Desnoyers' house was the center of attraction for many of our most refined citizens. The elegant oldfashioned furniture and plate, costly wines and luxurious tables were suggestive of wealth, good taste and pleasant associations.”

Mr. Desnoyers had previously been in the dry goods business on Jefferson Avenue and wishing to retire, he had sold everything he could from the store and placed the remainder in a small building annexed to his house facing on Larned Street. Here he disposed of what he had as parties called for it, but he did not keep a general store. He died suddenly in this house June 3, 1846,

at the age of seventy-four years. He had erected two other houses on the lots, both fronting on Griswold Street.

Edward A. Lansing (of Lansing and Thurber, insurance agents) lived in the first house in 1852.

Dr. A. T. Terry lived and had his office in the second house, in 1852.

After the death of Mr. Desnoyers the property was occupied by members of his family for some years.

One of his daughters (Victoire) was the wife of Henry S. Cole, a brilliant lawyer and noted wit of his time. He died too early for the good of the city, but he left a name that will always be recalled with our early history. Another daughter, Elizabeth, became the wife of James A. Van Dyke who was a brilliant lawyer and politician. He was later mayor of the city. His name is familiar to us today through his children and grandchildren. The names of his three sons are familiar to us: Rev. Ernest Van Dyke of St. Aloysius and the late George W. Van Dyke and Philip J. D. Van Dyke, a prominent lawyer.

In the partition of the Desnoyers' Estate this property was set off to his daughter, Miss Josephine S. Desnoyers, afterwards Mrs. Henry Barnard, and she sold it to the Government for a post office November 13, 1855, for \$24,000.00.

Ground was broken for the post office in August, 1857, the corner stone of the building was laid May 18, 1858, by ex-Governor William M. Fenton, grand master of Grand Lodge, F. and A. M. The roof was put on in May, 1859, and the building was first opened for business at noon, January 30, 1860. Henry N. Walker was the postmaster. The building cost \$162,800, not including the site. The architect was A. H. Jordan. In construction it is one of the most solid in the city.

The postmasters who officiated in this building were Henry N. Walker, Alexander W. Buel, William A. Howard, Henry Barns, Frederick W. Swift, John H. Kaple, George C. Codd, Alexander W. Copland, John J. Enright, Ellwood T. Hance.

Across the alley north of the post office was a dwelling owned and occupied by Dr. Benjamin S. Farnsworth, who had his dental office in the same building. The property was purchased by Frederick and John Henry Seitz and the following copied from the Tribune of March 2, 1860, shows the next step with this parcel: "Within the past week the brothers Seitz, the well known and popular head clerks in the post office, have purchased the double house and lot next north of the post office, recently occupied by Doctor Farnsworth, dentist, for \$300 per foot on twelve years time. The lot is 40 by 110 feet. They intended immediately to erect a handsome three-story brick block on the lot to be used for stores on the first floor and offices above, to be completed by midsummer. Property on Griswold Street and Woodward Avenue has taken enormous rise during the past year, at the expense of Jefferson Avenue. It now affords the most profitable investment in the city."

The building erected by the Seitz Brothers was four stories in height. Before the building was begun it was determined that Griswold Street was better fitted for financial institutions than for stores, and the new buildings were put up for banks and insurance offices.

Alexander H. Dey occupied the first building. His private bank soon became the American National Bank and this bank occupied the place for many years. The American National Bank was organized in 1865 and entered into business in July of that year at 73 Griswold Street. The officers were: President,

Alexander H. Dey; vice president, Lorenzo M. Mason; cashier, George B. Sartwell; other directors, Jacob S. Farrand, Edward Kanter, Eber B. Ward, Charles Root, Martin S. Smith, Franklin Moore and John J. Bagley.

Frederick L. Seitz and Brother (owners of the building) had a private bank in the other part of the Griswold Street front. They prospered during the war but eventually failed in the hard times of 1873. Their offices were then taken by Archibald Lindsay for an insurance office. The office later became the Lindsay-Brown Company, Mr. B. Ross Brown being the second member in the firm.

On the upper half of the lot, between the Seitz Building and Congress Street was a large two or three story frame building. It had two full stories and a large attic which, before its destruction, was used as a gymnasium. It is owned by Henry C. and Porter Kibbee, but the building had become so old and dilapidated that it was difficult to lease it to permanent tenants. Joseph Kuhn, justice of the peace, had an office here at one time, as also did James D. Weir, one-time judge of Probate.

In February, 1860, Christian H. Buhl purchased the property of Mr. Kibbee for \$334.00 per foot. It was 80 feet front on Griswold Street by 110 feet deep.

Henry V. Disbrow put up a building near the southwest corner of Congress and Griswold streets. The building was probably not exactly at the corner, for, from other evidences, it appears that the Kibbee Building was erected on the corner. There was a mortgage on the Disbrow property on which default had been made and the mortgagee, David J. Boyd, was foreclosing it. The amount due was \$1,512.82, August 15, 1835.

The owner of the house was quite anxious to dispose of it and advertised it for sale. The notice of sale appeared in the Journal, July 29, 1835, as follows: "Lots 5 and 6 in section two of the City of Detroit being on the corner of Griswold and Congress streets, together with the improvements thereon, which consist of one two-story building well finished, and built in 1829 or 1830. The building is 23 by 30 feet and kitchen attached, 16 by 18 feet, and other necessary out-buildings with a great variety of choice fruit trees and shrubbery. This is one of the most desirable pieces of property in the city, either for a man of business or leisure, being on the street leading from Jefferson Avenue to the Capitol, and within three minutes walk of the center of business."

Behind the Disbrow lot was another parcel of land that the Seitz Brothers bought, making their lot an L shape. On this back parcel was a large frame house, called the John Hale House, that was moved up Jefferson Avenue. The entire Seitz property was afterwards sold to Mr. C. H. Buhl.

On the north side of Congress Street was the dwelling of David Cooper mentioned above. This was purchased by Barnabas Campau and here in 1837, he was living with his family, including his two sons, John Barnabas Campau and Alexander Macomb Campau. The property remained in his family until it was recently sold to Mr. J. B. Ford.

John Barnabas Campau married Miss Alexandrine M. Sheldon. She was a beautiful woman and lovely character. They went to live in a fine brick dwelling on the west side of Woodward Avenue about halfway between State Street and Grand River Avenue. December 16, 1859, John Barnabas Campau mysteriously disappeared and a few days later his body was found in the river at the foot of Bates Street. Three men were arrested, charged with making way with him but they were released without trial as it was decided that Mr. Campau

was accidentally drowned. Some years later, his widow married Richard Storrs Willis and they have both passed from among the living quite recently.

Alexander Macomb Campau has gone from us so short a time that we have not ceased to miss him. He was a courtly and affable gentleman, always interesting and attentive in conversation. He lived to a great age and is affectionally remembered by a host of friends.

On the site of Campau home on the corner of Griswold and Congress streets, there was erected about 1852 a two-story and basement brick office building. This was owned by Albert Crane and William B. Wesson (Crane and Wesson) lawyers and real estate dealers. When Chicago began to show its wonderful growth, Mr. Crane moved to that city and Mr. Wesson became the owner of the building. As originally planned, there was not a large basement to this building, but when it was proposed to make an office under it the entire building was raised several feet and new banking rooms made a little below the grade of the street. It was the first brick building moved in the city. It was in the basement of this building that the Wayne County Savings Bank was born in 1871. Mr. Wesson was the president of the bank and one of the largest—if not the largest—real estate dealer in the city. He had his office on the first floor above the bank and here he remained until the building now occupied by the Federal Reserve Bank on Congress Street, was erected. The first officers of the Wayne County Savings Bank were: William B. Wesson, president; Dr. Herman Kiefer, vice president, and S. Dow Elwood, secretary and treasurer.

Just above this building, further up Griswold Street, was a fireproof brick structure erected by George S. Frost and Charles Noble for the St. Mary's Ship Canal Company. After the affairs of the Canal Company were wound up, or placed in such a situation that no office building was needed in the city, the buildings were rented for real estate and law offices. Mr. George W. Thayer, who recently died in Grand Rapids, for many years had an office in the second floor, the same office subsequently for many years occupied by Mr. James H. Pound.

Julius H. Stoll, a son of Police Justice Julius Stoll, Jonathan Thompson and others had offices on the first floor.

Between this building and the alley next north was a lot belonging at one time, to Mr. James Williams. It was used for garden purposes by Mr. Williams, but he had on it a barn or frame building in which he sold oats, bran and hay.

After Mr. Williams sold the property there was put up a row of one-story brick stores occupied by various people. There was a drug store in the south apartment for some years owned by Johnson and Wheeler.

In the upper store Isaac Flowers had a restaurant. Flowers was a colored man, but very white.

Across the alley were the lots now covered by the Moffat Building. The south part was owned by James Williams and he had a large elegant dwelling in which he lived and in which his family lived after his death. He left a widow and four daughters, Elizabeth, Cornelia, Harriet E. (Lugenbeel) and Mary E. (Buckley). Mr. Williams paid \$331 for the lot in 1829 and his family sold it to Mr. Hugh Moffat in 1869 for \$20,000.00.

On the upper part of the lots was a fine square brick building erected in 1829 in which John Palmer lived. This was also sold to Mr. Moffat and was torn down to make way for the present Moffat Building. Mr. Palmer paid \$1,054.84 for the three lots in 1827 and sold them for \$60,000 in 1869.

Hugh Moffat was born in Scotland in 1810 and came to Detroit in his twenty-seventh year. As a contractor and builder he erected many of the largest and best of the buildings of his day. He was a typical Scotchman, determined in his character and set in his ways. His honesty was beyond question and when the city was casting about for some one with strength of character to withstand the leeches that were trying to engulf the city in unnecessary debt, in 1871, he was chosen as the mayor. He did just what he was elected to do. Schemes were maturing for the bonding of the city for a large amount for public improvements and for the purchase of a great park outside of the city and along the river bank. It was only by reason of his stubbornness and refusal to comply with the dictates of the party in power, that he saved the city from great debt and possible bankruptcy. He died in 1884 leaving three daughters and one son. His second wife was a sister of Senator T. W. Palmer.

In connection with the administration of Mr. Moffat, and also closely connected with the romantic history of Griswold Street, was an episode that took place in 1871 and 1872. This was the riot that caused the establishment of the Board of Estimates.

#### CITIZENS' MEETINGS AND BOARD OF ESTIMATES

The meeting of the citizens en masse for the purpose of fixing the budget for the tax roll was instituted with the beginning of the city government and grew with the city. It was indiscriminately referred to as the Citizens' Meeting or Meeting of the Freemen.

The first charter of Detroit, passed in 1802, provided that "The free holders, householders and residents, shall, at their annual meeting have the power to vote such sums of money as a majority of the voters present deem proper, to maintain the public expenses for the ensuing year."

There was no provision in the charter for calling extra or special meetings of the citizens for extraordinary events. Voters were designated as free holders, or householders paying an annual rent of forty dollars, and such other persons as might be admitted to the freedom of the town by a vote of the citizens.

In the charter of 1806, Detroit is designated as a city. The city was to be governed by a mayor appointed by the governor and by a council consisting of two houses, with three members in each house. The members of the council were to be elected annually. The council, with the approval of the mayor, could "lay and collect taxes and pass all laws necessary to give effect and operation to their powers."

The charter of 1806 did not work satisfactorily and it was repealed after a trial of three years. In 1809 the governor and judges, the legislative body of the Territory of Michigan, assumed control of the affairs of the city as well as of the territory and maintained this control until after the War of 1812.

In 1815 another charter was given to the city which was practically a re-enactment of the 1802 charter.

Again it was provided that the "free holders, householders and residents" of the city should at their annual meeting fix the tax budget for the ensuing year.

In 1824 another charter was granted to the city. In this charter the office of mayor was, for the first time, made elective and the council of five aldermen was also elective.

The recorder, who could act as mayor on certain occasions, was to be ap-

pointed by the council. The official name of the city corporation was "The mayor, recorder, aldermen and freemen of the City of Detroit."

The mayor or recorder, with the consent of any two of the aldermen, could call a meeting of the freemen of the city, "and the mayor, recorder, aldermen and freemen, when so convened pursuant to notice, shall from time to time have power to direct by a majority of the votes present, the levy of a tax on the real and personal estate of all the freemen within" the city. This tax, however, could never exceed one-fourth of one per cent on the real and personal estate.

The meeting of the freemen was to be called by the mayor or recorder whenever he was requested so to do by a petition signed by twenty-four of the freemen.

In 1827 it was provided that the mayor, recorder and aldermen should be called the Common Council, and should have authority to prescribe "the manner of warning the meeting of the freemen of the city, and the Common Council thereof, and the time and place where they shall be holden." The right or duty of calling the meeting of the freemen was not, however, changed from the provision in the charter of 1824.

A slight change was made in 1833, in the method of making the tax budget. The freemen being called together were to consent to the levy of an annual tax, not to exceed one-fourth of one per cent of the value of the property in the city, and thereupon the council could levy the tax so approved. There was no provision in any of these acts, that the citizens or freemen could pass upon the various items that were included in the tax levy.

The proper course to be pursued was probably so well understood that it was not thought necessary to specify the method in the charter.

In 1835 an act of the Legislative Council was passed authorizing the city to borrow \$50,000, provided the freemen, in a public meeting assembled, should authorize such a loan. Before this time the Common Council was authorized to issue bills of the city to an amount not exceeding \$5,000, for current expenses, without calling upon the freemen for their approval.

In 1841 the tax limit was raised to one-half of one per cent. The school tax was fixed, by the act of 1841 at \$1 for each child in the city between the ages of five and seventeen years. This tax was compulsory and was not submitted to the freemen for their approval. The council was also authorized to levy a poll tax of \$1 on each person, whenever such tax was authorized by a vote of the qualified electors of the city.

In 1857 a radical change was made in the process of fixing the tax budget. The act of that year, which was an extensive revision of the city charter, provided that the tax levy should be composed of thirteen funds, General, Contingent, Interest, Sinking, Fire Department, Poor, General Road, District Road, Sewer, Street Opening, Street Paving, Public Building and Recorders Court Funds and such other as the Council might constitute. Before any taxes could be levied for the General Fund, Contingent Fund, General Road Fund, Street Opening Fund, District Road Fund, Fire Department Fund, Poor Fund, Sewer Fund, and Recorders Court Fund, the estimate of the amount was to be made by the city controller and submitted to the Council. After this estimate was revised by the Council, that body should direct the mayor to call a meeting of the citizens to whom the estimates must be submitted. The citizens' meeting, so-called, could approve the estimate in whole or in part or could reject the same altogether, or could increase the amounts if thought proper.

If the estimate was entirely rejected the Council could call a second meeting of the citizens to approve it. There was no provision for calling another meeting if the estimate was not approved at the second meeting. If a portion of the estimate, only, was approved, that portion could be placed upon the assessment rolls. Nothing is here said about school taxes, but elsewhere in the charter was the provision for raising money for that purpose and it was provided that the tax should not exceed \$2 for every child between the ages of four and eighteen years, and that "the tax shall be collected in the same manner as the moneys raised to defray the general expenses of this city." Inasmuch as the amount of the tax was fixed, depending only on the census to determine the number of children in the city, it is probable that there was no necessity for submitting the matter at a citizens' meeting. There was a provision enacted in 1847 that the Council could levy a tax of not more than \$1,500 a year, for the purchase of school lots and the erection of school buildings. This amount could not be levied unless approved at a meeting of freemen, called for that purpose. This sum was increased from \$1,500 to \$20,000 by the act of March 7, 1861.

In 1865 another change was made in the method of collecting school taxes. The entire school tax budget, originating in the board of education, should be sent to the Council and placed in the city tax budget. The Council could not refuse to accept and levy the amount as fixed by the board of education unless the amount asked for exceeded \$3 per child in the school census. If the amount exceeded the \$3, the excess only was to be submitted to the approval of the freemen or citizens' meeting.

In 1870 the population of the city had reached about 80,000. There were, then, about 16,000 tax payers and voters in the place.

It would have been an impossibility to gather in one assembly that number of people who could intelligently have discussed and passed upon the city's estimates.

Practically the meetings, though public, were attended by only a very few of the citizens, the remainder being either willing to let the few manage the affair, or being well assured that they could have little voice if they attended.

Of course there were diverging opinions about the amounts to be annually levied, but no great excitement at any time brought any great number of voters to these meetings.

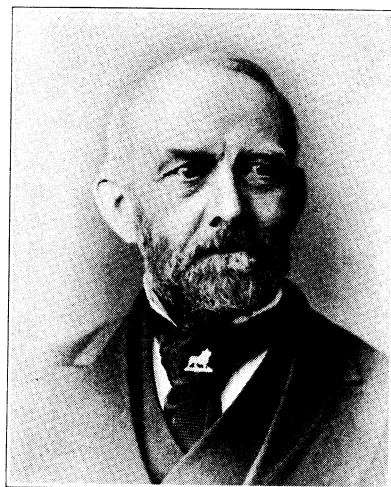
The abolition of the citizens' meetings and the substitute of the board of estimates grew out of an effort of some of the citizens to buy a large tract of land on the river front, about the location of the present Van Dyke Avenue, which was then outside the city limits, for a public park.

The park plan was discussed and agitated in 1871, and an act of the Legislature obtained for the appointment of park commissioners. The commissioners were authorized to purchase a park to cost not to exceed \$200,000 and the city could raise the money by an issue of bonds.

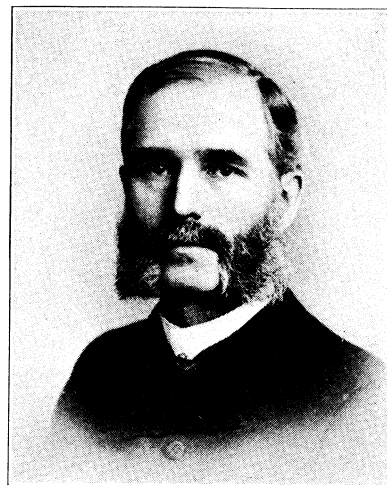
It was provided that the bond issue should be first approved at a citizens' meeting to be called for that purpose. In November, 1871, the park commissioners notified the Council that they had located a site for the park. The Council approved the location and directed that \$200,000 in bonds be issued to pay for the land, and directed the calling of a citizens' meeting to take action on the bond issue.

The mayor, William W. Wheaton, vetoed the resolution of the Council on





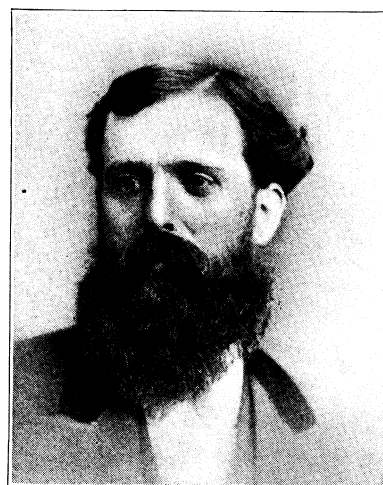
Theodore H. Hinchman



D. M. Ferry



Thomas McGraw



Christopher R. Mabley

OLD PORTRAITS OF PROMINENT DETROIT MEN



December 12, 1871. He based his reasons for his veto upon the unconstitutionality of the Park Board Act.

The resolution having been returned to the Council with the mayor's veto, was passed over the veto on December 19th. The citizens' meeting was called to meet in the Circuit Court room in the then new City Hall on the 27th of December, 1871. The circuit judge was Jared Patchin and he was holding court at the hour set for the meeting. He was aware of the approaching meeting and, it seems, resented the proposal to occupy his room, for he gave notice that any one who disturbed the court proceedings would be summarily arrested. Mr. George V. N. Lothrop, then a leading member of the bar, went to the platform where Judge Patchin was presiding and spoke a few words to him. The judge immediately left the bench and the court room, without adjourning the court, remarking that the court would remain open. Mr. Lothrop then moved that Alanson Sheley be appointed presiding officer. Elijah W. Meddaugh was, at the same time, chosen secretary. Mr. Lothrop then read or undertook to read, a resolution authorizing the bond issue passed by the Council. There was much confusion and noise and even the officers on the occasion were unable to understand what was going on, or whether the resolution offered by Mr. Lothrop was voted on or whether those present understood it. Mr. Meddaugh said that he did not know whether any vote was taken, but the president, Mr. Sheley, said that the motion was carried and he so recorded it.

During this great confusion the mayor, Mr. Wheaton, entered the room with a number of persons. He proceeded to the platform and occupied it jointly with Mr. Sheley.

To add to the confusion the mayor requested Henry Starkey to read aloud the call for the meeting. Mr. Thomas W. Palmer moved that Mr. Wheaton act as chairman and Mr. Luther Beecher moved that Henry Starkey act as secretary. Both motions were declared carried and then Mr. A. Smith Bagg moved that the meeting adjourn to the Woodward Avenue front of the City Hall. This also was carried and a part of the body left the court room while the others remained and perfected their work under Mr. Sheley.

The detachment that went to the front of the City Hall sent an official report of their proceedings to the Council, having unanimously voted against the bonding proposition, while the others sent a report in favor of the bond issue. Both reports having been laid before the Council were referred to the committee on ways and means. Here again there was a division and two reports were handed in. The minority report was made by James A. Allison. In summing up his report he says:

“In view of the turbulent and boisterous character of the citizens' meeting, and the opportunity that it affords interested parties to secure the attendance at such meetings of the friends of their measure, or for the appropriation of money for a certain purpose, it must be apparent to all tax payers that with the rapid growth of the city, some other and more practicable method must be devised for obtaining an expression of the will of the people on all questions of expenditure. I would, therefore, recommend that the Council, at its earliest opportunity, take the matter into consideration, and apply to the Legislature for such changes in our city charter as may be deemed advisable.”

As the Council of 1871 expired a few days later, no action was taken on the reports and it was left for the new Council to begin the matter over again.

Hugh Moffat, the new mayor, took office with the new Council.

The first effort was made in April, 1872, when Alderman Smith R. Wooley moved that the mayor be requested to call a second meeting of citizens to consider the park bond issue. After a reference to the judiciary committee to consider the legality of such a citizens' meeting, the motion was adopted and a proclamation was issued, calling the meeting to be held May 1, 1872, at 10:30 o'clock in the forenoon. The excitement in the city was very great and a large crowd was anticipated at the meeting. The City Hall was not large enough to hold the people and the Griswold Street side of the City Hall was chosen for the meeting place.

The mayor, Hugh Moffat, was chosen chairman and Charles H. Borgman, city clerk, was selected as secretary. A rope was strung across Griswold Street from the steps of the City Hall to the alley on the westerly side of the street.

The motion to approve the issuance of bonds was offered by Jerome Croul and the voters were required to divide themselves on either side of the rope, in such a manner that those who favored the measure should remain on one side of the rope, and those who opposed it, should move to the other side. The chairman and secretary, together with the two tellers, Stanley G. Wight and John Gibson, then went upon the balcony over the door of the City Hall and undertook to count the voters. Many citizens coming to the meeting were late and they continued to come down the streets from the north side and joined those who were upon that side of the rope. If they had all been counted as voting upon that side it would apparently have been an unfair enumeration. The report of the officers was that, "After mature deliberation the chairman announced it a tie vote or a drawn game, and declared himself unable to decide."

This report was accepted by the Council and further action was indefinitely postponed.

Thus ended the citizens' meetings of Detroit in fiasco.

In January, 1873, the city counselor, Dewitt C. Holbrook, was instructed to draft a bill to be submitted to the Legislature.

This bill, which was intended to be an amendment to the city charter, provided for the calling of citizens' meetings and the preparing of ballots to be used in voting on the annual budget and on all other occasions. The ballot should show the various items that made up the budget. This bill was not passed by the Legislature. It did not provide that the voter could alter the amount provided for in the ballot. He could vote for or against the measure but could not in any manner increase or decrease the amount.

The bill to some extent decreased the privileges the citizens had theretofore possessed, for under the law then in existence, they could by resolution require a vote to be taken upon the increase or decrease of any item in the budget.

Another proposal was offered by Alderman Simeon, March 26, 1872.

It was now proposed to obtain from the Legislature something to take the place of the citizens' meeting.

John J. Speed, a member of the Lower House in 1873, introduced a bill to abolish citizens' meetings and to substitute a board of estimates in their place, January 11, 1873. The bill, as first introduced, gave authority to the Common Council to impose taxes for extraordinary purposes, such as the purchase of a park without the sanction of the tax payers.

On January 21, 1873, Joseph Greusel, member of the House from Detroit, presented the following remonstrance:

“The undersigned citizens and tax payers of the City of Detroit remonstrate against the passage of the bill recently introduced into the House of Representatives” to abolish citizens’ meetings in said city, “or the passage of any other act giving to the Common Council of said city authority to impose on said city taxes for extraordinary purposes, such as the purchase and establishment of a public park without the sanction and approval by ballot, of the tax payers of said city. Detroit, January 17, 1873.”

This remonstrance was signed by Eber B. Ward, Christian H. Buhl, John Stephens, Allan Sheldon, Fred K. Buhl, Henry P. Baldwin, C. M. Danton, William A. Moore, Colin Campbell, Alexander H. Dey, Charles A. Kent, R. W. King, Mark Flanigan, Newcomb, Endicott and Company, S. Ferdinand and Brothers, George Peck and Company, E. B. Smith and Company, C. D. Farlin, Charles Root and Company, Caleb Van Husan, Whitbeck and Chittenden, Scotten, Lovett and Company, T. W. Palmer.

The bill was referred to the committee on municipal corporation of which John J. Speed was chairman. It was reported out without amendment, on the same day.

Mr. Speed presented a large petition in favor of this bill, January 21, 1873.

The bill passed through the committee of the whole without amendment January 22, 1873.

Henry P. Baldwin wrote a letter to the House, January 22, 1873, in which he advocated the abolition of the citizens’ meetings but said: “I believe it to be wise to allow the people the right to vote by ballot on all questions of taxation for extraordinary purposes.”

The use of Legislative Hall was granted to the citizens of Detroit to discuss this bill and others affecting the city, January 30, 1873.

The methods pursued by the Detroit representatives who forced the measure through the House without proper discussion, aroused Representative Garvelink who introduced the following preamble and resolution:

“Whereas the City of Detroit, the metropolis and leading city of this state, has called upon this Legislature to empower the park commissioners to locate a park, and the Common Council to levy a tax, or loan money and issue bonds, for the erection of said park, therefore

*Resolved*, By this House of Representatives, that we sincerely hope and request that this example will not be followed by the rest of the cities and villages of our beloved state, that the Legislature may not be called upon again to perform a so painful duty, to take away the ballot, of which an American citizen alone may be proud of.”

This resolution was laid on the table, and was never taken from “its” resting place.

The bill passed the Senate, March 26, with some minor amendments. It was sent back to the House for agreement in the amendments, and passed the House the same day. It was then sent to the governor and approved March 28, 1873.

#### COBWEB HALL

In order to keep the history of the street in somewhat of a connected form, we will next take up “Cobweb Hall” at northeast corner of Larned and Griswold streets, being lot 103. At the time Mrs. Belcher bought the lot, May 11, 1809, she was a widow for the second time. Her first husband, whose name

was Welch, had died leaving her with two children, George and Catherine, and by her second marriage, with Mr. Belcher, she had a third child, William.

Mrs. Belcher died during the war period, July 27, 1813, aged thirty-nine years, leaving the three children above mentioned.

The dwelling house came to be known as the Welch House from her son, George, who lived there for some years.

Mrs. Belcher was a woman of some means for the times and owned another house and lot on the south side of Larned Street near Shelby Street, which she had purchased of William McDowell Scott in November, 1809.

Her daughter, Catherine, was married three times. Her first husband was a Mr. Seymour. They did not live in Detroit, during his lifetime, but after his death, she returned and married Lieut. James Bailey. She lived in the village until 1816, but he was killed by the Indians some time between January and August, 1814. There was one child born of this marriage. Her third husband was Elijah Willits. They were married January 17, 1817. Their first child died an infant, September 29, 1818.

Elijah Willits and Isaac Willits were in Capt. Antoine Dequindre's company of Detroit militia in the War of 1812 and were both taken prisoners at the surrender of the city by Governor Hull to the British general, Sir Isaac Brock, August 16, 1812. Only a few of the militia were carried to Montreal as prisoners of war. Most of them were liberated upon giving parole that they would not again engage in the war, and it was upon that condition that Willits was allowed to remain at home.

After the death of their first child early in 1819, Elijah Willits and his wife moved to Birmingham (then called Hamilton) Oakland County, and were among the first settlers at that place. Here the child by Lieutenant Bailey died.

There were several children born of the third marriage. In 1820 Willits was a member of the first grand jury called in Oakland County. He kept the tavern at Birmingham and his son, Wellington, was born there in 1820. There were only four dwellings in this place at that time, owned by Elijah Willits, John W. Hunter, Elisha Hunter and John Hamilton.

Willits had, before moving to Oakland County, been in possession of lot 103 and collected the rents of it after he left it.

In the Detroit Gazette for April 30, 1824, he advertised the lot for sale and described it as a house and lot formerly occupied by him as a tavern on Griswold Street, now occupied by Julius Eldred. "The house is in good repair and there are on the lot two stables and an excellent garden spot. It is on the corner and is 100 by 60 feet." The notice contains some other information regarding the property. The lot was originally fifty feet wide but some one of its former owners had encroached upon the street and had taken ten feet to add to the original lot. This was done prior to 1824. The frame building, called the tavern, was erected some years before 1824, but it was still in good repair in the latter years.

It is possible that Willits occupied the lot as a tavern after 1820 and that he moved from Birmingham to Detroit and then returned to Birmingham. If that were not the case, his occupation of the lot as tavern stand must have been before 1819 and very likely Julius Eldred occupied the land from that date until 1824. Willits was an ensign in the Oakland County Militia in 1824. He was the son of Thomas Willits and was born in Pennsylvania, August 23, 1792, and died in Oakland County in May, 1868. For the twelve years prior to his

death he was bedridden. His second wife was Rachel Hannon to whom he was married April 23, 1829. His son, William Willits was born in Birmingham, September 19, 1836, and died in Detroit, July 17, 1891. He enlisted as a private in the Twenty-second Michigan Infantry, Col. Moses Wisner commanding and was with the regiment through the war when not in rebel prisons. He was in succession, sergeant, second lieutenant, first lieutenant, and was captain when the war closed. He was a prisoner in various rebel prisons for eleven months. At his death he left one daughter, Mrs. Henry Ten Eyck and two sons, Frank and George Willits.

A word more might well be said of Wellington Willits, son of Elijah Willits who was so well and favorably known years ago, in this city.

In his youth, on the farm at Birmingham, he was a studious boy and worked at his books long after his day's work was over. The teacher from whom he received the greatest assistance was Mr. James Corson. Wellington married Martha Jane Beardsell, April 30, 1846, and moved to Detroit in 1848, where he was employed as a teacher in the public schools.

His first school was old "First Ward" School which was afterwards combined with the new "Eighth Ward" School and was later known as the Houghton School. He afterwards taught for a time in the Bishop School. He entered the Union service in the Civil war, enlisting October 15, 1862, and was captain in Company "E" of Seventh Michigan Cavalry. He was captured by the rebels, July 6, 1863, and held a prisoner of war in Libby Prison until December of the following year.

Upon being liberated he returned to Detroit broken in health which he never recovered. He died three months later, May 7, 1865, at his house, 93 Locust Street, Detroit.

Many of his old pupils still living in our city can attest to his worth as a teacher and upright citizen.

Julius Eldred, who kept the tavern up to 1824, was born in New York in 1787 and came to Detroit in 1816. He was first engaged in keeping a general store and his associates, at various times, were Orville Cook, Levi Cook and William Thurber. His name frequently occurs in our early records in connection with business and political affairs. According to the notice in the Gazette he was in 1824 engaged in keeping a tavern on the Welsh lot. In all probability this was more of a boarding house than an inn, for Mr. Eldred had another business to attend to. He was engaged with David French, his brother-in-law, in running a mill in the neighborhood of Franklin, Brush and Randolph streets.

The story of the life of Julius Eldred is too long to be incorporated here and only a few items will be given. He was the first person to lay cedar block pavements in the streets of Detroit. This was in 1845 in Jefferson Avenue in front of his own property.

In 1841 he transported to Detroit the great copper rock from the bed of the Ontonagon River. This was placed on exhibition in Detroit but was subsequently claimed by the Government and was removed to Washington City. He died in Detroit, March 26, 1851.

George A. O'Keefe was a witty lawyer of the city who came to Detroit about 1819. In common with most of the lawyers of his time, he was prone to indulge unduly at intervals. This habit did not seem to deprive him of his practice for he stood as high as any in his profession.

For a short time he lived in St. Clair County where he held public office. He was also located in Mount Clemens for a short time. He then made Detroit his permanent home and in 1834 his sister Ellen came from Ireland to preside over his bachelor quarters.

Robert Ross in his history of the Bench and Bar of Detroit, quotes from Richard R. Elliot, a personal friend of Judge O'Keefe and of his sister regarding the coming of Miss Ellen O'Keefe, as follows: "Her coming was a great advantage to the domestic life of her brother and her influence was soon apparent in the changed appearance of the bachelor establishment.

"Miss O'Keefe soon took that place in the leading Detroit society of the city to which her education and refinement entitled her.

"In the coterie of ladies allied to the old Catholic representative families she became a favorite and led the movement set on foot by the laity for the promotion of religion, education and charity."

Their home in 1837, and probably for some years about this time, was in the house on lot 103. Here they lived when George A. O'Keefe was elected to the office of judge of probate for the County of Wayne. He served in this office from 1837 to 1840. His sister afterwards became the wife of Judge Elisha Strong of this city.

Dr. G. Jones had an office in the log house on the north side of lot 103 in 1837.

No sooner had Elijah Willits advertised the lot for sale than he found a purchaser for it. His advertisement appeared in the Gazette on April 30, 1824, and on the following June 9th, the sale was consummated and the deed executed to Joseph Campau and with him the title vested during his life.

The city directory of 1837, the first directory published in Detroit, gives the occupant of the house as George A. O'Keefe, judge of probate.

From this time the buildings on lot 103 were used for dwellings, lunch rooms, restaurant and saloon at different times.

William Carson, Sr., for a short time, kept a restaurant in connection with his residence on lot 103. This was called the "American House of Refreshments." Over the door of the restaurant was the single word *LUNCH*. The lease of lot 103 to Carson is dated October 6, 1846. He was to pay \$6 per month. The lease was subsequently extended to April 5, 1848. One of the conditions of the lease was that Mr. Carson should keep the chimneys clean. After the written lease expired Carson still continued to maintain the "American House of Refreshments" as late as 1852. At the same time "Pat" Collins was conducting the "New York House of Refreshments" on the west side of Griswold Street three doors below Larned Street.

In 1852 William Bonninghausen, a tailor, had his shop in the same building with Mr. Carson.

At a later date (1859) Mr. Carson carried on the "Rotunda Saloon" at 52 Griswold Street.

In the rear of the "Lunch" house, on the same lot and on the north side of Larned Street, next to the alley, was a small log house, which was, at one time, occupied by McCaran.

This log building was taken down and a small two-story brick building was erected in its place. This was, at one time, occupied by John Bull as a saloon. The lease of the premises ran to Edward A. Elliott and it is possible that he became responsible for the rent and let Bull occupy the premises. Elliott was



a man of considerable means and a broker or speculator. He lived for many years at the northeast corner of Rowland Street and Michigan Avenue. The older residents will remember him as having one glass eye.

In the second story of this little brick building on the rear of lot 103 were two small rooms. The stairway that led to them was on the west side of the building, on the inside. One of the small rooms was, at one time, occupied as a law office by Miles J. O'Reilly, a lawyer, who had once been a school teacher. He was a very witty Irishman.

The two buildings on the front of the lot, occupied by Mr. Carson, came to be known as "Cobweb Hall." They were usually occupied by the same tenant. The frame building on the corner was two stories high and was rented from the owner of the restaurant or saloon underneath.

Mr. Carson, after a time, left the building and opened a restaurant in the basement of the Rotunda Building, across the street.

In 1855-56 there was a barber shop kept in the corner house by two colored men named Henry Moore and John W. Henry. Richard J. Byron and Peter Ulrich had it under a lease which expired December 10, 1859.

The next tenant of Cobweb Hall was Alfred Thomas. His lease was dated December 10, 1859, and was to run till December 9, 1862, at the rate of \$150 per year. He called the place the "Terrapin Lunch." This was at the time the new post office was erected and the place should have been well patronized. Thomas, however, did not make it pay and was sued for non-payment of rent. A judgment was obtained against him for \$154.28 the day after his lease expired.

In 1862 Alfred W. Caswell succeeded Thomas and had a lease of the property running to December 10, 1864. This was assigned to Peter Deginder who was a tenant until 1866, but was ejected for non-payment of rent, December 22, 1866. A part of the time the rent was \$800 per year, but in 1866 it was fixed at \$500.

Theodore J. Campau, who represented the estate of his father, on December 2, 1864 "rented to George Dorbush the two story brick house on Larned Street, rear part of lot 103, section 2, Governor and Judges plan with yard in rear same width as house, at \$500 per year." Dorbush was a tenant for several years.

In May, 1865, Peter Austin, justice of the peace, rented a strip of land seventeen feet wide on Larned Street next west of the Dorbush parcel. This parcel was apparently vacant until the lease was made to Austin and he put up a small building for his office.

About the same time, E. A. Elliott and Henry Metz rented the seventeen feet in width next westerly of the Austin parcel.

It seems that they also built on the lot for the lease contained a privilege "of resting their joists on the brick building now built on the rear part of said lot." They were to pay \$200 per year.

The building fronting on Griswold Street was next occupied by James W. Lanergan, an actor and Charles F. Mack, under a lease for one year from January 10, 1867, at \$1,000 per year. They sold liquors, coffees, teas, cigars and fancy groceries. The next year Charles F. Mack was alone. Next came John Swan and Delivan MacCreedy with a similar stock of goods. "Tom" Swan was with them occasionally as a clerk, but he had the job of selling papers, candies, etc., on the railroad and that paid better than a store. However, in 1869, he

bought out the establishment and ran it for many years. It was during his time that it obtained the name of "Cobweb Hall."

In the front Swan sold fruit, oysters and canned goods. In the back part there was a saloon. The old log house was occupied by Walker and Company, bill posters, and was generally in a "littered up" condition. John Walker, "bill poster," was at 32 Larned Street in 1869. Upstairs James Kelley and William Christian, for a time, had a small printing establishment, but light as the rent must have been for the dirty quarters, they were unable to pay it and were forced to leave.

In the partition of the estate of Joseph Campau, lot 103 was set off to his daughter, Matilda V. Chapoton. She and her husband, Augustus B. Chapoton, sold the land to Simon Mandelbaum, December 2, 1870.

In 1872 the descendants of Bridget Belcher set up claim to the lot because of some irregularity in the conveyances through the Probate Court, and begun a suit in the Circuit Court against Simon Mandelbaum to recover the property.

The Superior Court of Detroit was organized in 1873 and Lyman Cochrane was the first elected judge.

The cause involving the title to lot 103 was transferred to this court and was one of the first cases in its calendar.

The courtroom was in the Seitz Block on the west side of Griswold Street north of the post office building.

The case was a very interesting one and was closely watched by the newspapers and by the citizens generally. It was finally decided in favor of Mr. Mandelbaum. This decision settled the title to the property and greatly increased its market value. Mr. Mandelbaum and his wife sold the lot to Governor Henry P. Baldwin for \$45,000 April 9, 1873, and the title vested in Mr. Baldwin's estate until the recent sale to Standard Savings and Loan Association.

In 1878 Mr. Sidney D. Miller leased the ground for twenty years at \$2,250 per year and on May 15th of that year the old buildings were destroyed and the erection of the present building was begun.

The new building was intended for the Detroit Savings Bank and the Citizen's Street Railway offices. Mr. George Hendrie and Mr. Miller were officers of the Street Railway Company at that time and had offices in the building. The upper rooms were occupied for law and insurance offices.

Mr. Miller assigned the ground lease to John H. Bissell and he assigned it to the Detroit Savings Bank in 1893.

A recent lessee of the building and occupant of the ground floor was the Stormfeltz-Loveley Company, extensive real estate dealers.

Some of the earlier occupants of the lot enclosed the north ten feet of Larned Street, so that, at this place, that street is ten feet narrower than it was originally planned.

It was in the present building on this lot that Sophia Lyons (Burke) got wild with a revolver some years ago. No one was hit.

Lot 102, next north of "Cobweb Hall" was given to Joseph Cote by the governor and judges as a donation in 1809. It remained in his family until sold to Samuel Lewis for \$1,000 in 1845.

George B. Pease lived here in 1852. In 1859 John Slater was at 58 Griswold Street and Jonathan S. Mortimer at 60 Griswold Street.

Mr. Lewis sold the north half of the lot to William A. Butler in 1859 for

\$6,250 and Mr. Lewis' children sold Mr. Butler the south half in 1882 for \$29,000. The north half was subsequently sold to the late James Burns.

## WALL STREET OF DETROIT

In the Advertiser of May 27, 1859, the following items appeared regarding the improvements then in progress on lot 102:

“New Buildings—The frame dwellings have been moved, and two brick buildings are about to be erected on the east side of Griswold between Larned and Congress streets, immediately adjoining the Terrapin Lunch. They will be twenty-five feet front each, four stories high, and will run back eighty feet to the alley. The first stories will be of stone and the others of brick. The ground is owned and the buildings will be put up for William A. Butler and Mr. Samuel Lewis. Both structures will be fitted up as banking offices, and Mr. Butler will move into his as soon as it is completed, while that owned by Mr. Lewis will be to rent. The buildings will be an ornament to the thoroughfare, which is destined to become the Wall Street of Detroit.

The next lot further north numbered 101 was donated to Archibald Horner in 1809. Horner left two daughters, one of whom died quite young and the other (Sarah) became the wife of Lewis Davenport. Mrs. Davenport's daughter was the wife of the later Dr. George Black Russel, well known to everyone in the city.

Mrs. Davenport sold lot 101 to Augustus T. McKinstry in 1832 for \$1,525 and he sold it to Thomas S. Knapp in 1834 for \$1,500. Mr. Knapp was a prominent citizen in his day and was, at one time, sheriff of the county. While he was sheriff a man named Simmons was convicted of murder and was sentenced to be hung. Knapp was the proper officer to do that work but he did not like it and resigned his office rather than perform that duty. Benjamin Woodworth, the old hotel keeper, was appointed sheriff in his place. He died of cholera in 1834, leaving a widow, Eliza Knapp, and two children, Eliza A., who married Frank L. Hunt, and Lafayette Knapp who married Cornelia Wales.

Mrs. Eliza Knapp was a daughter of Abraham Cook, one of the early settlers of Detroit, one who came with Mad Anthony Wayne in 1796. Some time after the death of her husband, Mrs. Knapp became the wife of John Owen, then a prosperous and later a wealthy merchant. Mrs. Eliza Owen died a few years later and Mr. Owen married her sister, Jane. James H. Cook (ship chandler), a brother of Mrs. Owen, lived in the upper one of the houses on lot 102 in 1827, Mrs. Knapp living in the lower house which was numbered 48 at that time.

In connection with this piece of land and to show the rapid increase in values of real estate in the city, a true story might be told.

In the partition of the estate of Thomas S. Knapp this lot 101 and lot 28 in section 7 on Woodward Avenue (where Newcomb and Endicott's store stands), were set off to the daughter, Eliza A. Hunt. In 1848 Mrs. Hunt, who was then a minor, petitioned the court of Chancery for permission to sell lot 28 for \$1,300 and to mortgage lot 101 for \$1,100 in order to pay for a farm on Grosse Ile. In her petition she said that her husband had no trade or profession and if he could get the farm he could make a living for them. Regarding the lots she said that they were both occupied by dwelling houses and that they would continue to be so occupied. “They are not in the business portion and the entire revenue derived from them does not exceed \$150 annually.” Her petition in the court was granted and so she parted with a parcel of land on Woodward

Avenue that is worth today, nearly fifteen times as much per foot as she got for the entire sixty feet seventy years ago. The farm on the island is worth but little more than it was in 1848.

Lot 100, the next lot up the street was obtained by Robert Smart as a donation in 1808. He sold in 1811 to Augustin Longon, who became the owner of the next lot, reaching to Congress Street, and the two corresponding lots on Woodward Avenue. The entire parcel was purchased by Mary Deveaux for \$1,500 in 1822. Mrs. Deveaux lived on Woodward Avenue and occupied a portion of the frontage on the street for a nursery of young fruit trees at one time.

Mrs. Deveaux had but one child, a daughter, Theodocia, who inherited her property at her death. Theodocia was the wife of William W. Petit, who was a nephew of Governor William Woodbridge. Petit was a lawyer and at one time judge of probate for Wayne County. After his death, Mrs. Petit married Eurotas P. Hastings. Mr. Hastings was always prominent in certain works in the city, particularly charitable and religious works. He was also the trusted man of the community like Charles C. Trowbridge, David Cooper, James V. Campbell and some others whose names are frequently met with in the records of the past. Hastings was for a long time president of the Bank of Michigan. In 1839 he and his wife sold the four lots owned by Mrs. Hastings to that bank for \$26,000.

The south forty feet of lot 100 was owned as follows: By Henry P. Baldwin in 1841, by Ichabod Goodrich in 1845, by Charles G. Hammond in 1851, by John H. Harom in 1852. William F. Chittenden owned it in 1855 and Samuel Lewis bought it in 1863 for \$9,650. The Court House was built on the north forty feet of lot 99.

Frederick and Christian H. Buhl bought the Baldwin piece for \$1,350 in 1841.

In the list of owners of lot 100 appears the name of Henry P. Baldwin. There was a dwelling house on this lot in which Mr. Baldwin lived during the time of his ownership of it. He was still living there in 1846. Mr. Baldwin was born in Rhode Island and came to Detroit in 1838. He held several important offices and was elected governor of the state in 1868, serving four years in that office. He also served the unexpired term of United States Senator Zachariah Chandler, after the latter's death in 1869.

Charles G. Hammond lived in the house a short time. His ownership lasted only for about a year in 1851 and 1852. Mr. Hammond was born in Smyona, New York, and came to Michigan as early as 1836. He was auditor general in 1842-5, and a man in whom the public placed great confidence for his uprightness of character. He moved to the West and did not die in Detroit.

John H. Harmon owned the property from 1852-1855.

Mr. Harmon was born in Ohio in 1819. He was editor of the Free Press for many years succeeding 1842.

John W. Johnston, who dealt in real estate on an extensive scale, lived at 80 Griswold Street in 1859.

There was a dwelling house on the upper part of the lot, next south of the Court House Building. Here Christian H. Buhl lived from 1846 till 1852 and perhaps later.

The building was not removed until the present building was erected in 1859. Of the two brothers, Frederick and Christian, who had so much to do

in the building up of the city, something more ought to be said. They were both prominent in business and in political affairs. They were born in Pennsylvania and came to Detroit about 1833. They were partners in trade in buying, selling and manufacturing furs. Frederick Buhl was mayor of Detroit in 1848 and Christian H. Buhl was mayor from 1860 to 1862. The only instance in the city where two brothers have occupied that office.

Frederick Buhl died May 12, 1890, leaving three children, Walter Buhl, Mrs. Fredericka Ford and Mrs. Grace Moffat, and two grandchildren, Hazel and Harry Buhl, children of a deceased son, Harry Buhl.

#### THE COURT HOUSE

The Court House, or County Building, occupied the north twenty-five feet of lot 99 and ten feet of Congress Street.

Mrs. Mary Deveaux got lot 99 with lot 100. She enclosed ten feet of Congress Street and kept it so long that she became the owner by adverse possession and the title passed with the north twenty-five feet of lot 99 to the Bank of Michigan and thence to Wayne County in 1843 for \$7,960. The property came to be owned by the Bank of Michigan as already stated, and when the bank failed in 1842 the assignees, Charles C. Trowbridge, Robert Stuard and John Owen deeded the property to the County of Wayne as part payment for the indebtedness of the bank to the county.

The bank was the depository for county money and had in its charge at the time of the failure, all of the county funds.

In 1842 there was a small house on the lot that had formerly been owned by Mary Deveaux, but no other improvements.

The county held several other parcels of land that it had obtained from the bank, but it was unable to sell any of them owing to the hard times. There was great need of a building in which to hold the courts and public offices and the board of supervisors resolved to make use of the lot for such purposes, although it was the lowest lot in town and on the bank of what was once a little stream of water, at this time only a ditch. William B. Hunt and John Farrar were appointed a committee to superintend the erection of the building and it was completed and occupied in 1845.

On June 6, 1845, the following appeared in the Free Press: "Wayne County Court House—This neat and tasteful edifice, situated on the corner of Congress and Griswold streets, is among the many other great improvements of our city, about completed. The work certainly does credit to the contractors, Messrs. Jackson and Perry, and to Messrs. Hunt and Farrar much credit is due for their able and faithful superintendence in its construction.

"The building has been most economically erected at an expense of about one-half the cost usually expended in the erection of buildings for that purpose. The courtrooms and jury rooms above are spacious and airy. The offices below are built with an eye to durability and convenience. The entire building is fireproof and a decided ornament to our city."

The completed building was first occupied on Monday, June 9, 1845, and the bar of Detroit tendered a vote of thanks to William B. Hunt, John Farrar, Henry E. Perry and Charles Jackson.

Daniel Goodwin was the circuit judge and the associate judges were Joseph H. Bagg and James Gunning.

Benjamin F. H. Witherell was judge of the District (Criminal) Court.

Although the building was used for public purposes from 1845 until the completion of the New City Hall in 1871, it was poorly and cheaply constructed and was soon in a dilapidated condition and was only patched up to make it hold together until a more suitable building could be obtained.

In the summer of 1859 Mr. C. H. Buhl erected the block of buildings on Griswold Street next below the County Building. In excavating for the erection of Mr. Buhl's building the wall of the County Building was undermined and fell. The wall was soon repaired but the erection of the Buhl Building completely shut out the light from that part of the County Building occupied by the register of deeds. Horace S. Roberts was the register and he rented the rooms diagonally across the street from Crane and Wesson and moved the register's office and records to that building.

During January, 1860, a serious fire in Grand Rapids destroyed the Court House and all of the county records of Kent County. The people of Detroit were much afraid that a fire might destroy the Crane and Wesson Building and all of the Wayne County records.

A special meeting of the board of supervisors was called to take the matter into consideration.

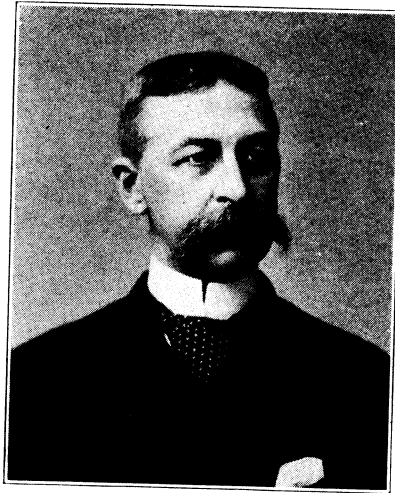
Mr. Roberts recommended the erection of an entirely separate and fire-proof building to hold the public records of the county.

The supervisors did not agree with the register but ordered the old quarters repaired and the records removed to the old County Building and placed in the vault originally built for their protection.

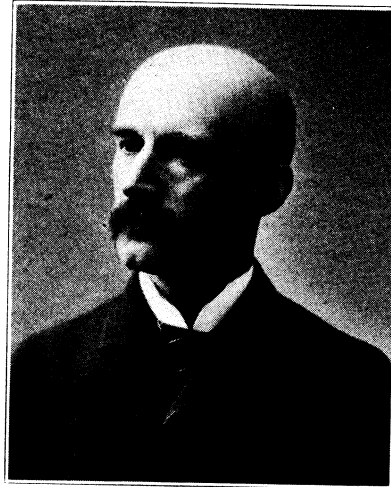
The following is copied from the Free Press of June 10, 1859:

“THE COUNTY COURT HOUSE TUMBLING DOWN

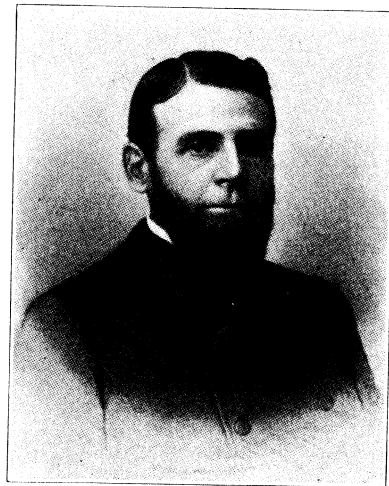
“Last evening about 9 o'clock a portion of the south wall of the Wayne County Building, at the corner of Griswold and Congress streets gave way, taking with it the rear of the offices occupied by the register of deeds and the judge of probate. The immediate cause of the disaster was the excavation made on the lot adjoining on the south, where a cellar is now in process of being dug for the erection of a block of stores. Between the line of this lot and the County Building there was a strip of land about three feet in width, which, at the point where the wall fell, had caved in, leaving the foundation of the building exposed. The foundations extend but about three feet beneath the surface of the ground, which, in this vicinity, is made land, it having originally been a hollow through which a small stream of water ran. The soil is a mixture of clay and sand, and by no means solid. It is this peculiar nature of the land that caused the settlement some time since of portions of this building, and which at this time rendered it, when exposed, too weak to support the weight that rested upon it. The entire south wall would undoubtedly have fallen but for the support given by the partition walls between the offices which occupy the first floor, and the arched ceilings of those offices. The condition of the building was, however, quite precarious at a late hour in the evening, and doubts were entertained of its standing till morning. Whether it can be repaired or not can only be determined by an examination of competent mechanics. It would be a decided benefit to the appearance of the city should it be removed. It has long been an eyesore, besides being an inconvenient and unsuitable building for the purposes for which it was designed. The county offices are altogether too small



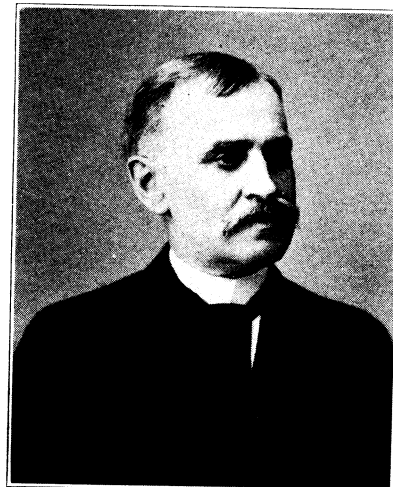
Richard H. Fyfe



Joseph L. Hudson



Martin S. Smith



Henry A. Newland

OLD PORTRAITS OF PROMINENT DETROIT MEN





and are dark, dingy places, more suitable for cattle stalls than public offices. The courtroom is also much too contracted and wholly inferior to the just demands of the first county in the state. In fact there is not a county in Michigan that has not more eligible and commodious as well as beautiful buildings than Wayne. Its jail is a by-word and reproach that is a disgrace to it. The Court House is but little better. We hope there will be no attempt to patch up the old concern, but let a commendable spirit be displayed, and a new building erected that can accommodate the large and increasing business of the county and be an ornament to the city."

This is from the Tribune of June 11, 1859:

"The board of county auditors on June 11, 1859, agreed to allow F. Buhl \$500 to repair the County Building 'after which the property is to be sold at auction.'

"The register's office has been removed to the second story of Crane and Wesson's Building, corner of Congress and Griswold streets."

Another extract from the Free Press of June 18, 1859, reads as follows:

"Patching Up—The old County Court House is being repaired, preparatory to being sold at auction. At least this was the determination of the Board of Auditors at their last meeting. A new foundation has been put in on the dilapidated side and the crumbling wall has been displaced and a new brick wall is now in process of being built."

The building and site were sold to Christian H. Buhl for \$12,500, July 30, 1859, but the county continued to occupy the property until the new city hall was completed in 1871.

In connection with the completion of the brick block of Christian H. Buhl in 1860 an incident occurred that was related in the Free Press of June 19, of that year. Mr. Buhl was mayor of the city at that time and a prominent member of the republican party, then just coming into ascendancy. The editor of the Free Press was the noted Wilbur F. Storey. Mr. Storey was a rabid "fire in the rear" democrat of the species usually called "copperheads." He omitted no opportunity to abuse the republicans and universally referred to them in his paper as "black republicans." He related the story as follows:

"A Family Quarrel—The Mayor a Prisoner  
—The Sidewalk Ordinance Enforced by the  
Mayor against a Prominent Ex-Alderman  
and by the Ex-Alderman against the Mayor.

"A very amusing episode in the municipal history of our city is now transpiring, which, while it affords abundant opportunity to the people for laughter, verifies an old adage, slightly modified: when officials fall out the laws will be enforced. The *dramatic personae* of this laughable entertainment are no less personages than the present black republican, Mayor Christian H. Buhl, and Ex-Alderman Alanson Sheley, one of the bright lights of that party in this state.

"It will be remembered that a few months since an ordinance was passed by the present black republican common council requiring all walks thereafter to be built on certain main avenues and streets, including Woodward Avenue from the river to the Grand Circus, to be constructed of flag-stones at least two feet square. The ordinance, since its passage, has been generally observed in respect to the material of the walks built, but no attention whatever has been paid to the size of the stones used, many walks being laid with stones, scarcely a foot

square. Last week Mr. Sheley commenced the reconstruction of the walk in front of his residence on Woodward Avenue, laying down plank instead of flag-stone. The matter was brought to the attention of the mayor who directed the city marshal to notify the transgressor and order him to desist. On the reception of the notification the ex-alderman, with a determination to show his utter contempt of the ruling powers, directed his workman to proceed with the walk. Whereupon a complaint was lodged in the Recorder's Court, and the rebellious individual was taken into custody on Saturday evening, though released immediately on his recognizance to appear for trial. These proceedings aroused the ire of the accused, who vowed vengeance upon the mayor and yesterday morning set out, accompanied by suitable witnesses, to examine the recently laid flag-walks in front of the stores built this season by Mr. Buhl on Griswold Street, finding quite a fair proportion of the stones much under the requirements of the ordinance as to size. The same was the condition of a walk, built since the passage of the ordinance, in front of the store on Woodward Avenue occupied by C. C. Tyler and Co., shoe dealers, and owned by Mr. Buhl.

"A complaint was thereupon speedily lodged, and yesterday afternoon the mayor found himself a prisoner, charged with a violation of the ordinances he was especially sworn to enforce. It is proper to add that he was likewise discharged upon his own recognizance to appear for trial. Both cases are therefore now pending and their trial will attract no little attention."

The records in the Recorder's Court show that the case against Alanson Sheley proceeded to a trial before a jury July 2, 1860. The jurors were Cornelius Coughlin, John King, Anthony Moross, James Craig, Michael Mullany, Buckminster Wight, William Davis, Daniel Sullivan, W. W. Howland, Daniel Donovan, Willis Allen and John M. Davis.

From the names of the prominent citizens composing the jury it is quite evident the trial was hotly contested. It ended in the acquittal of Mr. Sheley.

#### ABBOTT OWNED CITY BLOCK

Mr. James Abbott owned all the land south of Fort Street on the east side of Griswold Street as far down as Congress Street and on the lower half of the block, where now the Union Trust Company's Building stands, which was for some time a lumber-yard and, at a later date, a stone yard managed for some time by "Sam" Peters. Samuel E. Peters was quite a character in his way. In later years he was known as "Pie Peters."

When invited to participate with others in a treat he declined to drink but always chose instead a piece of pie from the free lunch counter. Hence his name. He at one time occupied and leased the building at the southeast corner of Bates Street and Cadillac Square and at another time had a stone yard on the north side of Michigan Avenue a short distance east of Griswold Street. When his stone yard was on the Abbott lot, he did not occupy the entire premises. There was a small two-story frame building on Congress Street near the alley, which was at one time occupied by a man named Wilmot, who was an architect and had an office there.

On the upper end of the lot was a livery stable. This in 1855 was run by Smolk and Drew, composed of Charles Smolk and George A. Drew. Old citizens connect Abram Smolk with the ownership or management of the stable. Abram Smolk was a contractor and was the person who in 1836 leveled down the Cass

farm front and filled in the ground now occupied by the Michigan Central Railroad.

The part of the Abbott lot south of the alley was leased by Mr. Abbott to Mathew W. Birchard in 1852 for twenty-five years at \$600 per year. Mr. Birchard built on it a hotel which was called the Howard House, from the name of his son-in-law, Hon. William A. Howard, member of Congress. Mr. Howard was at one time postmaster in Detroit. At a later time the hotel came to be managed by Van Est and Graves and was rechristened the Griswold House.

Mr. Birchard formerly lived on the northeast corner of State and Rowland streets, but he lived in the hotel from the time it was erected until his lease expired and he was then too old to engage in new enterprises and moved to Adelaide Street, where he passed the remainder of his days, dying at the extreme age of 102 years.

The Howard House was not all built at one time. The part on the corner of Congress and Griswold streets, extending about half way to the alley, was first erected before 1853. At that time the Smolk livery stable, then run by Charles Smolk, occupied the remainder of the lot.

James Abbott as before stated owned the entire Griswold Street frontage from Fort to Congress streets. He died March 13, 1858, aged eighty-two years, nine months and twelve days, leaving but one child, James Whistler Abbott.

James Whistler Abbott died March 23, 1860. His children were Catherine Frances (who married Guy F. Hinchman), Eliza Jane (who married Robert G. Chandler), Thomas Henry Abbott, Alice (who married Alfred Chesebrough) and George Whistler Abbott who died October 4, 1868, leaving one child, James G. W. Abbott.

It was not until 18—, that the estate of James Abbott was divided among his heirs. At that time the estate was quite large. It was partitioned among the grandchildren and great grandchild above named.

The Griswold House site, in the partition, fell to Alice Chesebrough and Catherine F. Hinchman. The Chesebrough share or portion was sold to Hubbard and King.

In 1892 the Union Trust Company purchased the interest of Mrs. Hinchman in the old hotel for \$190,000 and proposed to tear the building down in order to rebuild on the site. The hotel was deserted and remained unoccupied for a long time before any new work was done. In 1893 a new corporation was formed, called the Union Trust Building Company. The Union Trust Company and Hubbard and King conveyed their interests to the new company and soon the new building was under way. At the time it was erected the only rivals in the city were the Hammond Building and the Chamber of Commerce. The upper part of the Abbott property, where the Hammond Building now stands, was so divided by the partition proceedings of the Abbott Estate that the upper portion, including the old homestead, fell to Ex-Governor John J. Bagley and the Hon. Levi J. Barbour who had purchased a share in the estate. The lower portion, where the barn had formerly stood, fell to Mrs. Eliza Jane Chandler, a granddaughter of Judge Abbott. Mrs. Chandler or her husband, Robert G. Chandler, erected a three-story brick building, used for stores and offices. One of the stores was occupied by Joseph Leshner as a merchant tailor and in the upper rooms Richard H. Hall ("Dick" Hall) the brick maker. Philo Parsons, Sylvester Larned and some others had offices. William Foxen had a real estate office on the ground floor.

The old house, a famous house in its day, was occupied for a time as a restaurant called the "Detroit Restaurant." George C. Bates makes it the starting point for his series of articles, "Bye Gones of Detroit," that appeared in the Free Press. Mr. Bates in describing this house says,

"At that time (1835) except the homes of John Palmer and James Williams directly opposite and where the Moffat Building now stands, and a small wooden building at the rear of what was the Baptist Church, then occupied by Mason Palmer and Mechanics' Hall, then a small, rickety old shanty, there were no buildings in the neighborhood, and when his new home was completed Judge Abbott flattered himself that he was forever outside of and beyond the reach of business wants, or business property; that in future years there he and his children and his children's children could have a quiet country home, where in peace and quiet they could live and die."

After the land became the property of Governor Bagley and Mr. Barbour, it was practically unproductive until they built a row of one-story buildings around the whole of the property, leaving the old house in the midst, connected with the new structures. These buildings were not exactly an ornament to the city, but it was about all that the owners could do with the property at that time. They were waiting the finding of a purchaser who could and would put up a large building on the land.

In 1886 Frank Butterworth saw a good opportunity to make some money and leased the parcel belonging to Bagley and Barbour for ninety-nine years. This is one of the earliest long-time leases in the city, but not the earliest, for the lease of the Biddle House property ante-dated this by some years. The lease was assigned to George H. Elderbrook in 1887 and he prepared to clear the land for a new building. He also made arrangements with Mr. Chandler to buy his part of the land. Everything went along finely until they wanted to tear down the Chandler Building, when it was ascertained that Mr. Leshner had an interest that Chandler neglected to purchase. Elderbrook attempted to drive him from his quarters but Mr. Leshner stood his ground. It was sometime before the matter was concluded but Leshner won out in the end. In the meantime the other buildings had been razed and the work of excavating and rebuilding was progressing.

The way in which the building came to be called the Hammond Building is as follows: Mr. George H. Hammond, a wealthy and very enterprising citizen of Detroit, at the time of his death left his large estate in the control and management of his wife, Mrs. Ellen Hammond. Also at the time of Mr. Hammond's death work on the building had but just begun and Mr. Hammond, having a large sum of money, part of the estate, uninvested was persuaded to purchase the building. It had not, at that time, been given a name, but with the change of ownership it became quite appropriate to give it the name of one of the great men of our city. Mrs. Hammond paid \$100,000.00 for the Chandler portion and \$250,000.00 for the Bagley and Barbour portion.

Tenants in the Hammond Building have been numerous. The People's Savings Bank for a long time occupied the building on the southeast corner of Congress and Griswold streets, and moved to the southwest corner of Fort and Griswold streets in the Moffat Building. This corner had been formerly occupied by the E. B. Smith Book Store—the largest book store ever in the city. The book store afterwards became owned by Thorndyke Bourse and then went out of business, the larger portion being purchased by John McFarlane and moved to Woodward Avenue. The next occupant of the Moffat Corner was the American

Express Company. The People's Savings Bank came next and here the bank remained for some years and then moved across the street to the Hammond Building. When the consolidation of the Peoples Savings Bank and the State Savings Bank took place, the new bank, called the Peoples State Bank, harbored both concerns in its beautiful building on the site of the Mary Thompson Home, southeast corner of Shelby and Fort streets. The next tenant of the Hammond Building was the Dime Savings Bank but it has outgrown its suit of clothes and has now moved into larger and better quarters, across the street to the northwest corner of Griswold and Fort streets. The Wayne County and Home Savings Bank was formed by the consolidation of the Wayne County Savings Bank, the Home Savings Bank and the Michigan Savings Bank. The Wayne County and Home Savings Bank owned the land at the northeast corner of Griswold Street and Michigan Avenue and razed the building for the purpose of putting up a better one. Pending the completion of the new building the three banks, in consolidation, occupied the Wayne County Savings Bank Building on Congress Street. They sold this building and moved into the Hammond Building where they continued to do business until the present building of the Wayne County and Home Savings Bank was completed.

The lots on which the Baptist Church stood, where the new Dime Savings Bank Building stands, fronted on Fort Street, but did not reach as far as the alley south of the McGraw Building. There was a small lot north of the church and between it and the alley on which a frame building was erected many years ago. The church lots were donated by the city to the Baptist Church in 1828.

The directory of 1837 contains some matters connected with this church which may well be copied here. "The Rev. Henry Davis, now of Brockport, New York, was the first regular minister who remained any length of time. He came in the latter part of 1826 and continued for about a year and a half. During this period the members composing the Conference, being joined by some persons belonging to the Baptist denomination, were regularly constituted into a church. This took place on the 21st of October, 1827. At that time they met for public worship in the Academy. In 1831 they applied for admission into *The Michigan Baptist Association* and were successful in their application. About his time a small church was erected for their accommodation at the corner of Fort and Griswold streets, on a lot of land that was generously given to them by the city."

This small building was used during the week by a select school with various teachers. It was situated on the westerly side of the lot, purposely put there in order to allow the vacant space to be occupied by a new brick church which was commenced in 1833 but was not dedicated until 1835. The new building was 70 feet long and 50 feet wide, a magnificent structure for the time.

The growth of the city and the increase in wealth of the congregation warranted a larger and better building and the second edifice was taken down in 1859 to be replaced at once by a still larger and finer one. The corner stone of the new church was laid September 8, 1859, by Rev. James Inglis. The address was delivered by Rev. George Duffield. During the time that the building was being put up, the Baptists held services in the old Congregational Church on the corner of Jefferson Avenue and Beaubien Street.

The Baptist Church was abandoned for church purposes and was sold to Hiram Walker, January 11, 1871, for \$50,000. Mr. Walker converted the property into business uses as far as possible. The auditorium was converted into a

theater and show rooms. Garry A. Hough and William H. Hough used it as a theater in 1874 and later years. In 1877 it was called the Coliseum.

The basement of the building was fitted up for offices and so occupied for a time. Mr. Charles E. Swales at one time had a real estate office there. Then, as an improvement, the walls were extended to the line of Griswold Street and stores were fitted up, one story high and the interior was divided into offices. Goodrich Brothers, Orrin Wardell and Sons, Elisha Taylor, Judge Daniel Goodwin and others were tenants. The office of the Fort Wayne and Elmwood Avenue street railway was on the corner of the two streets, upstairs, for many years. Their rooms were subsequently occupied, for a short time, by Dr. C. H. Burton as a dental office. The University Club rented the corner and the third floor and occupied the rooms several years. The third floor was occasionally used for lodge rooms by different societies.

Just north of the Baptist Church was a two-story wooden building, intended for a dwelling and so occupied for many years. Oliver Newberry bought the lot in 1832 for \$251.00 and probably erected the building. In 1837 Bishop Samuel A. McCosky lived there, but it does not appear how long he remained. It is related that while he was a tenant, he was driven from the building one night by fire and in very scanty attire made his way down the street to a more hospitable place. As the Bishop was very dignified and austere it would seem quite a contrast to his usual habits to run through the streets as he was required to on that occasion and in that style.

Mason Palmer at one time lived in the place. He was a cousin of Thomas and the Elder Friend Palmer. He bought the property from Oliver Newberry in 1850 for \$2,000 and after his death the executor of his will sold it to David Preston for \$14,800 in 1871. As business began to creep up Griswold Street, the house was changed into a store and offices were fitted up in the second floor. A brick addition was made in the rear to which entrance was had by the alley. In this rear building Peter Guenther had a justice office, and at a later time Charles H. Borgman, who had been city clerk, held his Justice Courts for some years. Mr. Borgman was a real estate dealer and money lender as well as justice, and carried on a large business.

In more recent times the place has been occupied as a restaurant under the name of Sharp's Chop House. A bulletin board was erected on the second floor and nearly every day in the summer season thousands of people would gather in the street and on the space around the city hall opposite, to watch the score of the baseball games as they were telephoned to the proprietors of the restaurant.

Whenever a game was won by the favorite of the crowd, a shout would go up that could be heard for many blocks.

The last sale, prior to the recent purchase of the site of the new building, was by David Preston to Hiram Walker in 1873 for \$20,600. This lot, as well as the Baptist Church lot, are now covered with the new magnificent Dime Bank Building.

North of the alley and extending to Lafayette Avenue (or Boulevard) are two lots that were given by the city to the Mechanics' Society in 1828.

The Mechanics' Society had been, for some time, an applicant for a lot on which to build a hall and library and on August 22, 1828, the common council ordered a deed to be executed and delivered to the society for the land on the

east side of Griswold Street, north of Fort Street. This is the same parcel now occupied by the city hall.

This deed was directed to be made in pursuance of a vote of the Freemen of January 11, 1828, and was upon condition that if the plan of the city was changed before any building was erected on the lot, the council could take back the deed and give another lot in its place. The action was rescinded about seven months later (August 29, 1828) and the two lots on the southwest corner of Griswold Street and Lafayette Avenue were given in place of the city hall lot.

The society included most of the worthy mechanics of the olden time and was quite prosperous. It not only held meetings and listened to good lecturers, but it had accumulated a fine library devoted to the objects of the society. It made many improvements on the lots and was, in a way, quite prosperous.

On the south side of the lot was a two-story frame building, the lower floor of which was used for some time by Police Justice Patrick C. Higgins for the Police Court. Higgins was police justice from 1852 to 1856 and was then succeeded by B. Rush Bagg, who was elected for two successive terms, of four years each. His first term began in 1856 and his second in 1860. He also held court in this building (111 Griswold Street) during most of his term. It was in the time immediately following the commencement of the Civil war (1861) that Detroit sunk to the lowest depths of civic degradation. Crime was rampant and the papers of the period were filled with stories of debauchery and moral degradation. There were more houses and buildings destroyed by fire in the early years of the war than there were built, in the same period. It was in February, 1863, that the negro riot took place. A negro named Faulkner was accused of assaulting a young girl. Faulkner was arrested, tried and convicted upon the testimony of the girl. Sentenced to serve ten years in prison, he was hurried off to Jackson before the mob could reach him. There were a number of scoundrels in the city who did not propose to be cheated out of their chance for vengeance by this act of the authorities. They roused the people to a frenzy and a riot was soon going that the local police could not control. The troops, for there were large numbers of troops in camp waiting to be called southward, were called out to protect the city. It was not until after the death of several negroes and the burning of more than thirty houses, that the riot was finally quelled. After several years the girl who had accused Faulkner confessed that her charges were entirely groundless and had been made to create a sensation. Faulkner was set free after serving some five years of an unjust sentence.

Six months prior to this riot, in June, 1862, a worthless female whose subsequent record in the criminal courts demonstrated her abandoned character, preferred charges against the Police Justice, B. Rush Bagg. In spite of his protests and in spite of the good character that he had previously borne, her story was believed and Mr. Bagg was removed from his office.

Bagg was not holding court on Griswold Street at this time, as he had been driven out by a fire about a year before this.

The first story of the above described building was used for a school for some time. Oren Marsh opened school here July 8, 1834. This was only a few days after the building was completed. Mr. Marsh was the first State Librarian when Detroit was the capital.

In 1837 Mrs. Mitchell kept a select school here and Miss Ann Clancy is put

down as a "school mistress" at the same locality. Patrick Higgins had a school here in 1848 before he became police justice.

The Police Court was afterwards on the first floor, then numbered 111 Griswold Street, and in 1849 the Christian Synagogue occupied the rooms overhead. Messrs. Kellner and Patterson also kept school here and Philo Patterson retained the building after Mr. Kellner left. His work was in preparing young men to enter the University. This was the last use of the building before its removal.

Rev. Zarah H. Coston on the 18th of March, 1828, in behalf of the Methodist Church, applied to the common council for a grant of the two lots on the north-west corner of Griswold and Larned streets in exchange for the lot then occupied by that church on the southeast corner of Gratiot Avenue and Farrar Street. The council took the matter under consideration and directed the two lots to be reserved from sale for the time being.

A committee consisting of Mayor Biddle and Aldermen Jerry Dean and Peter J. Desnoyers, was appointed to confer with the church society. After debating the matter for two or three weeks this committee reported that no agreement could be reached with the church society, and the subject was indefinitely postponed.

#### REFUSE LOTS FOR METHODISTS

The petition was subsequently renewed (May 16, 1828) by the Rev. Mr. Coston and Thomas S. Knapp and a new committee (Aldermen Campbell, Jackson and Wait) appointed to examine the application of the church "and also to report at the same time as to the expediency of reserving city lots one and two on the west side of Griswold Street (the same lots) for a site for a city hall."

#### CITY HALL ON SITE OF FEDERAL BUILDING

The committee reported June 29, "That the proposals of the church society are inadmissible and further that it is inexpedient to reserve city lots 1 and 2 on the west side of Griswold Street for a city hall." Although the city was, at this time, the owner of the military reservation under the Act of Congress of 1826, there was an unfulfilled condition connected with the donation. The city was obliged, as a consideration for the transfer, to furnish a new arsenal and barracks for the soldiers.

"This work had not been done. Edwin Reeder, who then claimed to be the owner of the farm called the Crane farm or Reeder farm or Harvey farm, officially known as private claim No. 39, lying near the eastern line of the present fort (Wayne), offered to sell this farm to the city for the purpose of erecting the military works for the garrison. The council appointed a committee consisting of the mayor, [Biddle,] the recorder, B. F. H. Witherell, and Alderman H. M. Campbell to confer with Reeder and make a conditional arrangement for the purchase of the farm "in the event of the passage of a law authorizing the removal of the public buildings from the limits of the city."

The offer of Mr. Reeder was not accepted, as we all know, but the mention of the Reeder farm brings before us an object of great historical romance. The story of this farm has been told many times and need not be here repeated, but to one who is interested in historical romance, the story is of never ending interest.



## MANY EVENTS IN 1829

The year 1829 saw many other matters of importance proposed for the little city. The opening of various streets and alleys, such as the alleys in the blocks bounded by the Campus, Woodward Avenue, Jefferson Avenue, and Griswold Street. The opening of Shelby Street and the sale of the building at Jefferson Avenue that stood in its way (this building was moved to the corner of Shelby and Congress streets, was owned by Cook and afterwards became famous as Parker's Chop House); the extension of the Fort Gratiot Road into the city, for it was proposed to bring it in at right angles to Woodward Avenue, about a mile north of the Campus, and the carrying out of this plan was only prevented by a mass meeting of the citizens held as a protest on June 26, 1828. Mayor Henry Whiting was the officer in charge of laying out this military road, and he laid the same out as requested by the citizens and council.

## POPULATION 2,222 IN 1830

The land for a reservoir and public well on the south side of Fort Street (the south end of lot 8), was granted to Rufus Wells, June 17, 1829.

All of these matters evidenced the growth of the city and the census of 1830 gave us the population as 2,222.

Nearly every church and society in the city applied for lands on which to erect buildings for churches or for the use of the societies. Thus the northwest corner of Griswold and Fort streets was given to the Baptist Society, and lands in other parts of the city were given to the Young Men's Society, the Episcopal, Roman Catholic, Methodist and Presbyterian churches. The Baptist Church was dedicated, Sunday, January 11, 1835.

It was at this time, September 15, 1829, that the land now occupied by the city hall was set aside for a female seminary.

This grant was made in response to a resolution of a Citizens' Meeting held September 15, 1829, at which Jonathan Kearsley presided and John J. Deming was secretary.

The Seminary Building was erected in the year 1834 and was opened June 4, 1835, under the supervision of Mr. and Mrs. William C. Kirkland of Geneva, N. Y. In 1837 the trustees of the seminary asked the council to grant them permission to sell the grounds. A resolution was adopted (March 8) granting the permission asked for upon condition that the trustees execute a bond for \$50,000 to the city conditioned that the trustees should, within two years, purchase another site and erect another building thereon. It was further provided:

"That the real estate so to be purchased shall never be disposed of or appropriated to any other use and purpose than as aforesaid, without the consent of the said common council, and this stipulation shall be embraced in the conveyance to the said trustees."

It is difficult now to determine why the trustees wanted to sell the seminary. It certainly was located in a good quarter of the town. Fine residences were springing up along Fort Street, and across the street from it were the Baptist Church and the Mechanics' Hall. The seminary was not disposed of at this time, nor for several years.

## WRITES NEIGHBORHOOD GOSSIP

Mrs. C. M. Kirkland, who with her husband, had charge of the seminary for some years, was a gifted lady. She was the author of several works, "Autumn

Hours and Fireside Reading," "Memoirs of Our Country" and a dozen other books and articles. The work which created the greatest sensation was produced under the name of Mary Clavers, and related mainly to her Michigan frontier life. It was entitled "Our New Home in the West, or Glimpses of Life Among the Early Settlers." The characters were so faithfully painted that, though fictitious names were given, they were easily discerned and the neighborhood gossip laid bare to the world.

In 1824 another petition was presented to the council, and on March 4 of that year the trustees of the seminary were granted permission to sell the property to the regents of the University of Michigan. The only condition attached to this permission was that the board of regents should continue in Detroit a school for the promotion of female education. This sale was not carried out, and in the following May another resolution was passed by the council, granting permission to the trustees to lease the premises for any length of time they desired. There was a building on the lot used for an engine house. That was not to be included in any lease that might be made. It was erected by Engine Company No. 2.

A meeting of the trustees was held March 24, 1843, at which there were present, Eurotus P. Hastings, president; Jonathan Kearsley, DeGarmo Jones, Henry Chipman, Edward Brooks and Charles C. Trowbridge. A short history of the transactions connected with the seminary was drawn up in the form of resolutions, and was presented to the common council at its meeting of May 2, 1842.

#### VALUE SEMINARY LOT AT \$5,000.00

From this report it appears that the buildings and fixtures on the seminary lot were valued at \$5,000 and that their cost was \$7,325, of which \$4,290 was borrowed from the Bank of Michigan and \$3,035 was subscribed and paid by various citizens and in case of a sale of the property for \$5,000 that sum was to be divided between the bank and the subscribers.

The bank was indebted to the Board of Regents of the University in the sum exceeding \$7,300 and they agreed that a lease of the seminary lot should be executed to them for nine hundred and ninety-nine years in full satisfaction of the claim of the bank which at this time with interest, amounted to \$6,016 and the regents would pay the subscribers the amount due each of them.

It was thereupon resolved that the trustees of the seminary execute to the regents a lease of 999 years of the seminary lot and the premises granted "by deeds dated the 29th of March, 1830 and the 1st of April, 1837, being the Female Seminary grounds on Campus Martius and Griswold Street."

#### TITLE VESTED IN UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

These resolutions were referred to the council and included in the official proceedings. Thus the title to the property became vested in the university.

The university regents in 1854, conveyed the land to the State of Michigan for the express consideration of \$8,095. The state must have had a larger amount than that invested in the property for their possession and part ownership was evidenced as early as 1853.

#### CENTRAL RAILROAD STATION

In 1836 the city permitted the Central Railroad, then owned by the state, to occupy the northerly part of the present city hall site, for a railroad station.

The track ran down Michigan Avenue and the station was on the southerly side of that avenue. The railroad buildings were on the south side of Michigan Avenue and the repair shops were on the Woodward Avenue side nearer Fort Street.

The railroad, as a state institution, was a failure and the state disposed of it to the Michigan Central Railroad Company in 1847. Between that date and 1849 the railroad tracks were taken up and diverted to the foot of Third Street.

In 1853, the state executed a lease to John Ladue for eight years, from February 1, 1853, of that part of the lot lying north of "the Yellow State Building." This lease included all of the old buildings that had formerly been occupied by the Michigan Central Railroad. John Ladue subsequently assigned this lease to Andrew Ladue and Francis E. Eldred. There was a fire in these old buildings in 1859, of which the following is an account taken from the Free Press of June 16 of that year.

"Fire—A fire was discovered, between nine and ten o'clock last evening, bursting from the roof of the old wooden building at the corner of Michigan Avenue and Griswold Street, known as the old railroad depot. When first discovered the fire appeared to be in the garrets of two tin shops situated at about the middle of the building. It is a one-story frame building, about one hundred feet in length, divided by frame partitions into seven shops. These were occupied as follows: commencing at the east end, J. Sabine, saddlery and harness shop; R. J. Foster, business not ascertained; William Sales, tin shop; N. McCarran, tin shop; Thomas Rawson, fruit stand and saloon; Jacob Wien, boots and shoes, and F. F. Eglinton, saloon. The stocks of all excepting the last named were removed with more or less damage.

"They were all small dealers, and of course the losses were not heavy. Mr. Sales was insured in the Atlantic of Providence (A. G. Noyes, agent) for \$400; and Mr. McCarran in the Roger Williams of Providence (B. B. Noyes, agent), for \$750.

"This will probably cover their loss. There was insurance on some of the other stocks, but we were unable to learn particulars.

"The building was owned by Mr. F. E. Eldred and was insured, but for what amount or in what companies we could not learn. The eastern half of it was pretty much destroyed. Mr. Eldred will also suffer some loss from the removal of his own stock of leather and findings in the adjoining building on the east. He is fully insured.

"The origin of the fire is a mystery. The building was partially destroyed a year or two ago by a similar mysterious fire, originating in the garret."

The business of R. J. Foster was stated in the Tribune to be that of a "Fruit and Fowl Store."

In 1856 the state conveyed the land to the city for \$18,816.66. Then began the agitation for the erection of the city hall.

In 1859 proceedings were taken in the Recorder's Court to vacate the west part of the campus in order to enlarge the lot sufficiently to allow for the erection of the city hall.

Some of the people who lived in the neighborhood did not want the city hall erected and a suit was begun in 1860 by Guy F. Hinchman and others to restrain the city from building.

The mayor of the city was the late Christian H. Buhl and the resolution of the council alleged as a reason for vacating the campus that it "has always re-

mained in a neglected condition and has never been useful to the public for purposes of recreation as a park."

On the other hand Mr. Hinchman who lived in the Abbott homestead where the Hammond Building now stands, stated that the city hall would be "large, massive and three stories high" and would greatly damage his property and prevent his enjoyment of the public square.

The Supreme Court decided against Mr. Hinchman and the city proceeded with its building. This was just as the Civil war was breaking out and all thoughts of levying additional taxes for building were abandoned. It was not until some time after the war was ended that the people felt like going on with the work.

The first contract was let in 1866, but the building was not completed until 1871.

Now let us pass on to the north side of Michigan Avenue. Lot 46 in section eight is sixty feet wide fronting on the north side of Michigan Avenue east of the New Home Bank Building lot. It is now owned by the estate of the late William A. Butler. In 1859 there were three stores on the lot, the block being called the "Mechanics' Block." The middle store was No. 20 Michigan Avenue occupied by Asa P. Morrman.

Lot 47 is on the corner of Griswold Street and what was left of lot 48, after Griswold Street was opened through north of Michigan Avenue, is on the east side of Griswold Street a little north of the Avenue. Lot 47 was donated to Charles Stewart (or Stuart) in 1807 and he sold it to George Wyeth for thirty dollars and Jonathan Kearsley bought from Wyeth for \$130.00.

There were several small buildings on the lot, all owned by John Daly who had a lease from Kearsley. Daly had a grocery and house on the corner of the two streets. Daniel Daly lived with him. The buildings were sold to Barney Sweeney and he sold them to various parties. Mathew Hickey occupied a part of the corner in 1856 with Sweeney.

In 1859 Sweeney occupied the building on the corner. At one time there was a school maintained in the upper rooms of the building on the corner. Mr. George N. Brady says that he went to school there when a boy and he remembers as two of his schoolmates the late Senator Thomas W. Palmer and James Scott. The corner building had been formerly occupied by William Ellis, a milkman.

The next building north of Sweeney's was occupied by Daniel Bresnahan and Florence Griffin. In 1852 Daniel Dwyer had a grocery there. The next parcel extended to the alley and was occupied by Cornelius Bresnahan and Bartholomew Gallivan. The east part of the lot fronting on Michigan Avenue was occupied by Jeremiah Ready. There was an alley or passage way along the east side of the lot and one or more houses in the rear faced on the public alley. Pat Conner, a paver, lived in the alley.

Major Kearsley was the owner of the land at the time of his death and his son, Edmund R. Kearsley, and his granddaughter, Sarah M. W. Sterling, sold the property to Robert P. Toms and Christopher Stadler. Toms got the entire parcel at a cost of \$43,000 between 1871 and 1879.

In 1879 there were two brick buildings on the lot, the easterly building being three stories high. The first floor was generally rented for a saloon and Jeremiah Falvey for some years had his grocery there.

It was somewhat difficult to rent the upper stories. We did not have elevators at that time. For some years the upper rooms were rented to a sign

painter. John Vhay had a fruit store on the corner of Griswold Street for a long time.

The buildings were all destroyed in 1893 and an eight story brick and steel building erected by the Home Savings Bank. The Bank occupied the corner and rented the inside store to Waring H. Ellis for a tobacco store, but after the death of Mr. Ellis, enlarged the bank so as to occupy the entire ground floor. The upper rooms were rented for law offices, excepting the first floor which was occupied for twenty years by the Burton Abstract Company.

The title of the buildings and the lease was transferred to James C. McGregor. When the lease expired the Home Bank, now called the Wayne County and Home Savings Bank, purchased the real estate and razed the building to make way for the new building just completed in 1915.

Nearly all of lot 48 was taken to open Griswold Street; a small part of what remained is attached to lot 47, south of the alley and the remainder forms part of lot 78 north of the alley.

Lot 48 was given to Charles Gouin as a donation lot in 1807 and it was sold to Joseph W. Torrey for \$100 in 1827. After the street was opened the portion left was sold to Oliver M. Hyde for \$300 in 1853. He put up a small building on the lower part of the lot, that he used for an office. Hyde leased the office to John Seeley ("Cheap John Seeley") for six years from 1866.

Lot 78 was donated to Daniel Larzeher in 1825 who sold it to Abraham Lazeher for \$50.00 in 1833. Jonathan O. Howland bought it in 1837 for \$1,500.00. The price would indicate that there was a house on the lot.

Lot 78 was a very long lot and faced on Griswold Street as it was first laid down. There was quite a good sized lot left after the street was opened and Oliver M. Hyde purchased it in 1842 and had his home on this lot and the small fraction of lot 48, adjoining. Hyde was mayor of the city at one time and collector of customs. He had some trouble with the government in settling his accounts and the United States begun suit against him and seized this property, but afterwards relinquished it when a settlement was made with Mr. Hyde. Through some transfers to various members of his family the property was retained by them and was sold in 1863 to William C. Duncan and Simon Mandelbaum. A part of the property passed through the hands of Henry Weber, but in 1873 it had all been gathered in the name of Duncan and Mandelbaum. The next owner was Mrs. Sara C. Duncan, now Mrs. Dr. McLean, and she sold it to Clark J. Whitney for \$67,039.26. Stephen Baldwin bought it for \$260,000 in 1894. It is now owned by E. D. Stair, a corporation.

While it was owned by O. M. Hyde he built on it a fine two-story house, facing Griswold Street. The house had two wings, one on either side.

After he left the house it was used for various purposes. A Chinese laundry occupied the northerly wing. The southerly wing was used for a saloon as was also the main part of the house.

In 1875 the Hyde home was torn down and a row of two-story brick buildings erected in place of it. At No. 170 Griswold Street, on the northerly side of the alley, was the office of the Water Board.

After the Water Board purchased Fireman's Hall in the old Armory on Jefferson Avenue, which had been their previous home, the store, 170 Griswold Street, was occupied for a drug store.

In 1894 Clark J. Whitney who had long been connected with musical prop-

erties and theaters, built what is now known as the Garrick Theater and office building, covering the entire site of the old home of Mayor Hyde.

Across the street on the northwest corner of Griswold Street and Michigan Avenue were located lots 49 and 50, extending to what was Griswold Street of the original plan of the city, and lot 51 was on the north side of the avenue next beyond the old vacated street.

All of this land, extending about 150 feet on the avenue to the line of lot 51, belonged to General John R. Williams. He leased it to William Shaw for seven years from May 2, 1846. The lease was cancelled November 15, 1852.

The amount of the rent reserved indicates that there was a building on the lot at this time. There certainly were buildings on the lot before the end of the lease. William Shaw here had a hotel and the hotel and barns connected with it were destroyed by fire September 23, 1850. The hotel was called the Michigan Railroad House and at the time of the fire was owned and kept by William Garrett. Not only were these buildings destroyed by the fire, but also the dwelling house of O. Cook and a dwelling house and barn of Oliver M. Hyde. Mr. Hyde's house was, at the time of the fire, occupied by Charles H. and Thomas S. Sprague, who had in it a large quantity of garden seeds.

The property on the corner remained vacant for several years. In 1862 David A. Ross established a lumber yard which remained for many years.

Theodore P. Hall and William B. Wesson purchased the property from the heirs of John R. Williams and the property is still owned by the estate of these two gentlemen.

## CHAPTER LVI

### STATISTICAL AND MISCELLANEOUS

GROWTH IN POPULATION AS SHOWN BY CENSUS REPORTS—PRESIDENTIAL VOTE  
 SINCE 1836—PUBLIC OFFICIALS—GOVERNORS—MAYORS—CITY CLERKS—CITY  
 TREASURERS—CITY CONTROLLERS—BOARD OF PUBLIC WORKS—COUNTY CLERKS  
 —REGISTERS OF DEEDS—SHERIFFS—COUNTY TREASURERS—PROBATE JUDGES—  
 CIRCUIT COURT COMMISSIONERS—PROSECUTING ATTORNEYS—SURVEYORS—  
 CORONERS—ASSESSORS—MUNICIPAL PROPERTY—TAX EXEMPT PROPERTY—  
 FIRE OF 1703—GREAT FIRE OF JANUARY 1, 1842—EARLY CHRISTMAS DAYS IN  
 OLD DETROIT—BUILDING COSTS—OLD HOTELS—EARLY MASONRY—EARLY ODD  
 FELLOWS.

On July 24, 1920, two hundred and nineteen years had passed since Antoine de LaMothe Cadillac and his little company landed upon the bank of the Detroit River, then in the midst of a wilderness, and began laying the foundations of what is now Michigan's metropolis and the fourth city of the Union. For fifty-nine years Detroit was under French control. Then came the English and the town was a British post until July, 1796, when it was surrendered to the United States. Wayne County was established about a month after the departure of the British, and Detroit was incorporated by an act of the Legislature of the Northwest Territory in January, 1802.

An official census of Detroit taken in 1750 showed a resident population of 483, a garrison of 100 men in the fort, and a floating population of 67—trappers, coureurs de bois, etc. There were then 33 women over fifteen years of age and 95 persons under that age. In 1773 the population was 1,358, of whom 76 were slaves. By order of Lieut.-Gov. Henry Hamilton, a census was taken in April, 1778. It included the soldiers in the garrison and showed a population of 2,144, of whom 127 were slaves. In 1782 the number of inhabitants in the entire Detroit settlement was 2,191. The growth of Detroit and Wayne County, since the incorporation of the city under the charter of September 13, 1806, as shown by the United States census reports, has been as follows:

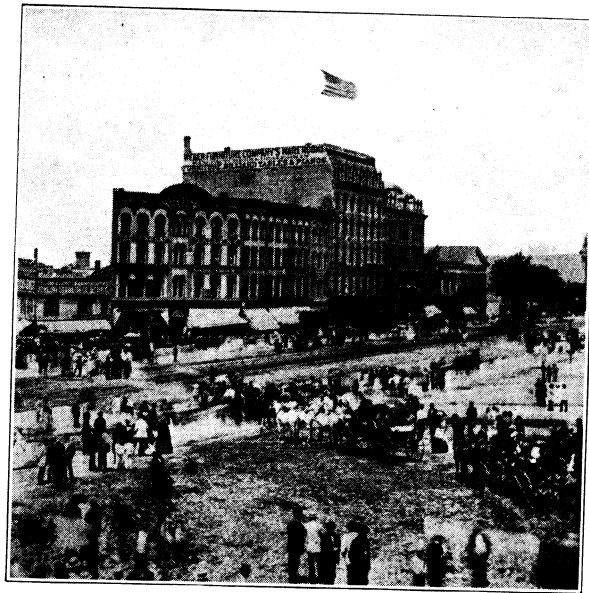
1773	Detroit Settlement (not including soldiers).....	1,367
1778	Detroit Settlement.....	2,144
1779	(including 500 prisoners and 322 persons in garrison).	2,653
1782	Entire Settlement of Detroit.....	2,191
1810	Detroit City.....	1,650
1819	Detroit City.....	1,110
1820	Detroit City.....	1,442
1830	Detroit City.....	2,222
1834	Detroit City.....	4,973
1836	Detroit City.....	6,927
1840	Detroit City.....	9,124
1844	Detroit City.....	10,948
1850	Detroit City.....	21,019

## CITY OF DETROIT

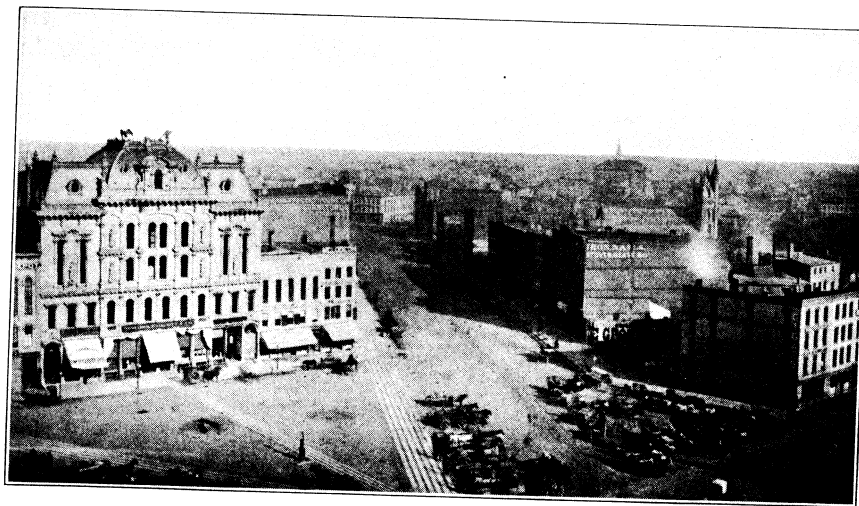
1854	Detroit City.....	41,375
1860	Detroit City.....	45,619
1864	Detroit City.....	53,180
1870	Detroit City.....	79,603
1874	Detroit City.....	101,255
1880	Detroit City.....	116,340
1884	Detroit City.....	132,956
1890	Detroit City.....	205,876
1894	Detroit City.....	237,798
1900	U. S. Census.....	285,704
1900	Water Board Census.....	308,000
1901	Water Board Census.....	313,886
1902	Water Board Census.....	326,178
1902	Polk's Directory Census.....	376,437
1903	Water Board Census.....	339,550
1903	Polk's Directory Census.....	389,845
1904	Polk's Directory Census.....	394,680
1904	Water Board Census.....	353,238
1905	Water Board Census.....	369,805
1905	Polk's Directory Census.....	403,512
1906	Polk's Directory Census.....	438,045
1906	Water Board Census.....	377,208
1907	Water Board Census.....	404,782
1907	Board of Commerce Census.....	407,500
1907	Polk's Directory Census.....	449,138
1908	Water Board Census.....	426,592
1908	Polk's Directory Census.....	467,390
1909	Polk's Directory Census.....	478,554
1909	Water Board Census.....	440,412
1910	Water Board Census.....	462,676
1910	U. S. Census.....	465,766
1910	Polk's Directory Census.....	500,773
1911	Polk's Directory Census.....	552,276
1912	Polk's Directory Census.....	567,994
1913	Polk's Directory Census.....	614,486
1914	Polk's Directory Census.....	658,970
1915	Water Board Census.....	673,498
1915	Polk's Directory Census.....	723,926
1916	Water Board Census.....	734,562
1917	Polk's Directory Census.....	820,778
1918	Polk's Directory Census.....	986,000
1920	U. S. Census.....	993,739

From this table it will be observed that the greatest proportionate growth in the population of the county during any decade was between the years 1830 and 1840, when it was nearly 260 per cent. During the same period the population of the city increased from 2,222 to 9,124, or a little over 310 per cent. In 1840 Detroit was the forty-second city of the United States, Ten years later it was the thirty-first. Since then its growth has been steadily upward until 1920, when it occupied fourth place. The figures above do not include Highland Park and Hamtramck, which, together, comprise close to 95,000 people, and which lie wholly within the city of Detroit.





CAMPUS MARTIUS AND MAJESTIC BUILDING  
CORNER IN AN EARLY DAY



CAMPUS MARTIUS, LOOKING UP MONROE AVENUE, IN 1873



Detroit was founded in 1701. At the end of the first century it had reached a population of something over 1,000. In 1820 the census showed only 1,442 people living here and in 1830 there were 2,222. Keeping about the same stride as other lake cities, it had in 1900 reached a total of 285,704, and this increased in the next decade to 465,766, a gain of 63 per cent. This was considered very remarkable, but it was slight compared with that of the next ten years. In 1910 commenced the industrial expansion, most marked in the automobile business, but extending to all other lines. With the exception of a slight setback in 1914 this was continuous until the last year of the decade, and the census of 1920 showed a gain of 113 per cent and a total under the Detroit city administration of 993,739. Even this was not the full measure of the growth. With the industrial development that was greatly accelerated about 1910, factories and population both began a steady overflow into adjacent territory. The villages of Hamtramck and Highland Park were the chief beneficiaries of this movement. By large annexations of territory, commencing in 1916, the city entirely surrounded these two municipalities. They are as much a part of Detroit's business as any other portion of this territory, but retain their separate municipal administration, both now being under city charters. The complete statement of population inhabiting the 81 square miles within the Detroit city limits was, in 1910, as follows:

	1920	1910
Under Detroit City Government.....	993,739	465,766
Village of Hamtramck.....	48,615	3,559
City of Highland Park.....	46,499	4,120
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	1,088,853	473,445

This is a gain for the decade of a little over 130 per cent, the largest percentage of gain of any of the big population centers. The villages of Dearborn, Ecorse, Oakwood and River Rouge and the township of Springwells have also been built up by Detroit capital, though outside its limits. Their population in 1910 was 10,563 and in 1920 it had increased to 23,878, a gain of 132%.

The population within the limits of the first ten cities was in 1920 as follows:

New York.....	5,621,151	St. Louis.....	772,897
Chicago.....	2,701,212	Boston.....	747,923
Philadelphia.....	1,823,158	Baltimore.....	733,826
Detroit.....	1,088,853	Pittsburgh.....	588,193
Cleveland.....	796,836	Los Angeles.....	575,480

During the decade Detroit rose from ninth to fourth place, Cleveland from sixth to fifth and Los Angeles from seventeenth to tenth. St. Louis and Boston each fell off two points in rank and Baltimore and Pittsburgh one point.

Detroit has gained steadily in population as compared with the rest of the state. In 1840, when the rush of newcomers from the East settled in the two southern tiers of counties, this city had only one twenty-third of the population of the state. In 1860 it was one-sixteenth of the whole, and in 1880 one-seventh. In 1920 it had a very small fraction less than 30 per cent of the whole. The total gain of population in the state in the last decade was 857,049. Nearly 73 per cent of that was within the Detroit city limits, and 721,761, or 84 per cent, was in the four automobile cities of Detroit, Flint, Lansing and Pontiac.

In Detroit in 1920 the number of dwellings was reported at 153,206 and the number of families 218,923, an average of 4.54 persons to a family and 6.5

persons to a dwelling. This is a very slight falling off in the percentage of persons to a family and an increase of 1.1 in the number of persons to a dwelling.

Detroit's foreign-born population in 1910 was 156,565, or 33.6 per cent of the whole. In 1920 it was 289,297, or 29.1 per cent of the whole. The nationalities were as follows:

Canada.....	58,567	Greece.....	4,628
Poland.....	56,624	Jugo Slavia.....	3,702
Germany.....	30,238	Czechoslovakia.....	3,351
Russia.....	27,278	Sweden.....	2,659
England.....	17,169	Lithuania.....	2,653
Italy.....	16,205	Syria.....	1,877
Hungary.....	13,564	Netherlands.....	1,861
Austria.....	10,674	Finland.....	1,785
Ireland.....	7,004	France.....	1,740
Scotland.....	6,933	Denmark.....	1,505
Belgium.....	6,219	Armenia.....	1,361
Roumania.....	4,668		

#### PRESIDENTIAL VOTE

The following table shows the vote cast in Wayne County for President and Vice President of the United States from 1836 to 1916. The letters in parentheses after the names of the candidates refer to the parties, to wit: (D) democrat, (R) republican, (G) greenback, (P) prohibition, (Peo) people's party, (Pro) progressive, (S) socialist, (S L) social labor, (U L) union labor, (N) national, (N D) national democrat, (I) independent, (W) whig. The vote for Greeley and Brown in 1872 included the liberal republicans, and in some of the early elections there were a few "scattering" votes cast for candidates not regularly nominated by party conventions. These scattering votes are not included.

1836—Harrison and Granger (W).....	1,527
Van Buren and Johnson (D).....	1,578
1840—Harrison and Tyler (W).....	2,246
Van Buren and Johnson (D).....	2,237
1844—Clay and Frelinghuysen (W).....	2,346
Polk and Dallas (D).....	2,736
1848—Taylor and Fillmore (W).....	2,540
Cass and Butler (D).....	3,305
1852—Scott and Graham (W).....	3,402
Pierce and King (D).....	4,680
1856—Fremont and Dayton (R).....	5,250
Buchanan and Breckinridge (D).....	5,777
1860—Lincoln and Hamlin (R).....	7,325
Douglas and Johnson (D).....	6,701
1864—Lincoln and Johnson (R).....	5,946
McClellan and Pendleton (D).....	7,670
1868—Grant and Colfax (R).....	9,207
Seymour and Blair (D).....	10,274
1872—Grant and Wilson (R).....	12,186
Greeley and Brown (D and L).....	9,289
O'Connor and Adams (D).....	227

1876—Hayes and Wheeler (R)	12,580
Tilden and Hendricks (D)	15,076
Cooper and Cary (G)	1,064
Smith and Stewart (P)	19
1880—Garfield and Arthur (R)	16,157
Hancock and English (D)	15,064
Weaver and Chambers (G)	718
Dow and Thompson (P)	18
1884—Blaine and Logan (R)	20,930
Cleveland and Hendricks (D)	17,315
St. John and Daniel (P)	703
Butler and West (G)	2,136
1888—Harrison and Morton (R)	21,326
Cleveland and Thurman (D)	25,986
Fisk and Brooks (P)	877
Streeter and Cunningham (U L)	23
1892—Harrison and Reid (R)	26,361
Cleveland and Stevenson (D)	27,580
Weaver and Field (Peo)	495
Bidwell and Cranfill (P)	702
1896—McKinley and Hobart (R)	36,400
Bryan and Sewall (D)	23,231
Palmer and Buckner (N D)	915
Levering and Johnson (P)	258
Matchett and Maguire (S L)	293
Bentley and Southgate (N)	58
1900—McKinley and Roosevelt (R)	36,671
Bryan and Stevenson (D)	28,337
Woolley and Metcalf (P)	543
Barker and Donnelly (Peo)	375
Debs and Harriman (S)	369
Malloney and Rimmell (S L)	61
1904—Roosevelt and Fairbanks (R)	48,393
Parker and Davis (D)	19,548
Debs and Hanford (S)	1,183
Swallow and Carroll (P)	426
Watson and Tibbles (Peo)	59
Corrigan and Cox (S L)	141
1908—Taft and Sherman (R)	49,580
Bryan and Kern (D)	24,128
Debs and Hanford (S)	2,400
Chafin and Watkins (F)	1,401
Gilhaus and Munro (S L)	290
Hisgen and Graves (I)	41
1912—Taft and Butler (R)	26,599
Roosevelt and Johnson (Pro)	34,680
Wilson and Marshall (D)	22,678
Debs and Seidel (S)	3,657
Chafin and Watkins (P)	547
Reimer and Gilhaus (S L)	260

1916—Hughes and Fairbanks (R).....	70,056
Wilson and Marshall (D).....	60,935
Benson and Kirkpatrick (S).....	3,204
Hanly and Landrith (P).....	980
Reimer and Harrison (S L).....	9
1920—Harding and Coolidge (R).....	220,503
Cox and Roosevelt (D).....	51,770

In the November, 1920, election there were over twice as many votes cast as in any other election in the city's history.

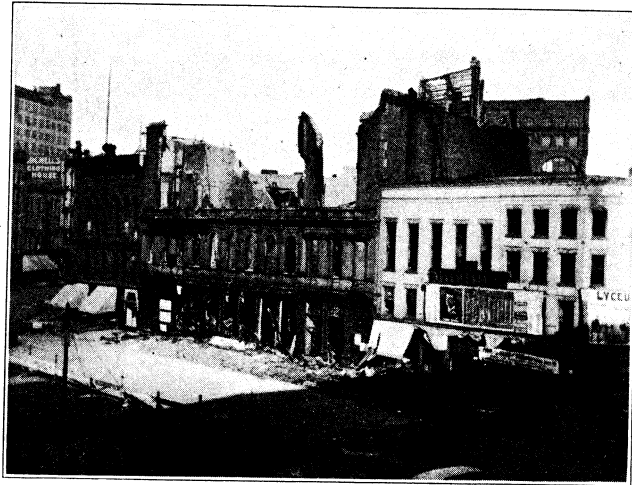
#### PUBLIC OFFICIALS

The succeeding list of the principal city and county officials has been compiled for ready reference, and as several of the state governors were residents of Wayne County at the time of their election, a list of the chief executives since the admission of Michigan into the Union is included. Following the name of each official is the year in which he was elected or entered upon the duties of the office, and each one—except in a few cases of death or resignation—served until his successor was elected and qualified.

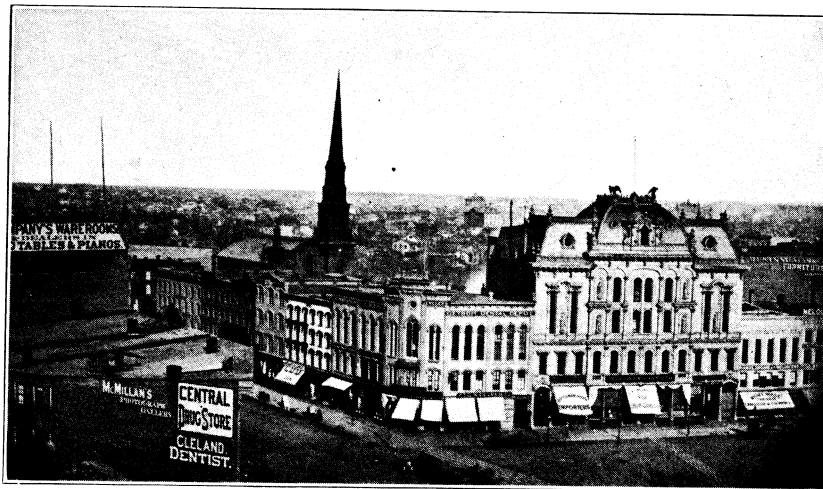
Governors—Stevens T. Mason, 1835; William Woodbridge, 1840; J. Wright Gordon (acting), 1841; John S. Barry, 1842; Alpheus Felch, 1846; William L. Greenly (acting), 1847; Epaphroditus Ransom, 1848; John S. Barry, 1850; Robert McClelland, 1852; Andrew Parsons (acting), 1853; Kinsley S. Bingham, 1855; Moses Wisner, 1859; Austin Blair, 1861; Henry H. Crapo, 1865; Henry P. Baldwin, 1869; John J. Bagley, 1873; Charles M. Crosswell, 1877; D. H. Jerome, 1881; Josiah W. Begole, 1883; Russell A. Alger, 1885; Cyrus G. Luce, 1887; Edwin B. Winans, 1891; John T. Rich, 1893; Hazen S. Pingree, 1897; Aaron T. Bliss, 1901; Frederick M. Warner, 1905; Chase S. Osborne, 1911; Woodbridge N. Ferris, 1913; Albert E. Sleeper, 1917; Alexander J. Groesbeck, 1921.

Mayors—John R. Williams, 1824; Henry J. Hunt, 1826; Jonathan Kearsley, 1826; John Biddle, 1827; Jonathan Kearsley, 1829; John R. Williams, 1830; Marshall Chapin, 1831; Levi Cook, 1832; Marshall Chapin, 1833; Charles C. Trowbridge, 1834; Andrew Mack, 1834; Levi Cook, 1835; Henry Howard, 1837; Augustus A. Porter, 1838; De Garmo Jones, 1839; Zina Pitcher, 1840; Douglas Houghton, 1842; Zina Pitcher, 1843; John R. Williams, 1844; James A. Vandyke, 1847; Frederick Buhl, 1848; Charles Howard, 1849; John Ladue, 1850; Zachariah Chandler, 1851; John H. Harmon, 1852; Oliver M. Hyde, 1854; Henry Ledyard, 1855; Oliver M. Hyde, 1856; John Patton, 1858; Christian H. Buhl, 1860; William C. Duncan, 1862; Kirkland C. Barker, 1864; Merrill I. Mills, 1866; William W. Wheaton, 1868; Hugh Moffat, 1872; Alexander Lewis, 1876; George C. Langdon, 1878; William B. Thompson, 1880; S. B. Grummond, 1884; M. H. Chamberlain, 1886; John Pridgeon, Jr., 1888; Hazen S. Pingree, 1890; William Reichert, 1896; William C. Maybury, 1896; George P. Codd, 1905; William B. Thompson, 1907; Philip Breitmeyer, 1909; William B. Thompson, 1911; Oscar B. Marx, 1913; James Couzens, 1919-1921.

City Clerks—Voltaire Spaulding, 1824; John J. Deming, 1827; John L. Whiting, 1831; John Winder, 1833; Felix Hinchman, 1835; George Byrd, 1836; Caleb F. Davis, 1840; Robert E. Roberts, 1843; Jeremiah Van Rensselaer, 1849; Amos T. Hall, 1850; Daniel Munger, 1851; Horace S. Roberts, 1853; Richard Starkey, 1854; Francis W. Hughes, 1858; Rollin C. Smith, 1860; Herman A. Lacey, 1861; Francis Parmstaller, 1862; Henry Starkey, 1866; Charles H



RUINS OF THE DETROIT OPERA HOUSE TAKEN OCTOBER 9, 1897, TWO DAYS AFTER THE FIRE



DETROIT OPERA HOUSE AND SURROUNDINGS IN 1878, SHOWING SPIRE OF THE FIRST PRESBYTERIAN, OR FIRST PROTESTANT, CHURCH IN THE BACKGROUND, WHICH STOOD ON THE SITE OF THE PRESENT HUDSON STORE





Borgman, 1872; Louis Dillman, 1878; Alexander A. Saenger, 1882; William T. Dust, 1886; August G. Kronberg, 1888; Charles R. Forster, 1892; John A. Schmid, 1896; George T. Gaston, 1903; Charles A. Nichols, 1909; Richard Lindsay, 1913; Richard Lindsay, 1921.

City Treasurers—Henry S. Cole, 1824; James T. Penny, 1829; Randall S. Rice, 1830; David French, 1836; Peter Desnoyers, 1837; John Farmer, 1838; John C. Williams, 1839; Francis X. Cicotte, 1840; Daniel J. Campau, 1842; Theodore Williams, 1844; David Smart, 1846; John Winder, 1847; William A. Howard, 1848; Nathan B. Carpenter, 1850; John Campbell, 1854; Daniel P. Bushnell, 1860; Allen A. Rabineau, 1862; Edward S. Leadbeater, 1866; Edwin S. Hinsdale, 1871; William Parkinson, 1876; John S. Schmittdiel, 1884; Thomas P. Tuite, 1888; Louis B. Littlefield, 1892; William B. Thompson, 1898; Henry S. Doran, 1907; Max C. Koch, 1907; Guy L. Ingalls, 1919-1921.

City Controllers—The office of city controller was created in 1850. Since that time the office has been occupied by the following controllers: Amos T. Hall, 1850; Charles Peltier, 1854; J. M. Edmunds, 1859; Benjamin L. Webb, 1861; D. C. Whitwood, 1862; A. H. Redfield, 1863; B. G. Stimson, 1868; E. I. Garfield, 1871; H. P. Bridge, 1877; Luther S. Trowbridge, 1883; Alfred Chesebrough, 1885; William B. Moran, 1886; John B. Molony, 1889; Peter Rush, 1890; C. A. Black, 1892; Patrick Barry, 1893; C. W. Moore, 1893; F. A. Blades, 1895; Richard P. Joy, 1906; Frank E. Doremus, 1907; David E. Heineman, 1910; George Engel, 1913; Henry Steffens, Jr., 1919.

Board of Public Works—The department of public works was established in 1873, when Harvey King, Alexander Chapoton and Nicol Mitchell were appointed members of the board. In 1901 the "Ripper Act" created a one-man board. The names of members and the year of appointment were as follows: Stanley G. Wright, 1876; William Purcell, 1877; Frederick Ruehle, 1878; William Langley, 1879; Benjamin Briscoe, 1880; John B. Stoutenberg, 1882; Thomas McGrath, 1886; James Hanley, 1888; Michael J. Griffin, 1890; Jacob Guthard, 1890; John B. Mulliken, 1891; John McVicar, 1891; James Dean, 1891; D. W. H. Moreland, 1896; Herman F. Kallman, 1897; James W. Millen, 1898; Marshall H. Godfrey, 1900; D. W. H. Moreland, 1901; William H. Maybury, 1903; Jacob J. Haarer, 1905; George H. Fenkell, 1913; H. H. Esselstyn, 1918; George Engel, 1919; Joseph A. Martin, 1920.

County Clerks—Philip Lecuyer, 1826; Jeremiah V. R. Ten Eyek, 1827; James B. Whipple, 1829; Isaac S. Rowland, 1832; G. Mott Williams, 1836; Theophilus E. Tallman, 1837; Charles Peltier, 1838; Theodore Williams, 1841; George R. Griswold, 1843; D. C. Holbrook, 1847; Silas A. Bagg, 1849; Jeremiah Van Rensselaer, 1851; Elijah Hawley, Jr., 1853; Enos T. Throop, 1857; David Walker, 1861; Jared Patchin, 1863; J. D. Weir, 1865; Stephen P. Purdy, 1869; Ray Haddock, 1873; Jeremiah Sheahan, 1877; R. A. Liggett, 1879; John J. Enright, 1883; William P. Lane, 1887; William May, 1891; Henry M. Reynolds, 1895; William H. McGregor, 1899; Louis W. Himes, 1905; Thomas F. Farrell, 1909; Milton Oakman, 1917; Thomas F. Farrell, 1919-1921.

Registers of Deeds—Randall S. Rice, 1835; Charles W. Whipple, 1836; George R. Griswold, 1837; Josiah Snow, 1841; Silas A. Bagg, 1843; C. V. Selkrig, 1847; Henry Campau, 1851; H. R. Nowland, 1855; H. S. Roberts, 1857; H. M. Whittlesey, 1861; Edward N. Lacroix, 1863; W. E. Warner, 1865; Alonzo Eaton, 1869; John W. McMillan, 1873; Charles Dupont, 1875; Henry Plass, 1879; J. I. Mitchell, 1881; Charles M. Rousseau, 1883; Michael P. Roulo, 1887; Robert E. Bolger, 1889; John A. Heames, 1891; Ferdinand W. Marschner, 1895;

Samuel R. Kingsley, 1899; Orrin P. Gulley, 1903; Otto Stoll, 1909 (still in office in 1921).

Sheriffs—This office dates back to the American occupation of Detroit in 1796. Herman Eberts, 1796; Lewis Bond, 1798; George McDougall, 1800; Elias Wallen, 1801; Thomas McCrae, 1803; Richard Smyth, 1804; J. H. Audrain, 1815; Austin E. Wing, 1816; Abraham Edwards, 1825; William Meldrum, 1825; T. C. Sheldon, 1826; Thomas S. Knapp, 1829; Benjamin Woodworth, 1830; John M. Wilson, 1831; Lemuel Goodell, 1839; Daniel Thompson, 1841; H. R. Andrews, 1845; Lyman Baldwin, 1851; Horace Gray, 1853; Joshua Howard, 1855; Edward V. Cicotte, 1857; Peter Fralick, 1860; Mark Flanigan, 1861; Francis X. Cicotte, 1865; Edward V. Cicotte, 1867; John Patton, 1869; George C. Codd, 1871; Jared A. Sexton, 1875; Walter H. Coots, 1877; Conrad Clippert, 1881; George H. Stellwagen, 1885; Louis B. Littlefield, 1887; James Hanley, 1891; Charles P. Collins, 1893; Harry F. Chipman, 1897; G. Duffield Stewart, 1899; Henry A. Dickson, 1901; James D. Burns, 1907; George T. Gaston, 1909; Milton Oakman, 1913; Edward F. Stein, 1917; Irving J. Coffin, 1919-1921.

County Treasurers—Matthew Ernst, 1801; Richard Smyth, 1805; Conrad Ten Eyck, 1817; Peter Desnoyers, 1825; David French, 1833; Elliot Gray, 1836; Garry Spencer, 1837; Reynold Gillett, 1840; Peter Desnoyers, 1843; Daniel J. Campau, 1845; John B. Schick, 1850; G. M. Rich, 1851; William Harsha, 1855; G. M. Rich, 1857; John Bloynk, 1861; George Miller, 1863; E. P. Benoit, 1867; Paul Gies, 1869; John F. W. Thon, 1873; George H. Stellwagen, 1875; Calvin B. Crosby, 1879; Bernard Youngblood, 1883; Ralph Phelps, Jr., 1887; George C. Huebner, 1891; Milton E. Carlton, 1893; Alexander I. McLeod, 1895; Charles A. Burer, 1899; Frederick F. Snow, 1903; Forbes Robertson, 1905; William F. Moeller, 1909; Edward F. Stein, 1913; William H. Green, Jr., 1917; Godfrey Freiwald, 1921.

Probate Judges—Peter Audrain, 1796; George McDougall, 1809; Charles Larned, 1818; W. W. Petit, 1825; Henry S. Cole, 1826; Joseph W. Torrey, 1829; Thomas Rowland, 1833; Benjamin F. H. Witherell, 1834; George E. Hand, 1835; George A. O'Keefe, 1837; Alpheus S. Williams, 1840; Cornelius O'Flynn, 1844; Joseph H. Bagg, 1852; Elijah Hawley, Jr., 1856; W. P. Yerkes, 1860; H. W. Deare, 1864; James D. Weir, 1868; A. H. Wilkinson, 1872; Edgar O. Durfee, 1876. Judge Durfee has held office continuously since 1876. In 1913 the Probate Court of Wayne County was made to consist of three judges. The court in that year was composed of Edgar O. Durfee, Henry S. Hulbert and Stewart Hanley. Since 1915 the judges have been Edgar O. Durfee, Edward Command and Henry S. Hulbert.

Circuit Court Commissioners—The office of Circuit Court commissioner was created in 1843, and until 1850 there was only one commissioner to a county. Since 1850 each county has had two commissioners. Following is a list of the commissioners for Wayne County: 1843, E. Smith Lee; 1846, Elisha Taylor; 1850, George Robb and W. T. Young; 1852, George Robb and D. A. A. Ensworth; 1853, Addison Mandell and W. T. Young; 1855, D. A. A. Ensworth and R. H. Brown; 1857, R. H. Brown and T. H. Blackmar; 1859, T. S. Blackmar and G. H. Prentis; 1861, F. B. Porter and Ervin Palmer; 1863, T. S. Blackmar and G. H. Prentis; 1865, G. H. Prentis and T. K. Gillett; 1867, T. K. Gillett and W. S. Atwood; 1868, B. T. Prentis and T. K. Gillett; 1869, B. T. Prentis and Edward Minnock; 1873, G. H. Penniman and Henry Plass, Jr.; 1875, J. A. Randall and J. H. Pound; 1877, J. A. Randall and D. B. Hibbard; 1879, J. A.

Randall and Henry F. Chipman; 1881, Charles Flowers and W. J. Craig; 1885, Joseph M. Weiss and John D. Canfield; 1889, Lewis C. Watson and John Conside, Jr.; 1893, D. A. Straker and David E. Greenstine; 1897, Ari E. Woodruff and William A. Hurst; 1901, Samuel L. May and William H. Corlett; 1905, Samuel L. May and Charles C. Simons; and since 1907, Samuel L. May and Henry G. Nichol.

Prosecuting Attorneys—Charles Larned, 1819; Warner Wing, 1828; Benjamin F. H. Witherell, 1829; Warner Wing, 1830; Benjamin F. H. Witherell, 1831; Warner Wing, 1832; James Q. Adams, 1833; Benjamin F. H. Witherell, 1834; James A. Vandyke, 1840; A. W. Buel, 1843; William Hale, 1846; David Stuart, 1849; A. T. McReynolds, 1853; J. P. C. Emmons, 1855; J. Knox Gavin, 1857; D. E. Harbaugh, 1860; J. Knox Gavin, 1862; Jared Patchin, 1866; George Hebden, 1867; P. J. D. Vandyke, 1869; F. H. Chambers, 1873; J. G. Hawley, 1875; Henry N. Brevoort, 1877; Michael Firnane, 1881; James Caplis, 1881; George F. Robison, 1885; James V. D. Wilcox, 1889; Samuel J. Burroughs, 1891; Allen H. Frazer, 1893; Ormond F. Hunt, 1901; George F. Robison, 1907; Philip T. Van Zile, 1909; Hugh Shepherd, 1913; Charles H. Jasnowski, 1915; M. H. Bishop, 1919; Paul W. Voorhies, 1921.

Surveyors—The office of county surveyor was created by the act of July 31, 1830. The surveyors of Wayne County have been: John Mullet, 1830; John Farmer, 1831; Eli Bradshaw, 1837; Elijah Hawley, Jr., 1841; William H. Brown, 1849; Henry Brevoort, Jr., 1851; Thomas Campau, 1853; Nathan Thelan, 1855; David Granger, 1860; William B. Knapp, 1861; William Ives, 1863; Nathan Thelan, 1865; A. H. Wilmarth, 1869; E. J. Goodell, 1873; L. D. Harris, 1875; C. H. Ellis, 1877; E. J. Goodell, 1881; Milo B. Davis, 1885; Thomas Campau, 1887; Elijah Goodell, 1893; George W. Turner, 1895; Henry J. Naumann, 1897; Elijah J. Goodell, 1899; Max C. Heise, 1901; Henry R. Smith, 1903; William S. Parker, 1911; George A. Dingman, 1917; William S. Parker, 1919-1921.

Coroners—The office of coroner was established under the government of the Northwest Territory. By an act of the first State Legislature, each county was authorized to elect two coroners. The constitution of 1850 made no provision for the office and no coroners were elected between the years 1851 and 1857, when the Revised Statutes revived the office. The coroners of Wayne County have been as follows: Herman Eberts, 1796; John Dodemead, 1799; Joseph Harrison, 1803; Joseph Wilkinson 1804; Benjamin Woodworth, 1815; (Mr. Woodworth held the office until 1836); Benjamin Woodworth and Abram S. Schoolcraft, 1836; Daniel Petty and A. Y. Murray, 1837; A. Y. Murray and David French, 1840; James Gunning and James Hammer, 1841; James Beaubien and John Simons, 1843; W. W. Howland and J. B. Sprague, 1844; Alexander Leadbeater and Paschal Mason, 1845; John H. Hill and H. R. Nowland, 1847; C. W. Jackson and Alanson Parsons, 1850; D. D. Hustis and Enoch Lewis, 1851; George Moran and Daniel Murray, 1857; C. W. Tuttle and A. W. Sprague, 1858; Edward Lauderdale and Charles H. Barrett, 1861; J. W. Daly and Reuben Huston, 1863; J. W. Daly and Timothy McCarthy, 1865; J. W. Daly and P. B. Austin, 1867; James Cahill and John Gnau, 1869; A. F. Jennings and J. S. Griffin, 1873; J. S. Griffin and N. B. Rowley, 1874; James Cahill and N. B. Rowley, 1875; Peter Oaks and John Wilson, 1877; Peter Oaks and Adam Schulte, 1878; Adam Schulte and ———, 1880; A. E. Carrier and J. D. Richards, 1881; A. E. Carrier and W. G. Clark, 1882; Martin Denne and Joseph Locke, 1883; Joseph Locke and Richard M. Keefe, 1885; Richard M. Keefe and Richard R.

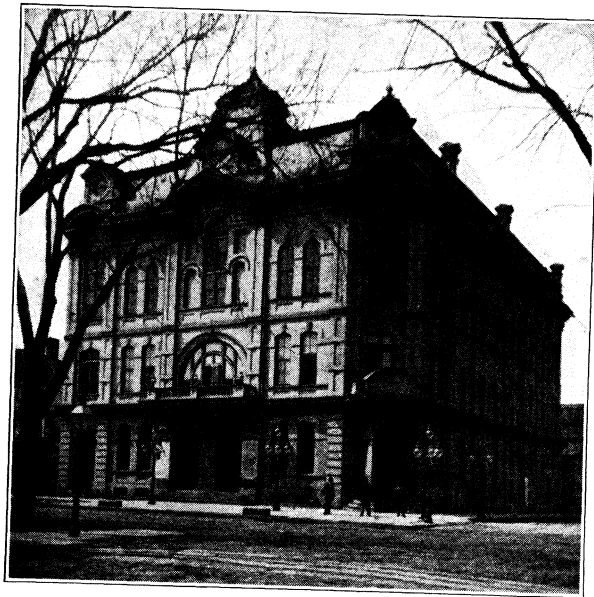
Lansing, 1887; Richard Toomey and Philip H. Brown, 1889; James Downs and James R. Keefe, 1891; Philip H. Brown and Frederick C. Beatcher, 1893; Joseph Bettinger and Daniel M. Butler, 1895; Henry B. Dickson and A. F. W. Forth, 1897; John T. Hoffman and A. F. W. Forth, 1899; John T. Hoffman and Charles A. Harrison, 1903; John T. Hoffman and Morgan Parker, 1905; Morgan Parker and John F. Bennett, 1907; John F. Bennett and James E. Burgess, 1909; James E. Burgess and Jacob W. Rothacker, 1911; Jacob W. Rothacker and Morgan Parker, 1917 (both re-elected in 1919); Jas. E. Burgess and J. W. Rothacker, 1921.

Assessors—John C. Hartz, P. J. M. Hally, Wm. T. Dust, 1900; Benjamin Guiney, Wm. T. Dust, John C. Hartz, 1901; Jos. H. Hansjosten, John C. Hartz, Benjamin Guiney, 1902; John C. Hartz, Benjamin Guiney, Edward F. Marschner, 1903; Edward F. Marschner, Frank A. Aldenbrand, Benjamin Guiney, 1904; Frank A. Aldenbrand, Benjamin Guiney, Edward F. Marschner, 1905; Benjamin Guiney, Edward F. Marschner, Henry Plass, 1906; Benjamin Guiney, Edward F. Marschner, Henry Plass, 1907; John C. Nagel, Henry Plass, Henry S. Doran, 1908; Henry Plass, Henry S. Doran, John C. Nagel, 1909; Henry Plass, Henry S. Doran, John C. Nagel, 1910; Henry Plass, John C. Nagel, Oscar B. Marx, 1911; Henry Plass, John C. Nagel, Oscar B. Marx, 1912; John C. Nagel, Oscar B. Marx, D. L. Dilworth, 1913; D. L. Dilworth, G. J. Albrecht, John Kohler, 1914; G. J. Albrecht, John Kohler, D. L. Dilworth, 1915; John Kohler, D. L. Dilworth, G. J. Albrecht, 1916; D. L. Dilworth, G. J. Albrecht, John Kohler, 1917; D. L. Dilworth, G. J. Albrecht, John Kohler, 1918; from 1920 to date: J. J. Scott, Jr., J. A. Schulte, P. C. Baker, R. W. Reading.

## MUNICIPAL PROPERTY

The property belonging to the City of Detroit, with its valuation, is shown in the following table, as reported by the city assessor in 1920-21.

City Hall.....	\$ 4,793,000
Museum of Art.....	942,300
House of Correction.....	627,950
Municipal Court Building.....	844,800
New Main Library (uncompleted).....	2,941,350
Branch Libraries.....	1,932,190
G. A. R. Memorial Building.....	70,300
City Service Building.....	45,000
Markets.....	441,750
Storage Yards, etc.....	1,702,130
Health Building.....	12,000
Tuberculosis Hospital.....	25,000
Contagious Disease Hospital.....	592,900
Receiving Hospital.....	295,370
Public School Buildings.....	17,906,000
Playgrounds.....	866,100
Public Parks and Boulevards.....	31,294,000
Police Stations, etc.....	539,600
Public Lighting Plant.....	671,040
Fire Department.....	1,602,500
Water Department.....	8,502,430
Personal Property (approximately).....	25,000,000
Total.....	\$101,648,310



WHITNEY OPERA HOUSE, IN 1876, ON NORTHWEST  
CORNER FORT AND SHELBY  
Site of present post office



In 1920-21 the property in Detroit which was exempt from taxation was as follows:

Religious Denominations.....	\$ 22,244,700
United States Government.....	5,260,300
State of Michigan (Military Dept.).....	170,000
Wayne County.....	2,745,500
Highland Park (Reservoir Site).....	100,000
Cemeteries and Crematory.....	3,433,500
Hospitals, Asylums, Medical College.....	4,500,000
Charitable and Benevolent Institutions.....	2,900,500
Private Schools and University of Michigan.....	1,250,000
Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A.....	1,750,000
Michigan State Fair Assn.....	737,260
Old Soldiers' Exemption.....	300,000
Charity Exemption.....	200,000
	<hr/>
	121,954,490
Personal Property, etc. of City of Detroit, approximate.....	25,000,000
Personal Property, Hospitals, Churches, etc., approximate.....	6,500,000
	<hr/>
	31,500,000
	<hr/>
Grand Total.....	\$153,454,490

#### MISCELLANEOUS

##### FIRE OF 1703

The fire which destroyed Ste. Anne's Church and the fort itself occurred October 5, 1703, according to the church records. The intention of the incendiary was not, probably, to burn the church, but to destroy the warehouse filled with furs and goods. The result of the fire is thus reported by Cadillac.

"The fire having been put in a barn which was flanked by the two bastions and was full of corn and other crops; the flame by a strong wind burnt down the church, the house of the Recollet, that of M. Tonty and mine, which cost me a loss of four hundred pistoles, which I could have saved if I had been willing to let the company warehouse burn, and the King's ammunition. I had even one hand burnt and I lost, for the most part, all my papers in it. The savage who set fire to the barn was short; we have never been able to learn who it was. We may be able to obtain some information about it hereafter. All the tribes settled at Detroit assert that it was a strange savage who did this deed, or rather they say, some Frenchman who has been paid for doing this wicked act; God alone knows."

Cadillac thought, and stated, that the Jesuits at Mackinac were to blame for the burning; that they either planned it or assented to it. In 1706, the Marquis de Vaudreuil made the following report regarding the fire:

"I have believed in common with the whole country that it was a savage who set fire to the barn at Detroit in 1703, but M. de Ramezay has just sent me word that an inhabitant of Montreal named Campeau has told him that it was a soldier named La Ville of Tonty's company who set fire to it. I am going to

have the inhabitant and the soldier sent down and I shall hand over this matter to the Intendant, to whom I have already given notice of it so that he could have the prosecution prepared."

#### THE GREAT FIRE OF JANUARY 1, 1842

On the first day of January at ten o'clock at night a fire broke out in a wooden building on the west side of Woodward Avenue a short distance above Woodbridge Street. The wind was blowing strong and the flames spread rapidly along Woodbridge Street to the west, lapping up everything in its progress. All the buildings in this neighborhood were of wood and burned very rapidly. Between Woodward Avenue and Griswold Street there were thirteen small shacks or places used for stores, law offices, saloons, dwellings and apartments. This was the location of the present Mariner's Church and the lot behind the church and fronting on Griswold Street and owned by the Church Society. Next north of the church lot was a little frame building in which the fire started. Adjoining this was the Ohio House, a quite pretentious hotel which had been formerly owned by Richard Smyth but which had recently passed into the ownership of Charles Giddings and William Dwight. The building was sometimes called the New York and Ohio House and was now managed by Mr. William Shaw, who owned the furniture. This building was the first to go up in the fire. The fire came up so suddenly and was so furious that no part of the contents of the building were saved.

The next buildings to give way were in the long row of small buildings reaching from Woodward Avenue to Griswold Street along Woodbridge Street. This row included the buildings on the corner below where the fire started. All the barns and outbuildings behind these buildings were destroyed. There was a large brick building on the southeast corner of Griswold Street and Jefferson Avenue, built about 1821 by Thomas and Friend Palmer. It was surmounted by a cupola. The roof and cupola caught fire from the flying embers and soon the buildings were on fire and the rear part of two wooden buildings that fronted on Jefferson Avenue and the rear of the brick buildings that were on the corner of Woodward and Jefferson Avenue—the old "Curry's Corner."

The Free Press was in the Palmer brick building on the east side of Griswold Street, south of Jefferson Avenue. It was not at first thought that this building would be reached by the fire and the Free Press employees were at work trying to save some property of the Daily Advertiser on the opposite corner of the same block, that is on the Curry's Corner, upstairs. While they were absent at this work the flames broke out in the Free Press Office and everything was lost, while much of the Advertiser's property was saved. The Free Press set up a new establishment on the northwest corner of Jefferson Avenue and Shelby Street.

In the report the Advertiser a few days later stated that "In a very few minutes the entire square fronting on the Avenue was a solid sheet of flame. The spectacle was sublime, but the heat was so intense as to threaten the buildings on the opposite sides of the streets." "At three o'clock not one of the twenty-five buildings which stood upon the ground remained." Starting on the corner of Jefferson Avenue and Griswold Street the following is a schedule of owners, losses and details as we can gather them at this time.

On the corner was the large brick building called the Palmer block. Mr. Palmer had occupied the premises since October 5, 1841, though he had some



time since that had a store here with Thomas and Friend Palmer. The corner store was kept by John Palmer. Most of his goods were saved. The next store in the same building was the book store and printing office of Asahel Smith Bagg. This was partly destroyed.

The Palmer building extended to the alley south of Jefferson Avenue. It was owned by Seth Grosvenor at the time of the fire and had recently come into his ownership through foreclosure proceedings.

Next to the Palmer block on the east was a wooden building. The lot was owned by John McDonell. The account of the fire states that the building was owned by Nathaniel T. Ludden. It was occupied by John Garrison.

The next wooden building was on a lot twenty feet wide. The lot was owned by Josiah and John Townsend of Albany, New York. The account states that the building was owned by Edward Bingham. It was occupied by Edward Bingham and Company as a drug and grocery store.

Next was a four story brick building owned, of record, by Henry L. Webb. The account states that it was owned by Webb and Douglass of Albany. The west half of the building was occupied by Alexander H. Newbold, as a hardware store and the east half by Charles Gardner, (Samuel Zug, Agent) with a crockery store. Upstairs was a law office of Howard and Sawyer and the office of Dr. A. L. Porter, dentist. Adjoining this on the east was the wooden building of Major Antoine Dequindre. Dequindre was not in business for himself at this time. He had been in business here and in Green Bay but in the financial revolution of 1836 he had failed and this property, together with his large farm, the Dequindre farm, was now in the hands of his assignee, Peter J. Desnoyers, as trustee for his creditors. Part of the building was occupied by Augustus C. McGraw as a shoe store. Mr. McGraw also had a large stock of leather under the Gardner store next door. The other part of the Dequindre building was occupied by G. & J. G. Hill for a drug and grocery store. Upstairs was Ezra C. Seaman's law office.

Adjoining the Dequindre building was a large brick building that extended to the corner. This property was owned by William N. Carpenter, Zachariah Chandler and Franklin Moore. There were many tenants. The inside store was occupied by Warren as a drug and grocery store. The corner was occupied by Mr. Francis Raymond with a clothing store. Upstairs were several law offices of Judge George E. Hand, George B. Porter, William T. Young, justice of the peace, Samuel N. Gantt, and the offices of register of deeds. There were two register of deeds offices in the city, one for the city proper and the other for lands outside the city limits. The two offices were consolidated in 1836, and were now under one management. The register was J. Snow. Very fortunately all of these records so far as we know were saved.

The register's Office was first moved to a building on Griswold Street in rear of the Bank of Michigan, and on April 27, 1842, the office was placed in the building of Mr. Newberry on the corner of Jefferson Avenue and Cass Street. It was on the ground floor with entrance from Cass Street. On the second floor was the wholesale dry goods store of Z. Chandler and Company, composed of Zacharias Chandler and Bradford. The building was five stories high and on the third, fourth, and fifth stories were the rooms of the Daily Advertiser. Here were the counting room, bindery, news, book, job and press rooms of the paper. "Most of the news and common book type was saved with a part of the binder's tools and the news press and nearly all the public documents. The whole of the

job, type, six printing and two standing presses, together with a good deal of small type and all the office fixtures, imposing stones, stoves, stands and standing galleys, were lost." The entrance to this part of the building was from Woodward Avenue. Around on Woodward Avenue, the first entrance below the corner and next to the stairway was the "recess" of Mr. Johnson. They had no saloons in those days and the word "recess" was used for such a resort. Next came a barber shop. Then came an auction store for dry goods. These were all in the brick building. Below this was the "New York and Ohio House" above spoken of. It was a famous resort and had been for many years. This was on the hillside or declivity that extends to the river. The next store was kept by Mr. Nelson and next to him was Salisbury's Grocery Store. "It was in the upper part of this building that the fire broke out."

On the second floor of the building on the corner Mr. W. K. Coyle lived. The entrance to the dwelling part was from Woodward Avenue. It was in Mr. Coyle's apartments that the fire was first discovered. A chimney of the New York House ran through his apartments and it burst from overheating and sent the fire into his rooms.

All of the buildings between Woodward Avenue and Griswold Street fronting on Woodbridge Street were owned by Charlotte Ann Taylor and her sister, Mrs. John Anderson. Miss Taylor had leased all of the buildings to Gideon B. Stevens for ten years from March 1, 1838. The rental was \$1600 per year. The fire destroyed the property and Stevens became a bankrupt in 1843. He was a lawyer. The property was subsequently all given by Mrs. Anderson to found the Mariner's Church now located on the Woodward Avenue site of the property. The will of Mrs. Anderson was made in 1842 and when the property was given to the Mariner's Church there were no buildings on it. The property not only included the corners of Woodward Avenue and Griswold Street but had a considerable frontage on both of them.

On Woodbridge Street were a boarding house kept by Mr. Robinson, a tailor shop of Mr. Johnson and another tailor shop kept by a German. On the corner was a tavern owned and kept by Mr. Hancock. There was a New Year's ball being held in the tavern at the time the fire broke out. The dancers kept on at their entertainment until they were driven out by the fire in their own building. On Griswold Street Mr. Raymond had a shoe store. This was above the corner and in a building owned by Charles M. Giddings and William Dwight. There were three stores on this lot, the shoe store of Mr. Raymond, a "recess" or saloon, and the United States Custom House. Upstairs over the Custom House were offices of Mr. Howard and Dr. Joseph H. Bagg and one or two others. In this building also S. W. Kellogg had a room in which were all the papers and old records of the Governors and Judges. It was stated that Mr. Kellogg saved everything but we know that many papers, documents and records cannot be found and they were probably destroyed in this fire.

#### EARLY CHRISTMAS DAYS IN OLD DETROIT

BY WILLIAM STOCKING

In considering Detroit's customs it should always be borne in mind that for more than a century after it was founded the town was, aside from the garrison, mostly French and Catholic. The history of Ste. Anne's Church was, quite large'y, the history of the place. On the first Christmas after Cadillac's troopers



Y. M. C. A. BUILDING



UNIVERSITY CLUB



and settlers arrived mass was sung in the crude little church by the Franciscan Monk, Constantine del Halle. Throughout the French period the day was ushered in by a midnight mass in Ste. Anne's, and there was another service Christmas morning. The mass or some form of choral service has always remained a main feature of the day in the Catholic and many other churches.

The French were good church goers, but they did not keep limitations either on holiday or Sunday that would have satisfied an organization like the modern Sunday reform bureau. With the church service over, social pleasures and amusements were in order. The people did not have the movie, nor the roller coaster, nor the merry-go-round, but every family had its favorite pony and there was ice on the river. On Christmas and New Year's races on the ice were the favorite pastime. Any course between Le Grande Marais and Petite Cote would do, but the favorite scene of contest was between what is now Third Street and the mouth of the River Rouge. After the place was better settled, if ice in the river was not good, the snow on Jefferson Avenue from DeQuindre to Third Street furnished a good course. The example of these early races was followed down to very modern times. Old residents will remember the gay scenes on LaFayette Avenue on a snowy Christmas or New Year's as late as 1890.

#### THE LUCKIEST DAY FOR MARRIAGE

With the French settlers Christmas was not especially a day of feasting, but was the luckiest day in all the year for a marriage. The wedding ceremony, followed by the wedding feast and dance, was among the Christmas dreams of many a young man and maiden.

The Christmas carol was old, both in England and France, long before Detroit was settled, but it was not made as much of an organized function in the early days of Detroit as it is now.

The French were not quite as much given to feasting as the English invaders, who occupied the town from 1760 to 1796. It was the latter who brought roast beef and plum pudding to the Christmas dinner table. They also brought the decoration with Christmas greens, the holly, the mistletoe and the use of the yule log which the neighboring forests supplied in abundance.

The first winter after General Wayne arrived to receive the surrender of the post, there appeared this entry in his orderly book: "One gill of whiskey is to be issued this morning to every member of the Legion to celebrate Christmas Day." At the same time members were cautioned against intoxication. But a gill for each man would not go very far toward bringing this deplorable result.

#### ENGLISH INTRODUCE HOLLY AND YULE LOG

Both the British and the Americans after them helped to produce a mendicant spirit in the Aborigines by a somewhat promiscuous giving of presents, and Christmas was one of the days on which Lo, the poor Indian, appeared with extended hand. He preferred spirits, but in the absence of that enticement almost anything in the way of trinket, weapon or clothing would do. It is recorded that on one occasion a local merchant had a stock of hats that were out of style and unsalable. He turned over the whole lot to his Indian visitors, who forthwith paraded the streets in solemn procession, clad in blankets and stove-pipe hats.

It was the New Englanders and the New Yorkers, who began to swarm into the territory about 1825, who introduced the hanging of the stocking, and devel-

oped the making of Christmas presents into a general practice, a practice to which the modern facilities for shopping have given ample encouragement. Community giving such as that introduced by the Salvation Army, and carried out by Good Fellow clubs, the Old Newsboys and others, are of comparatively recent growth.

#### THE CHILDREN'S TOYS OF THEN AND NOW

We do not read much about children's Christmas toys in the early days. The importations from Switzerland and France and Germany, which came in such volume in later years, had hardly commenced in 1850, and the electrical and mechanical toys of modern days were not thought of. The rag baby is as old as girlhood, and dolls of a better type which the girls could themselves dress go back to the earliest times.

For boys the peg top is as old as history, and the bat and ball, in some form, are also ancient. The Indians had ball games both on land and on ice which the white boy imitated. Two-Old-Cat, the lineal descendant of baseball, is an ancient game, and so, though less common, were cricket and football.

For indoor amusement checkers and "twelve-men-morris," the latter played with grains of corn, were common enough with the families from New England, but the average boy did not require a checker-board as a present. He could make one easily enough.

A shotgun was among the ambitions of most boys, and, of course, he had a bow and arrow when very young. The children's books down as late as 1860 appear rather crude compared with the wealth of illustrations that is lavished on the public of the present day.

When everything is considered the children of early Christmas days in Detroit enjoyed the occasion equally as well as the children of today, despite the fact that they had to rest content without mechanical trains, tanks, beautifully dressed and constructed dolls and what not. Christmas has always been and always will continue to be a gala day for the children. It is right that it should be so, but many a present-day grown-up gets much of the flavor of childhood when he gets down on the floor and shows his brood how to manipulate the toys that Santa Claus has brought.

#### BUILDING COSTS

In *The Detroyter*, the official publication of the Detroit Board of Commerce, William Stocking wrote as follows concerning this subject:

"Although there are wide variations in building construction from year to year, there has generally been a marked advance when long periods are taken into consideration. In 1910 the number of permits issued was 5,498 and the estimated cost of construction \$17,225,945. These figures were nearly doubled in the next five years, the record for 1915 showing 9,006 permits, with cost \$32,235,550. The next year the number of permits rose to 16,490 and the cost was \$51,067,110. War restrictions then forced a reduction to a figure far below normal, followed by a rebound to unprecedented heights. Following is the record for the past five years:

	Permits	Cost
1917.....	12,108	39,676,690
1918.....	7,010	18,201,707
1919.....	21,467	82,990,079

	Permits	Cost
1920.....	19,423	77,737,165
1921.....	17,444	58,086,081

"The high average cost of buildings in 1919 and 1920 was occasioned partly by advanced rates for material, and labor, and partly by the character of the structures. It was peculiarly an era of factory construction, several of the large companies having made extensions sufficient to last for many years to come. In 1919 the construction of factories alone called for the expenditure of \$18,583,000, and in 1920 this rose to \$20,104,000. Office building also cut quite a figure in these two years, the amount being \$5,593,000 in 1919 and \$7,219,000 in 1920. In the year just closed both these forms of construction have been comparatively small.

"In view of former pressing needs it is fortunate that dwelling construction has, through the last three years, been very large. In 1919 the total cost of such construction was \$41,945,000, making provision for 13,928 families. The next year the expenditure for dwellings was \$27,342,840, making provision for 6,466 families. In 1921 the new dwelling construction was classified as follows:

	Number	Cost
Single residences.....	2,956	\$12,261,056
Double residences.....	605	4,771,005
Tenements (1696 apts.).....	107	4,265,000
Apartments (677) over stores.....	205	3,520,200
Total.....	3,873	\$24,817,261

"This gives accommodations for 6,539 families. There were also 204 temporary dwellings erected at a cost of \$121,120, and \$1,804,691 was expended for additions and alterations to dwellings.

"In the first half of the period under consideration, dwelling construction was more than enough to accommodate the increased population, though not sufficient to overcome the acute shortage previously existing. In the last half of the period there was an actual falling off in population, so that decided gains were made in housing conditions. There are not yet, however, houses enough to comfortably care for the population. Many families are living in garages or accepting other make-shift accommodations. Some concessions have been made in rental rates during the past year, but they are still much above pre-war rates.

"Of the construction for 1921, \$46,008,487 represented the cost of 12,146 new buildings and \$12,077,594 was for 5,469 additions and alterations. Aside from dwellings, the following were the leading classes: Schools \$9,616,912, stores \$6,096,675, factories and shops \$2,496,840, office buildings \$1,906,150, major garages \$1,540,493, theatres \$1,313,350, churches \$1,303,510.

"Builders confidently expect that 1922 will be a very active year. There have been material reductions in the cost of material and in wages. In the latter the following schedule of hourly rates has been generally accepted: Carpenters, 80 to 85 cents; bricklayers, \$1; plasterers, \$1; steamfitters, \$1; sheet metal workers, 80 cents to \$1; painters and decorators, 80 to 85 cents; structural iron workers, 90 cents to \$1; composition roofers, 65 to 80 cents; plasterer laborers, 50 cents; mason laborers, 45 cents; hoisting engineers, 80 to 90 cents; electricians, 87½ cents to \$1; lathers, 80 to 85 cents; tile setters, \$1; marble workers, \$1; excavating laborers, 30 to 45 cents.

"With reference to the scale, the Associated Building Employers make the following statement: "Our organization is a part of the Associated Building Employers of Michigan, and we feel that if a new agreement is necessary for the

coming year we will be able to arrive at a solution on the existing basis whereby the public is not made a victim of profiteering, the employe receive a fair wage for his labor and the employer can build at a reasonable profit."

"It is expected that the present wage scale in the building trades in Detroit will not be changed during the coming year, and anticipated that the friendly relations existing between the employers and employes will continue. For the first time in a good many years, union and non-union workmen are working harmoniously together on the same jobs."

#### REAL ESTATE TRANSFERS

"A rather light real estate business has naturally attended the general business depression. Following is the record of deeds and mortgages recorded in the last five years:

	Deeds	Mortgages
1917.....	42,110	31,329
1918.....	26,451	17,257
1919.....	53,358	41,238
1920.....	55,065	38,280
1921.....	37,198	22,781

"The number of plats filed in 1921 was 63, covering 9,923 lots. The new Clairmount-Owen and Fenkell Avenue extensions of the Trumbull Avenue street car line have opened up for occupation large areas of territory already platted. The corporate instead of the individual method of handling real estate continues to be a common feature. During the year ninety-six companies filed articles of incorporation for that purpose.

"The amount spent in construction in ten leading cities:

	1920	1921
New York.....	\$271,463,979	\$425,223,411
Chicago.....	79,102,650	123,860,510
Detroit.....	77,737,365	58,086,081
Cleveland.....	65,625,100	46,530,923
Los Angeles.....	60,023,600	83,529,948
Philadelphia.....	55,337,240	43,361,480
Boston.....	28,278,853	23,731,016
Baltimore.....	28,225,427	31,656,940
San Francisco.....	26,729,992	22,307,772
Milwaukee.....	19,680,825	25,031,999

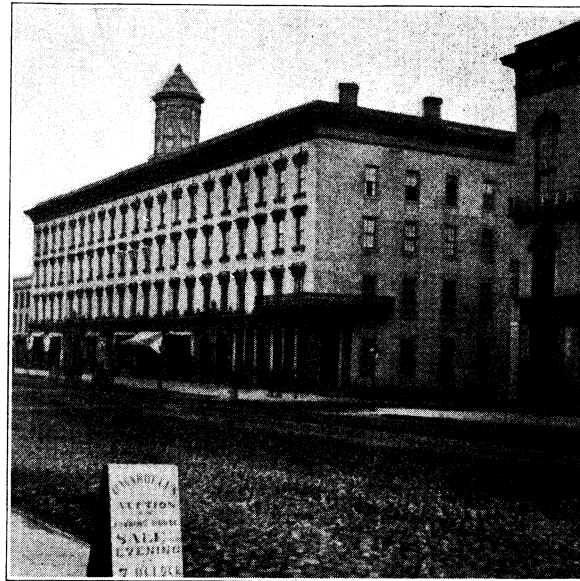
"In 1920 New York and Chicago suffered from strikes in the building trades, and their large gain the next year, after these were straightened out, naturally followed. The other large gain in 1921 was in Los Angeles, which rose from fifth place to third. There were also some changes in relative proportion among cities lower in the scale."

#### OLD HOTELS

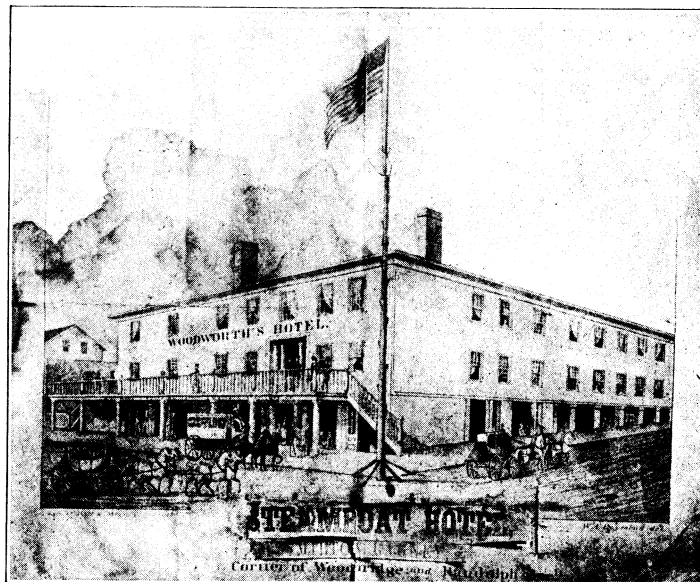
BY CLARENCE M. BURTON

When the fire of 1805 took place the inhabitants were driven to seek any available shelter during the succeeding year, for it was not until 1806 that congress permitted the laying out of a new town and the disposition of village lots. The old village had been confined in the small place inclosed in its picket





OLD BIDDLE HOUSE



REPRODUCTION OF OLD LITHOGRAPH OF BEN WOODWORTH'S  
"STEAMBOAT HOTEL," NORTHEAST CORNER OF  
RANDOLPH AND WOODBRIDGE STREETS  
Burned in fire of 1848



line, bounded on the east by Griswold street, on the west by Wayne street and extending back from the river not quite as far as Larned street. The new village extended as far east as the Brush farm line—nearly the present Brush street. There was an abundance of territory on which to build a great city.

Old Ste. Anne street of Fort Pontchartrain was widened from 20 feet to 120 feet, and extended easterly through the new plat. It was called Main street and subsequently named Jefferson avenue. Another wide avenue was run at right angles to it and was called Court House street, but later on was named Woodward avenue. Buildings were put up at intervals along the line of both of these streets. Very few buildings of any kind were put up north of Jefferson avenue. The enterprise of the Berthelet family and of the old hotel-keeper, Ben. Woodworth, and a few others soon drew the center of business to the southeast part of town, around Randolph, Woodbridge, Franklin and Atwater streets. Here was the boat landing of our earliest steamboat, the Walk-in-the-Water. Here was the public landing and town pump. Here was the famous hotel kept by Benjamin Woodworth, the "Steamboat hotel." Woodworth was the brother of Samuel Woodworth, who wrote "The Old Oaken Bucket," and while that fact may not have added to his reputation in Detroit, it did not detract from it. He was known all over the territory and his hotel added to the fame of our city.

On the top of the hill, where afterward stood the Biddle House, up to 1848 stood another hotel called the American House. Most of the information regarding this famous hotel is culled from a paper prepared by John C. Holmes and printed in the first volume of the proceedings of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society. The building was erected by Gov. William Hull in 1807 for his residence. It was the first brick dwelling erected in Detroit. Benjamin Woodworth, who had come from Scituate, Massachusetts, with Governor Hull in 1805, was a carpenter and prepared the woodwork on the building. Governor Hull occupied it as a residence until he surrendered the city to General Brock, August 16, 1812, and then he was taken from the city to Montreal as a prisoner of war. He never returned to Detroit. Hull sold the property to Isaac Hull in 1815 but bought it back the next year. It then passed to Elkanah Watson, the engineer of the Erie Canal. James Emott was the next owner, and Mrs. Sarah Macomb, widow of William Macomb, bought the property in 1818 and her nephew, Gen. Alexander Macomb, occupied it for a time. Gov. William Woodbridge lived there in 1821 and Dr. John L. Whiting occupied it from 1822 to 1825. Maj. John Biddle bought it and lived in it some time. Gov. George B. Porter lived there until a short time before his death in 1834. Governor Porter was building a great mansion on the front of his farm at the foot of the present Twenty-fourth street, but it was not completed at the time of his death. A short time before he died he moved from the Hull house to the Cass house that then stood on the River Road (Jefferson Avenue) west of Cass street. Here he died in July, 1834, in the arms of his friend, Charles C. Trowbridge.

To return to the Hull house. In 1830 an addition was built on the west side, extending it to Randolph street. There were two stores in the addition, and in 1835 an addition was made to the rear for a dining room. J. & W. H. Griswold opened it as a hotel under the name of the "American Hotel" in 1836. Major Biddle lived in a frame building just east of the hotel. The subsequent landlords were Petty & Hawley in 1837, Simson Buck in 1840, H. A. Chase and Joshua Van Anden in 1841, and Austin Wales from the time Mr. Van Anden

left until the fire of 1848, in which it was destroyed. Chase & Van Anden came from Rochester, New York, in May, 1841. Mr. Chase only remained a short time. The house became very popular under the management of Mr. Van Anden, who remained there until August, 1845, when he went to Sault de Ste. Marie and subsequently to Houghton where he died in 1861. Austin Wales had been the landlord of the National Hotel and of the Michigan Exchange. He took the American Hotel in 1845 and changed the name to Wales Hotel. The building was burned in the fire of 1848.

In 1836 the hotel was run by the Griswolds and among the regular guests was the family of Governor Mason. George C. Bates in his "By-gones of Detroit" writes interestingly regarding the New Year's calls of 1836: "And first, as in duty bound, we repair to the American Hotel, where in an immense parlor and ante-room we make our first salaam to his Excellency Stevens Thomson Mason, governor of the state of Michigan—not yet admitted into the Union—and there the young governor, with his elegant old mother, his sisters, Emily Mason, Kate Mason, afterwards Mrs. Isaac Rowland, Laura Mason, afterwards Mrs. Chilton, assisted by Charles L. Whipple, always in love with all three girls, received us with a hearty, joyous 'Happy New Year' that even now rings in one's ear—while Emily Mason, now a silver gray maiden of sixty, at the head of a Catholic literary institution in Paris, with the manners of a queen, the brilliancy of a diamond and an intellect like a blade of Damascus, welcomed us all."

The principal hotels were the Michigan Exchange, on the southwest corner of Jefferson avenue and Shelby street, the Railroad hotel kept by Hiram R. Andrews and located at the upper end of the Campus Martius, where now stands the Detroit opera house, the Commercial hotel at the foot of First street on Jefferson avenue, and the National hotel, on the site of the modern Hotel Pontchartrain. There was also the Temperance hotel, kept by William Champ on the site of the Cadillac, and the American Temperance Hotel at the northwest corner of Jefferson avenue and Wayne street, kept by H. R. Andrews. The southeast corner of Wayne street and Jefferson avenue was the location of a hotel from the very earliest period of hotel life in this city. It was on the southwest corner of the village before the fire of 1805 and adjoined the citadel. The front of the lot faced Ste. Anne street in the old village and Jefferson avenue in the later city. It was on the brow of the hill and the building erected on it had an additional story at the rear because of the steep declivity. The first person known to have kept a hotel at this place was William Forsyth who had been a soldier under General Wolfe at Quebec. He had received three serious wounds at the battle on the Heights of Abraham, from which he had never fully recovered. He was in the 60th Regiment and came to Detroit with the command about the year 1771. He was the third husband of his wife, who has one child by each of her former marriages. Her name was Ann and her first husband was William Haliburton, chaplain in the First Regiment, in 1747, in New York City. The only child of this marriage was Alice Haliburton, who subsequently married Sampson Fleming in Detroit, removed to New York and became, through her marriage with Fleming and with Nicholas Low, related to some of the prominent families of that city.

Ann Haliburton's second husband was named Kinzie and the only child of this marriage was John Kinzie, the first white man in Chicago. It is said that Kinzie was born in Quebec, December 23, 1763, but his youth was spent in

Detroit at the home of his step-father, William Forsyth. The third husband, as above stated, was William Forsyth. There were six sons born of this marriage: William Forsyth, born September 9, 1765; George Forsyth, born November 21, 1767; James Forsyth, born October 30, 1769; Thomas Forsyth, born December 5, 1771; and Robert Allen Forsyth, born May 10, 1774. The Forsyth family, including John Kinzie, lived in the hotel or tavern on the location above described. We have some contemporary evidences of this tavern and of its appearance. John Leith had been a prisoner among the Indians and on escaping from them reached Detroit some time in the year 1777. Governor Hamilton, then in charge of the place, wanted to employ Leith as an interpreter but Leith did not want to enter the military service. The Governor would not permit Leith to leave Detroit and Mr. Robbins, Leith's employer, was informed of the Governor's resolution. Leith asked Robbins to release him from his engagement. The remainder of the transaction is better told by Leith's report: "He (Robbins) answered he would not discharge me, but would wait the result of the matter; until which time he would board me at Forsyth's tavern; and if I got my wages I need not care where I was. I acquiesced to the proposition, and went there to board. After some time elapsed, while in that situation, as I was sitting in one of the lower rooms, lamenting my condition, lest some sad misfortune should befall me, I heard some men enter the house above." This somewhat shows the form of the house, with an entrance to it from the street above, then Ste. Anne street, and the lower story opening onto the Chemin de Ronde. Another description is to be found in *Chicago Antiquities* (page 470). "It was of wood, one story-and-a-half high, and full fifty feet long, fronting the long side—or eaves to the street (Jefferson avenue). It had in front two doors, one large, and one rather small, with four or possibly more, windows in lower front, and as many dormer-windows in the roof. The ground descended towards the river, and while in front the first floor was two steps above the street, a basement or lower room floor in the rear was about level with the ground. In the back or rear part of the building was a portail or veranda, full length of the building, on a level with the floor in front, with steps down to the ground or basement room beneath. The roof in the rear extended sufficiently to cover the veranda." After the death of William Forsyth his sons sold the tavern to George Sharp, in 1796, for £1,000 and two years later Sharp sold the property to John Kinzie for \$3,350. The building must have been destroyed in the fire of 1805, but was rebuilt by Kinzie and occupied by him as a residence until 1816 when it was sold to Richard Pattinson for \$5,000. The next owner was Arthur John Robertson, the "Laird of Inches." On the other side of the same block, on the southwest corner of Shelby street and Jefferson avenue, were several houses with different owners. Shelby street did not originally run through to Woodbridge street as it does now. There was a lot owned by the Dodemead family which included Shelby street and land on both sides of that street. This land west of Shelby street was sold to Shubael Conant after that street was opened. Other lots adjoining were owned, after the fire of 1805, by John S. Roby, Abram C. Truax, James May, John Hendree, Peter Audrain and others. Eventually the entire title became vested in Shubael Conant. Edward Lyon owned part of the land at one time, but he, too, sold to Conant. It was on this land that the Michigan Exchange was erected.

In 1825 the hotels in the city were named as follows: Woodworth's, Brunson's,

the Eagle Hotel; Mansion House; Sagana Hotel, kept by Jesse Holly, and the Washington.

Woodworth's Hotel, which was the largest in the city, has already been described. It was destroyed by the fire of 1848.

Brunson's Inn was on the South side of Jefferson avenue. It was kept by John Brunson.

The Eagle Hotel was on the South side of Woodbridge street west of Griswold street. It was for a long time kept by Alexander Campbell and was last kept by B. S. Farnsworth. Alexander Campbell was the son of John Campbell. Both father and son lived in the hotel until the death of the father June 17, 1827. He was an Irishman and a member of one of the Masonic lodges in the city. Alexander married Miss Axcy Hubbard February 19, 1824. After his father's death he continued in the hotel for some years. He had Charles Fouche for a partner at one time, but the partnership was dissolved in 1823. Another John Campbell, son of Alexander, was for many years bookkeeper in the office of the Board of Public Works.

Mr. William K. Coyl, for many years a prominent citizen, lived opposite the Eagle Hotel in 1835. It was a small frame building (in 1825) with a bakery attached. In 1837 this hotel was kept by — Heath and it was in the barn connected with it that the arms stolen from the Dearborn Arsenal in the Patriot war were concealed.

The tavern kept by Mr. Holly was opposite the market, on the west side of Woodward avenue below Jefferson avenue. It was known as the Saquna hotel. In 1835 it was called "The New York and Ohio House."

The Mansion House was a large building, part brick and partly of stone, on the northwest corner of Jefferson avenue and Cass street. The stone used in its construction was taken from the ruins of the fire of 1805. It was erected by James May and was not always used as a hotel. It was by turns a private dwelling house, jail and courthouse. There were no buildings between the hotel and the river excepting a small summer house directly across the street in what now forms Wayne street. A fine view of the river could always be obtained from the front of the hotel.

In later years another tavern located on the west side of Griswold street near Atwater street took the name of the Mansion House. This place took a prominent part in the controversy between Eber B. Ward and Job Sherman about 1874, where Sherman was accused of "salting" a mine he sold to Captain Ward, taking the Mansion House in exchange for it.

A man by the name of John Palmer kept a hotel on the south side of Jefferson avenue between Bates and Randolph streets, described by Mr. Samuel Zug as "an old one story building." Palmer was an Irishman and is sometimes called "Pat Palmer."

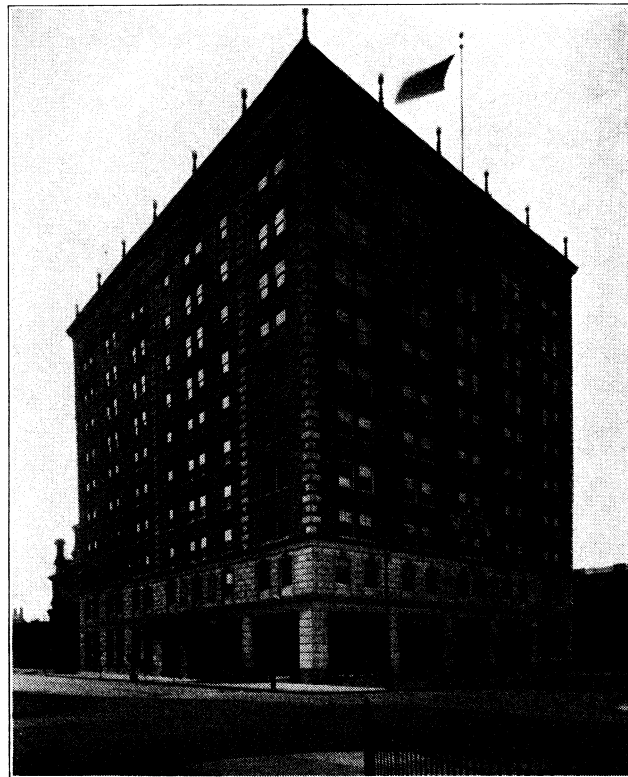
The Washington Hotel in 1826 was run by Colonel Stanard.

The one-story frame building on the southwest corner of Woodward avenue and Larned street was occupied, in 1825, by Charles Larned as a dwelling house. He died of the cholera in 1834 and the next year this house was converted into an hotel called "The Cottage", kept by Orus Field and — Howell. "The Cottage" was afterwards moved to Grand River avenue and formed part of the Perkins' Hotel.

The Yankee Boarding House, on the east side of Bates street, south of the site of the Franklin House, was, in 1831, kept by John Garrison. There was a



HOTEL STATLER



HOTEL FORT SHELBY





boarding house across the way kept by Mrs. McMillan. Mrs. McMillan's husband, Ananias, had been killed by the Indians in the outskirts of the village, not far from the present intersection of Griswold street and Michigan avenue in — and his little son, Archibald, who was with him at the time, was carried off by the Indians. Archibald was eleven years old at that time. The Indians, after some seven or eight months, brought Archibald to Malden and gave him up to the British officers. He was returned to his family at that time but some years after reaching manhood he moved to Jackson, where he died at the age of 57 years. His mother moved to a home of her own on Miami Avenue (Broadway) where she died at the age of 88 years.

In 1846 this was "Whipple's Coffee House", run by E. B. Whipple. The "Yankee Boarding House" had become the Franklin House and was kept by Seymour Finney in 1849.

There was, in 1835, another hotel on the south side of Woodbridge street called "The United States", kept by Mr. Crawford.

The Michigan Exchange was erected by Shubael Conant in 1834 and was opened as a hotel in the following year. Judge Conant lived in his bachelor's quarters on Griswold street but took his meals in the Exchange until in the spring of 1867 when he took quarters with his niece at her home, where he died July 17, 1867, at the age of eighty-four years.

The first landlords of the Exchange were Austin Wales and his brother, E. B. Wales. The "Tavern license" was issued to Austin Wales alone June 27, 1835, at the rate of \$25 per year. Orville B. Dibble was the proprietor in 1845. In 1849 it was kept by Edward Lyon.

#### NATIONAL HOTEL

This hotel in its long history from 1836 to the present date has borne the names of National Hotel, Russell House and Pontchartrain. The first hotel was built in 1836 and George C. Bates thus writes of it in 1839: "The National Hotel has been built by Chase and Ballard, and outshines in its lofty front, pretentious style and dazzling new paint the Michigan Exchange, and opened under the auspices of Harring of New York, it is quite the swell house of the city."

Mr. William Phelps in describing this locality in the year 1835 says: "Where the Russell House stands, was a garden or potato patch." Samuel Zug, in his memoir, says there was a small house on the lot occupied by Fournier. Friend Palmer says, "The corner where the Russell House now stands was, in early days, inclosed by a cedar picket fence. In the inclosure was a small yellow house occupied by Dr. William Brown. Adjoining was a log house used as a schoolhouse." In 1850 the hotel was under the management of H. A. Barstow.

#### RAILROAD HOTEL

This hotel was built on the westerly side of the site now occupied by the Detroit Opera House, directly fronting on the Campus Martius on the northerly side.

#### TEMPERANCE HOTEL

This hotel was located on Michigan avenue near Washington avenue on the site of the present Hotel Cadillac. It was kept by Hobert and Terhune until William Champ became the landlord. It was advertised as being located near the Central Railroad depot, then situated on the present City Hall square.

The Commercial House was on the corner of Woodbridge and Second streets and in 1850 was under the management of B. S. Farnsworth.

On the corner of Third street and Jefferson avenue, directly opposite the Central Railroad Ticket Office, was Johnson's Hotel. It was a new building in 1849 as the Central road had but recently been moved to this location and the building of the new depot had given an impetus to building on Jefferson avenue. The hotel was, in 1849, kept by Hiram R. Johnson. It passed through various hands and was known by various names in later years. One of its many landlords was Czar Jones, well remembered of old. It was called Bagg's hotel at one time, and for many years was known as the Cass House. It was torn down and rebuilt and renamed "The Wayne."

On the northwest corner of Third street and Jefferson avenue was the Western Hotel, kept, in 1850, by Alexander Leadbeater.

The American Temperance House occupied the old armory building on the northwest corner of Jefferson avenue and Wayne street. In the directory of 1850 it is described as being located a few rods from the Central Railroad depot. At that time the Michigan Central railroad had removed to its new station at the foot of Third street. The house had recently changed hands and had been thoroughly overhauled. It was managed by G. W. Thayer, but in the directory of 1850 it was stated that H. R. Andrews was the landlord.

#### THE MASONIC ORDER

Within four years after Detroit was surrendered to the English in 1760 a lodge of Masons was organized. George Harrison, grand master of the province of New York, issued the warrant April 27, 1764, which authorized "Lodge of Masons, No. 1, to be held at Detroit under whatever name the said Master and his officers shall please to distinguish it." Lieut. John Christie, of the 60th Regiment, was chosen master, Sampson Fleming senior warden and Josiah Harper, junior warden. This organization was given the name of Zion Lodge. It gave up its warrant in 1806 and received a new one, numbered 62. This lodge was in existence as late as 1817. At one time the second story of the old council house was put on for the purpose of a Masonic hall. Subscriptions and funds for this purpose were solicited by the Masons and Charles Jackson, Philip Lecuyer and Henry Jackson were appointed a committee to obtain the money. The first story of the council house was of stone, but the new second story was put on with lathing and plaster.

A second lodge was instituted in 1773, was registered as No. 356, and two years later Union Lodge, No. 394, came into existence. A fourth lodge was created December 19, 1794, with James Donaldson as master, Edward Byrn, senior warden, and Findley Campbell junior warden. This was known as Zion Lodge No. 10.

The fourth warrant organizing a lodge named Zion was issued June 13, 1844, and the officers were: John E. Schwartz, R. A. Forsyth and David Thompson. This was Zion Lodge, No. 99. Zion Lodge, No. 1, was authorized June 5, 1844.

On December 21, 1821, Detroit Lodge, No. 337, was instituted and on December 26 the officers were installed at a public meeting in the Protestant church, corner Woodward and Larned. The eleven men who organized this lodge were: John Mullett, Jeremiah Moors, Dr. Marshall Chapin, Orson Bart-

lett, Daniel B. Cole, Elihu Sikes, John Farrar, Charles Jackson, John Garrison, William B. Hunt and Jacob Eilert. The application for a charter was signed by the following additional names: Spencer Coleman, Levi Cook, Burleigh Hunt, Henry O. Bronson, Sanford Ruggles, and Johnsy McCarthy.

Detroit Lodge, No. 2, Free and Accepted Order of Masons, the second Masonic Lodge organized in the state of Michigan, is 100 years old. It attained the century mark last week.

The initiatory step toward the organization of this lodge was taken when a gathering of the brothers met at Woodworth's Hotel August 10, 1821, to consider ways and means. At a later meeting eleven of the enthusiasts met and appointed a committee to draw a petition for a charter. After being recommended by Zion Lodge, the first in Michigan, this petition was forwarded to the grand secretary of New York. Six more adjourned meetings were held before the receipt of the charter and a hall was rented, and jewels, furniture and other equipment installed. In the latter part of November the charter was received, and on December 26 Andrew J. Whitney, past master of Zion Lodge, by dispensation of the grand master of New York, constituted the new Lodge and installed its officers.

The institution of a second Detroit Lodge to co-labor with the venerable Zion Lodge, which was 47 years old, was a solemn and historic event in the Detroit of 1821, and a great procession and reverent services accompanied the ceremony.

The first officers of the lodge were John Mullett, worshipful master; John Farrar, senior warden; Jeremiah Moors, junior warden; Charles Jackson, treasurer; Marshall Chapin, secretary; Jacob Eilert, senior deacon; Elihu Sikes, junior deacon; Levi Cook and Daniel B. Cole, stewards, and James W. King, tyler. Regular meetings were held, and the first petition for degrees was received on behalf of John Farmer, who was duly initiated April 30, 1822.

It was by a resolution adopted at a meeting of the lodge July 26, 1825, that a committee was appointed to confer with other lodges on the matter of forming a Michigan Grand Lodge. Out of this movement grew the Grand Lodge of Michigan, which was formed in June, 1826.

Detroit Lodge, No. 2, numbered among its membership Gen. Lewis Cass, who having gone down to fame as a governor of Michigan in the stress of its formation, is somewhat neglected as the explorer, Indian commissioner, senator, minister to France, secretary of state, scholar and author which he was. He was a power in the development of the Northwest and in the upbuilding of the Union.

Another interesting and historic Detroit personage who found a place in the shelter of the lodge was Zachariah Chandler, United States Senator from Michigan. This gentleman pursued a strenuous career as an anti-slavery Whig and was notable for his interest in the "underground railway" whereby slaves disappeared mysteriously from the south to find freedom in Canada. He also was secretary of the interior under Grant.

James Fenton was grand secretary of the Michigan Lodge, and the first worshipful master of the lodge, John Mullett, also was the first grand master of the second Grand Lodge of Michigan, which was organized in 1840.

This grand old lodge of Michigan Masonry obtained its first charter as Detroit Lodge, No. 337. It obtained a new charter from the Grand Lodge of Michigan as Detroit Lodge, No. 1, in 1842; from New York as Detroit Lodge,

No. 100, in 1844, and finally as Detroit Lodge, No. 2, from the Michigan Grand Lodge, June 5, 1845.

Monroe Chapter, No. 1, was organized at Detroit on February 3, 1818, under a dispensation granted by DeWitt Clinton of New York. A charter was granted February 7, 1821.

Detroit Commandery, No. 1, was organized January 8, 1851; Monroe Council, No. 1, on May 19, 1856; Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite Carson Lodge of Perfection, May 21, 1861; Carson Council Princes of Jerusalem, May 21, 1861; Mount Olivet Chapter Rose Croix, May 21, 1862; Michigan Sovereign Consistory S. P. R. S., 32 degrees, May 21, 1862; Detroit Lodge of Perfection, June 18, 1869.

After the burning of the old council house in 1848, Masonic meetings were held in the upper story of a brick building afterwards known as the Garrison House, Jefferson Avenue and Cass. The Masonic Hall on Jefferson Avenue, between Griswold and Shelby streets, was begun in 1851, the cornerstone having been laid September 2. The dedication was held June 24, 1857. Of the construction of the Masonic Temple on First and Lafayette, *The Detroit Masonic News* gave the following description:

"The project of the present Masonic Temple was launched in 1891-92. At that time there were approximately 3,200 Masons holding membership in Detroit lodges.

"The need of an adequate home for the Craft where the social features might be enjoyed was most acute. At that time the rooms over the Wayne County Savings Bank on West Congress street were the common meeting place of Detroit Masons, two rooms being used by the blue lodges and the rooms above the blue lodge floor being used by Detroit Commandery No. 1, Knights Templar, Monroe Council, and the three Royal Arch chapters: Monroe, Peninsular and King Cyrus. 'Club' or lounge rooms there were none, and all banquets, save one each year permitted each of the bodies, must be held outside the building.

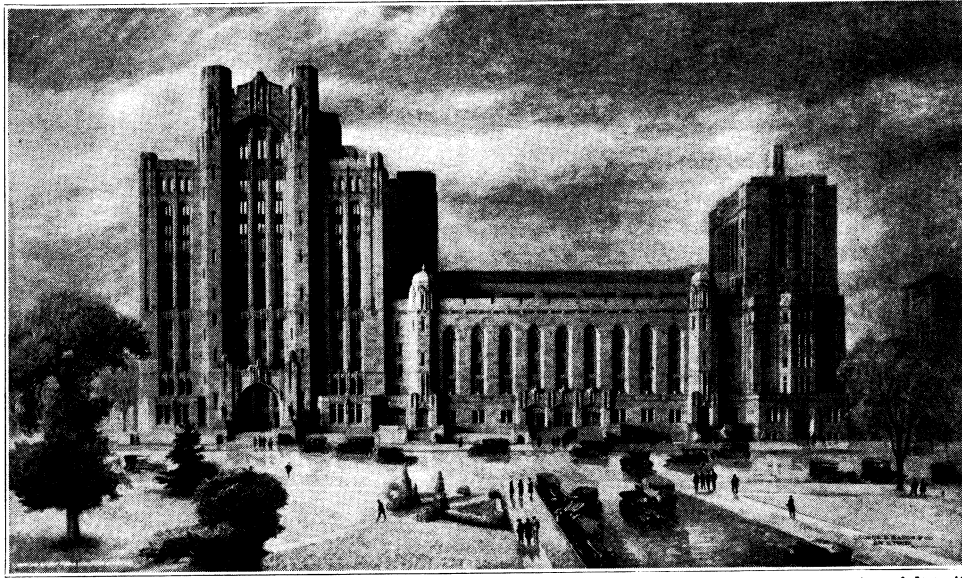
"It was the need of quarters to accommodate the social life of the various Masonic bodies, and the desire for a drill hall for the Knights Templar, that brought things to a head and secured the action that resulted in the campaign for a Masonic Temple.

"It was on August 11th, 1892, that the preliminary organization, acting through its trustee, James E. Davis, purchased three lots at the corner of First Street and Lafayette boulevard for \$50,200, and before the close of the year 1892, \$59,674.45 had been paid into the treasury of the preliminary organization.

"The plans and need of money had been communicated to Ashlar Lodge, Oriental Lodge, Palestine Lodge and Damascus Commandery, Knights Templar, and they responded with \$1,000 each. Zion Lodge came forward with \$3,000, Detroit and Union Lodges with \$1,500 each, Corinthian Lodge with \$1,400, Monroe Chapter, \$1,000, Peninsular Chapter, \$1,500, and Monroe Council with \$500.

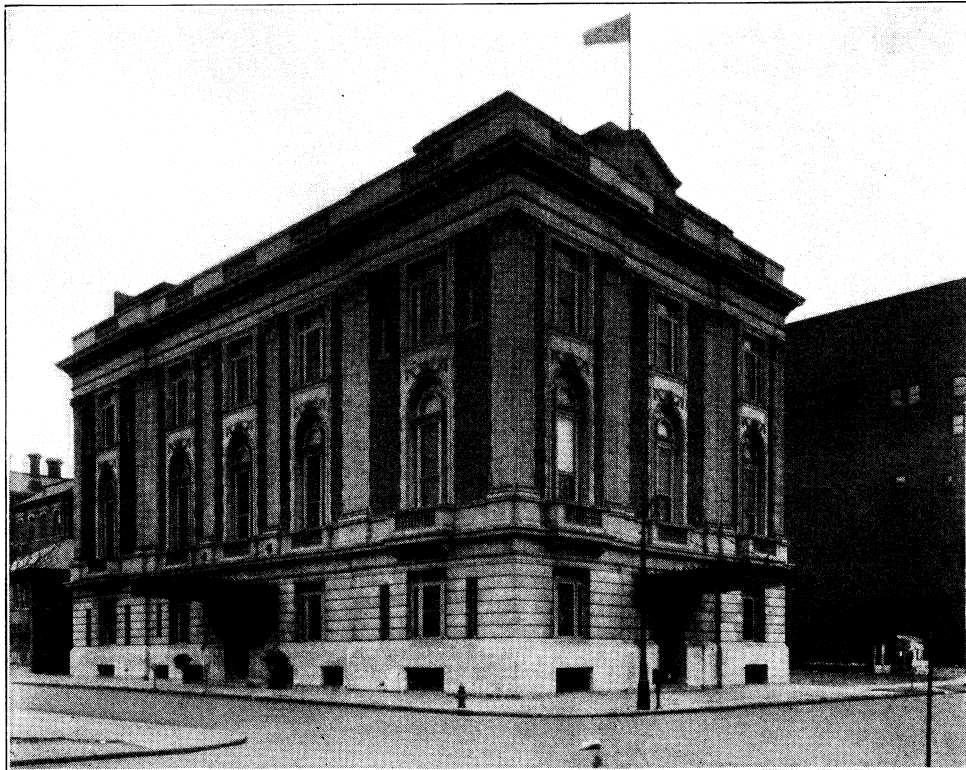
"At this time Michigan Sovereign Consistory owned the property adjoining the lots purchased by the preliminary organization. Through well timed negotiations the two properties were merged and a permanent Masonic Temple Association was formed. Each organization delivered all of its funds to the Association and instructed its officers to proceed with the duties for which they had been selected.

"Then came the panic years of 1893-94-95. Financial clouds were dark



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NEW MASONIC TEMPLE, DETROIT  
Now under construction



ELKS CLUB



and hung low. Bankruptcies and bread lines were the dominating features of the period, and weaker men would have abandoned the project, which at that time, and especially in view of the pronounced financial depression, appeared of staggering proportions, but the guiding spirits in the campaign were of sterner stuff and took their Masonry seriously. The Masonic Temple Association of Detroit was accordingly incorporated on March 19th, 1894, the incorporation being made possible by special act of the Michigan legislature through the activities of John B. Corliss, and in the face of the most adverse conditions subscriptions amounting to \$75,000 were obtained.

"The first president of the Association, the Hon. M. H. Chamberlain, served in that capacity through the years 1894-95-96, and the fact of the success of the undertaking, in view of the most discouraging conditions, is the finest possible tribute to his ability and his untiring energy.

"With the land just paid for, and but \$30,000 on hand to apply upon construction, the Association instructed the building committee to obtain architect's plans. This committee was composed of O. R. Baldwin, chairman, R. C. Webb, Richard Rowland, E. R. Harris, and Frank E. Fisher, secretary.

"The plans submitted by Mason & Rice (the George D. Mason who is architect of the new Masonic Temple, about to be built) were selected, in competition with those of other architects, and bids sought upon their plans and specifications. The highest bid was \$305,000 and the lowest \$215,000, the latter being made by Vinton & Son, was the one accepted.

"With but \$30,000 and the land to its credit the Association went ahead and assumed a contract liability of approximately a quarter million dollars. At that time this was as great an obligation as one million dollars would be today, and especially brave were the hearts behind the action when it is considered that Detroit boasted, altogether, a smaller Masonic membership than is found in any one of the three largest lodges today, but those brethren had faith in the loyalty of the Craft and that faith was to be most splendidly justified.

"When, in 1898, O. R. Baldwin was elected president of the Board of Trustees, the Association had \$100,000 in bonds outstanding and a floating indebtedness of \$55,000. With characteristic energy he readjusted the unsecured obligations so that the Association was carried without embarrassment.

"O. R. Baldwin served as president for six years. He lived to see the Association's land holdings multiplied by five times their original scope. He saw the bonded indebtedness retired twelve years before the date of its maturity. In the six years of his presidency of the Board of Trustees he dared to do what would have frightened weaker men and he lived to see his judgment vindicated. Truly a strong character and an ideal leader.

"At the time the contract was let for the present Masonic Temple there were, as stated above, only about 3,200 Masons holding membership in the Detroit lodges. A financial panic held the country in its grip, forcing bankruptcies and compelling the utmost care in every financial transaction. Every dollar in each of the lodge treasuries must be guarded with the most zealous watchfulness—where some of our lodges today boast of bank balances of \$20,000 and up, those brethren looked forward to some day possessing \$1,000 in the treasury. The workman who now considers \$6 to \$10 a day 'just fair' pay would have felt that he had a 'good job' if he was earning \$2.50 at that time. Yet in spite of these apparent handicaps those stout-hearted brothers assumed a liability of a quarter-million dollars to erect what then seemed a most mammoth

building. It was pointed out to visitors because of its 'immensity.' Its magnitude was considered adequate to care for the growth of Detroit Masonry for at least fifty years—yet it was outgrown in twelve.

"Today Detroit Masons, with lodge treasuries bursting with surplus funds, with wages higher than ever before in the history of the world, with more money in circulation and consequently more money available than ever before, have subscribed in voluntary contributions something over one and three-quarters millions of dollars for the erection of what will be the noblest Masonic structure ever conceived. The remainder of the two millions is coming in as fast as the membership can be reached, and with each of the bodies meeting its individual quota the full amount is assured."

On Thanksgiving Day, November 25, 1920, after a record-breaking parade, the ceremony of breaking ground for the new \$4,000,000 Masonic Temple was held on the site at the northeast corner of Temple and Second Boulevard. The building, to be one of the finest in the world, will be completed in about two years. An artist's drawing is presented herewith.

#### I. O. O. F.

Dr. O. J. Wood had a drug store at 96 Woodward avenue, under the National hotel. They were a little bit careless in numbering their stores for one would suppose that the even numbers would be all on the right hand side in ascending, but we find that Richard H. Hall kept a grocery store in Odd Fellows' hall, No. 90 Woodward avenue, and the hardware store of B. B. & W. R. Noyes, Jr., was at 76 of the same street.

The first Odd Fellows Lodge in Michigan was organized by Mr. Bathé of Buffalo, who came to Detroit for that purpose, and the lodge was organized December 4, 1843. The first officers were Joshua L. Smith and Hartford Joy. This was Michigan Lodge, No. 1. The brotherhood grew very rapidly.

Within a short time S. York At Lee became a member by deposit of card and it was largely through his exertions that the next lodge, Wayne Lodge No. 2, was formed, April 13, 1844.

The first officers of this lodge were Adrian R. Terry, John Robinson, Jr., and Charles S. Adams. In the following year the order had increased so rapidly that it was thought best to purchase a piece of land and erect a building for the society. Accordingly an act of the Legislature was obtained, March 19, 1845, "to incorporate the Odd Fellows Hall Association of the City of Detroit." The original incorporators were William D. Willson, Benjamin F. Hall, Adrian R. Terry, John Robinson, Jr., Hartford Joy, Asher S. Kellogg and Charles S. Adams. The second section of the act indicates the object of the corporation: "The object of this association shall be to purchase a site and to erect thereon a convenient edifice for the accommodation of library and reading rooms, apartments for natural history, science and the arts; school, lecture and meeting rooms, and to provide for the education of orphan children."

The Association accordingly, on March 11, 1846, purchased of John Owen, for \$5,000, fifty-two feet front on the west side of Woodward avenue just below Congress street. This piece of land was, some years before this, owned by Mrs. Mary Deveaux, the mother of the wife of Eurotas P. Hastings, and was filled with a nursery of young fruit trees.

Part of the money that was used to buy this lot and to erect the Odd Fellows Hall on it was borrowed from Wayne Lodge, No. 2, and the Association gave a



mortgage to Thomas F. Abbott, Henry L. Whipple and Levi B. Taft, as trustees for that lodge to secure the debt. There was some other mortgages placed on the property, for the scheme was not a financial success. The objects of the corporation could not be successfully carried out with the moneys they had. There was another library in the city, belonging to the Young Men's Society, with reading rooms in connection with it. Public schools were coming into vogue and it was found impossible to use the rooms in the hall as schoolrooms, though William Branigan kept a school there for a time. Eventually the mortgages had to be foreclosed for the association could not obtain sufficient rents to pay the interest and principal. On the foreclosure the property was sold to Mr. Charles Richmond of Vermont. Mr. E. Y. Swift represented Mr. Richmond and had control of the property until it was sold July 8, 1875 for \$53,000. The northerly half was sold to Frederick Buhl for \$26,500 and the southerly half to James Burns for a like amount. This land sold for a little more than one thousand dollars per foot, the highest price that had ever been obtained for land in Detroit up to that time. The buildings were old, of no consequence, and were torn down to make way for more modern structures. The Odd Fellows Hall was built in the years 1846 and 1847. It was four stories high, the hall being on the fourth floor. The first floor was rented for stores and the other two for law offices, dentists, doctors and similar tenants. After the property came into possession of Mr. Richmond the State Supreme Court held its sessions in the old hall.

# PART IX

## WAYNE COUNTY

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### CHAPTER LVII

#### EVOLUTION OF WAYNE COUNTY

UNITED STATES COUNTY SYSTEM COPIED FROM ENGLAND—ILLINOIS AND KENT COUNTIES—WINTHROP SARGENT'S PROCLAMATION—ERECTING WAYNE COUNTY—DISPLEASURE OF GOVERNOR ST. CLAIR—ORIGINAL BOUNDARIES—SELECTING A NAME—ACT OF MAY 7, 1800—OHIO ADMITTED—HARRISON'S PROCLAMATION—WAYNE COUNTY IN 1805—BOUNDARIES OF 1815—PROCLAMATION OF 1816—SUBSEQUENT CHANGES.

The system of dividing states into counties, as practiced in this country, is copied from Great Britain, the county seat in the United States corresponding to the shire town in England. In October, 1778, soon after the capture of the British posts at Kaskaskia and Cahokia by Col. George Rogers Clark, the Virginia Legislature passed an act creating Illinois County, which embraced all the region afterward included in the Northwest Territory. This was the first attempt to establish a county west of the Allegheny Mountains.

At the time the County of Illinois was erected, the English were in possession of most of the posts around the Great Lakes and retained possession of them for more than a decade after the conclusion of the Revolutionary war. On June 16, 1792, four years before Detroit was turned over to the United States, John Graves Simcoe, then lieutenant-governor of Upper Canada, issued his proclamation establishing a county named Kent, so-called for Kent County in England. It embraced all the present State of Michigan and extended northward to the Hudson's Bay country. Before this county was organized, that portion of it west of Lake Huron passed into the hands of the United States, which ignored Simcoe's proclamation. The name of Kent was afterward given to a large county in the western part of the state, of which Grand Rapids is the county seat. This was named after Chancellor Kent, of New York.

On August 15, 1796, Winthrop Sargent, secretary and acting governor of the Northwest Territory, established Wayne County by the following proclamation.

"To all persons to whom these presents shall come—  
Greeting:

"Whereas, by an ordinance of Congress of the thirteenth of July, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven, for the settlement of the Territory of the United States Northwest of the River Ohio, it is directed that for the due execution of process, civil and criminal, the Governors shall make proper Divisions of the said Territory and proceed from time to time, as circumstances



STEVENS THOMSON MASON, 1812-1843  
First Governor of Michigan, 1835-1840



may require, to lay out the same into Counties and Townships, and, Whereas, it appearing to me expedient that a new county should immediately be erected to include the settlements at Detroit, &c., I do hereby ordain and order that all and singular the Lands lying and being within the following Boundaries, viz.:—beginning

“At the mouth of the Cuyahoga River upon Lake Erie, and with the said river to the portage between it and the Tuscarawa branch of the Muskingum, thence down the said branch to the forks, at the carrying place above Fort Lawrance, thence by a west line to the eastern boundary of Hamilton County (which is a due north line from the lower Shawonese Town upon the Sciota River), thence by a line west-northerly to the southern part of the portage between the Miamis of the Ohio and the St. Mary’s River, thence by a line also west-northerly to the southwestern part of the portage between the Wabash and the Miamis of Lake Erie, where Fort Wayne now stands, thence by a line west-northerly to the most southern part of Lake Michigan, thence along the western shores of the same to the northwest part thereof (including the lands upon the streams emptying into the said Lake), thence by a due north line to the territorial Boundary in Lake Superior, and with the said Boundary through Lakes Huron, St. Clair and Erie to the mouth of the Cuyahoga River, the place of beginning—shall be county named and henceforth to be styled the County of Wayne—which said county shall have and enjoy all and singular the Jurisdiction, Rights, Liberties, Privileges and Immunities whatsoever to a county appertaining, and which any other county that now is or hereafter may be erected and laid out shall or ought to enjoy, conformably to the ordinance of Congress before mentioned.

“In Testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and affixed the seal of the Territory, this fifteenth day of August, in the Twenty-first year of the Independence of the United States, A. D. one thousand seven hundred and ninety-six.

“Winthrop Sargent.”

This act of Sargent’s in creating Wayne County was entirely illegal and was an usurpation of power. This, and the consequent displeasure of Governor St. Clair, is discussed later.

The Fort Lawrance mentioned in Sargent’s proclamation was no doubt Fort Laurens, established by Gen. Lachlan McIntosh in 1778 and named for Henry Laurens, then president of the Continental Congress. It was located near the present city of Canton, Ohio.

With the boundaries as originally established, Wayne County was almost an empire in extent. (See Fig. 1.) It included a large tract of country in northwestern Ohio (about one-fifth of the state); a strip across the northern part of Indiana (all north of a line from Fort Wayne to the head of Lake Michigan); all the Lower Peninsula of Michigan; about three-fourths of the Upper Peninsula, and all that part of Wisconsin drained into Lake Michigan—nearly seventy-five thousand square miles.

#### SELECTING A NAME

Before issuing his proclamation, Mr. Sargent consulted a number of the leading citizens of Detroit to ascertain whether or not they had any choice as to the name of the proposed county. Those consulted agreed that it should be named Wayne County as a tribute to Gen. Anthony Wayne, one of Washington’s

generals in the Revolutionary war and the hero of the Indian wars just closed. General Wayne was in Detroit at the time and after his name was decided upon as the name for the new county, the citizens prepared an address, advising him of what they had done. General Wayne replied as follows:

“To the Curé and Inhabitants of Detroit, and the Officers, Civil and Military, of the County of Wayne:

“Gentlemen—

“I have received with much pleasure your polite address of this date, which not only demands my grateful acknowledgment for the flattering testimonies it contains of your esteem, but affords me an opportunity to remark with what pleasure I have observed the general satisfaction which has appeared to prevail among the citizens of Detroit and its neighborhood upon the establishment of the Government of the United States, and the alacrity and laudable desire they have evinced to promote the due execution thereof; a conduct so wise, while it merits the warm regards of their fellow-citizens of the Union, must insure to themselves all the advantages which will flow from and be the natural effect of the administration of good laws, under so happy a government.

“I will with much pleasure communicate to the President the warm sentiments of zeal and attachment which you have expressed toward the Government of the United States; and I cannot permit myself to depart hence without assuring you that I shall always take a peculiar interest in whatever may contribute to promote the happiness and prosperity of this county, to which my name has the honor to be attached.

“I have the honor to be, gentlemen, with much esteem,

“Your most obedient and humble servant,

“Ant’y Wayne.

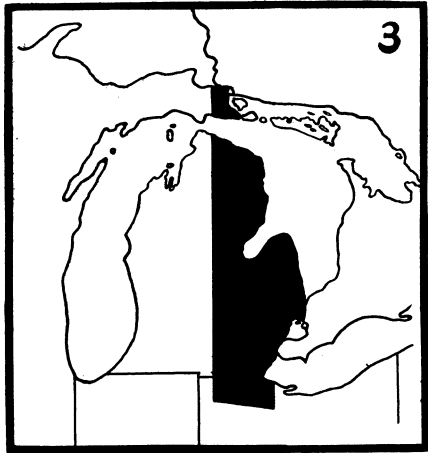
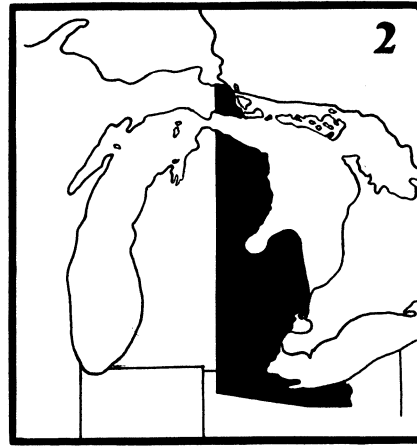
“Headquarters, Detroit, November 14, 1796.”

GOVERNOR ST. CLAIR DISPLEASED

Legally, Winthrop Sargent had no right to organize Wayne County. His authority as acting governor only existed in the event of the absence of the governor himself from the territory. Sargent organized the county on August 15th, but in a letter from Governor St. Clair to him, dated on the 13th at Pittsburg, there is the following:

“Yesterday I met with Captain Pierce, from Fort Washington, and by him I learned that you were gone to Detroit. Should the object of that journey be of public nature, I have to wish that it had not been undertaken, for tomorrow I shall be in the territory, and then the powers of the governor, which devolve upon the secretary in his absence, will cease as to you, yet it may happen that both you and me are discharging the duties of that office at the same time and, of course, the acts of one must be void.”

Once the governor learned of Sargent’s action in organizing Wayne County he became very critical. The letter quoted above would indicate that he had re-entered the territory before the 15th, the date of the organization, and if so, Sargent’s move was without a vestige of authority. The latter justified his action on the grounds that there were circumstances compelling his act which the governor did not know. A spirited correspondence took place between the two. General St. Clair’s views are expressed as follows in a letter to James Ross, dated September 6, 1796:







“Dear Sir:

“On my arrival at this place, I found that the secretary had thought fit to accompany General Wayne to Detroit, and I have since learned, though not from himself, that he has laid out the country thereabouts into a county and appointed the officers, among whom is Mr. Audrain, prothonotary.

“That circumstance has given me satisfaction, though I am displeased at the proceeding generally, for it was not my intention to have moved in the business until I had received the directions of the President, which I had reason to expect; and two governors at one and the same time in the same country, and perhaps counteracting each other, must impress these new subjects unfavorably with respect to the government they have fallen under. Some expedient, however, might have been found to render the impropriety less striking, had I gone to Detroit; but the secretary having lately gone to Michilimackinac, my meeting him there, in the little time I could possibly stay, was very uncertain.”

Some writers have claimed that Governor St. Clair was jealous of his power and authority; that when he was president of Congress in 1787 he was induced to support the ordinance creating the Northwest Territory by the promise that he should be made governor and that, having received the appointment, he was slow to comply with the conditions imposed by the ordinance, yet quick to resent any trespass on his gubernatorial prerogatives. This viewpoint is largely one of sentiment, as the bare fact remains that Sargent was without the law in his action. So timed was his move to organize the county that it might have been planned for just such a day when he supposed his superior officer to be outside the boundaries.

However, Governor St. Clair afterwards recognized the establishment of the county and appointed officers in it.

At a meeting of the General Assembly of the Northwest Territory, held at Cincinnati in February, 1799, an upper house called the council was created. It consisted of five members and the act named Jacob Burnett, James Findlay, Robert Oliver, David Vance and Henry Vanderburg as the first councilmen. The next year the Territory of Indiana was set off from the Northwest Territory and, as Mr. Vanderburg's residence was within the limits of the new territory, Solomon Sibley, of Detroit, was chosen to fill the vacancy.

#### ACT OF MAY 7, 1800

On May 7, 1800, President Adams approved an act of Congress creating the Territory of Indiana, leaving the Northwest Territory composed only of the State of Ohio and that part of Michigan east of a line drawn due north from Fort Recovery, which line practically divided the state longitudinally into equal parts. By this act the boundaries of Wayne County were changed so as to include only that part of the original county that lay in Ohio, the eastern half of the lower peninsula and a very small section of the eastern part of the upper peninsula of Michigan. (See Fig. 2.)

A further reduction of the area of Wayne County was made on July 10, 1800, when Trumbull County, Ohio, was created by proclamation of Governor St. Clair. By this proclamation the eastern boundary of Wayne was fixed at a north and south line about five miles west of the City of Sandusky, Ohio. (See Fig. 3.)

On November 23, 1801, the General Assembly of the Northwest Territory

met at Chillicothe. This was the first session after the erection of Indiana Territory. Wayne County was represented by Charles F. Chabert Joncaire, George McDougall and Jonathan Schieffelin. During the Revolution Joncaire and Schieffelin both served as British soldiers under Henry Hamilton.

## OHIO ADMITTED

On April 30, 1802, President Jefferson approved the act of Congress providing for the admission of Ohio to statehood, but it was not formally admitted until February 19, 1803. Then that part of Wayne County lying west of Trumbull County, as erected by the proclamation of July 10, 1800, and south of the present boundary line of Michigan, was cut off and added to the new state. (See Fig. 4.)

The act of April 30, 1802 also increased the size of Indiana Territory to include the present states of Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin, and that portion of Minnesota lying east of the Mississippi River and a line drawn due north from the source of that stream to the international boundary.

## HARRISON'S PROCLAMATION

With the admission of Ohio into the Union and the large addition to the Territory of Indiana came the necessity for a revision of the boundaries of Wayne County. Consequently, on January 14, 1803, Gen. William H. Harrison, governor of Indiana Territory, whose capital was at Vincennes, issued a proclamation, the part of which pertaining to Wayne County follows:

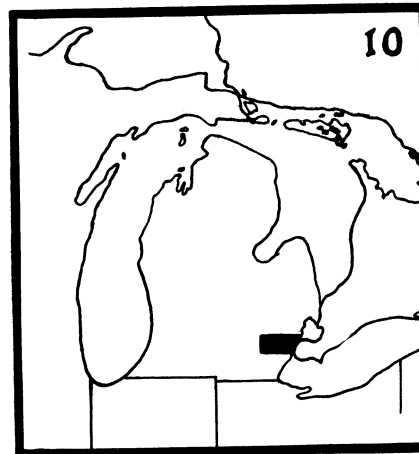
"I, William Henry Harrison, governor of Indiana Territory, by the authority vested in me by the ordinance for the government of the Territory, do ordain and declare that a county shall be formed in the northeastern part of the Territory, to be known and designated by the name and style of the County of Wayne. And the boundaries of said county shall be as follows, to wit:

"Beginning at a point where an east and west line, passing through the southern extreme of Lake Michigan, would intersect a north and south line, passing through the most westerly extreme of said lake and thence north along the last mentioned line to the territorial boundary of the United States; thence along the said boundary line to a point where an east and west line, passing through the southerly extreme of Lake Michigan, would intersect the same; thence west along the last mentioned line to the place of beginning."

As thus defined, the boundaries of Wayne County included all the lower peninsula of Michigan, all of the upper peninsula, a strip about ten miles wide across the northern part of the present State of Indiana, a small tract in northwestern Ohio and the peninsula lying between the Green Bay and Lake Michigan in Wisconsin. (See Fig. 5.)

## WAYNE COUNTY IN 1805

On January 11, 1805, President Jefferson approved the act of Congress erecting the Territory of Michigan, the western boundary of which was a north and south line passing through the center of Lake Michigan, striking the upper peninsula about half way between the present cities of Escanaba and Manistique, which line also formed the western boundary of Wayne County—the only county in the new territory. As thus constituted, Wayne County embraced the lower peninsula, the eastern half of the upper peninsula and the islands about the Straits of Mackinaw. (See Fig. 6.)





## BOUNDARIES OF 1815

After the formation of Michigan Territory, no change was made in the area and boundaries of Wayne County for more than ten years. On November 21, 1815, Gen. Lewis Cass, then governor of the territory, issued a proclamation which materially reduced the size of the county. By this proclamation, the western boundary was represented by a line running due north "from the mouth of the Great Auglaize River to a point due west of the outlet of Lake Huron." This point is almost on the northern boundary of the present County of Ingham, a short distance east of the City of Lansing. From there the boundary line of Wayne County ran in a northeasterly direction "to the White Rock in Lake Huron." (See Fig. 7.)

The latter line and the one forming the western boundary of the county represented the limits of the tract ceded to the United States by the Indians at Greenville, Ohio, August 3, 1795. Under the proclamation of 1815, Wayne County included the present counties of Lapeer, Lenawee, Livingston, Macomb, Monroe, Oakland, St. Clair, Sanilac, Washtenaw and Wayne; all of Genesee County except a small triangle in the northwest corner; and portions of Huron, Ingham, Jackson, Shiawassee and Tuscola.

## PROCLAMATION OF 1816

On October 18, 1816, Governor Cass issued another proclamation, adding to Wayne County the District of Mackinaw, which had been created on July 3, 1805, by proclamation of Gen. William Hull, the first territorial governor of Michigan, with the following boundaries:

"Beginning at the most western and southern point of the Bay of Saginaw; thence westwardly to the nearest part of the River Marquette; thence along the southern bank thereof to Lake Michigan; thence due west to the middle thereof; thence north, east and south with the lines of the Territory of Michigan and the United States to the center of Lake Huron; thence in a straight line to the place of beginning."

Wayne County was now composed of two separate and distinct parts. (See Fig. 8.) First, the county as established by Governor Cass' proclamation of November 21, 1815, and, second, the District of Mackinaw. The latter included the counties of Alcona, Alpena, Antrim, Arenac, Benzie, Charlevoix, Cheboygan, Clare, Crawford, Emmet, Gladwin, Grand Traverse, Iosco, Kalkaska, Leelanau, Manistee, Missaukee, Montmorency, Ogemaw, Osceola, Oscoda, Otsego, Roscommon, Wexford, and parts of Bay, Isabella, Lake, Mecosta and Midland in the lower peninsula, and the counties of Chippewa, Luce, Mackinac, and Schoolcraft in the upper peninsula.

## SUBSEQUENT CHANGES

In 1817 the work of dismembering this imperial county was commenced. By a proclamation issued on July 14th of that year, Governor Cass cut off Monroe County from the southern part of Wayne, the new county including the present counties of Monroe and Lenawee. (See Fig. 9.) On January 15, 1818, another proclamation of Governor Cass provided for the organization of Macomb County, in which proclamation the base line of the United States survey in Michigan was made the northern boundary of Wayne County, which then included the present counties of Wayne and Washtenaw, and a strip six miles wide across the eastern part of Jackson County. (See Fig. 10.)

Washtenaw County was set off from Wayne by the proclamation of Governor Cass, dated September 10, 1822. As erected by this proclamation, Washtenaw included the present county of that name, the southern half of Livingston, the eastern tier of Congressional townships in Jackson, and the four townships in the southeast corner of Ingham. It was attached to Wayne for revenue, election and judicial purposes until such time as its organization as a separate and independent county should be completed. (See Fig. 11.) It was organized by an act of the Legislature, approved on November 20, 1826, since which time there have been no changes in the boundaries or area (626 square miles) of Wayne County. (See Fig. 12.)

## CHAPTER LVIII

### TOWNSHIPS AND VILLAGES

TOWNSHIP GOVERNMENT — WAYNE COUNTY TOWNSHIPS — BROWNSTOWN — CANTON—DEARBORN—ECORSE—GRATIOT—GREENFIELD—GROSSE ILE—GROSSE ILE BY C. M. BURTON—GROSSE POINTE—HAMTRAMCK—HURON—LIVONIA—MONGUAGON—NANKIN — NORTHVILLE — PLYMOUTH — REDFORD — ROMULUS — SPRINGWELLS —SUMPTER—TAYLOR—VAN BUREN—WAYNE COUNTY VILLAGES—BELLEVILLE—DEARBORN—DELRAY—ECORSE—ELOISE—FLAT ROCK—FORD CITY—GIBRALTER—HAMTRAMCK — HIGHLAND PARK — NEW BOSTON — NORTHVILLE — PLYMOUTH —REDFORD—RIVER ROUGE—ROCKWOOD—ROMULUS—TRENTON—WAYNE—WYAN-DOTTE—LIST OF MINOR VILLAGES—EXTINCT VILLAGES.

The early settlers of New England adopted the township as the unit of local government, while in Virginia and some of the other southern colonies the county was made the unit. In the New England States the town meeting is still the popular medium for the expression of opinion on all matters touching the public welfare. Thomas Jefferson stated:

“Those wards, called townships in New England, are the vital principle of their governments and have proved themselves the wisest invention ever devised by the wit of man for the perfect exercise of self-government, and for its preservation.”

A little later, when Mr. Jefferson was President of the United States, he learned the power of the New England township, when town meetings were held in all the New England states to protest against the enforcement of the Embargo Act of 1807, and by their concerted action defeated the purpose of Congress in the passage of that measure.

In the states erected out of the Northwest Territory—Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin—the county and township systems are combined in such a manner as to leave the latter free to exercise authority in all matters pertaining to local affairs, and yet remain tributary to the county in matters affecting the larger territory. In some of these states the affairs of the township are looked after by an official known as a trustee, and the county business is administered by a board of county commissioners, usually consisting of three members. In other states the most important officer in the township is the supervisor, the supervisors of the several townships constituting a board for the review of and final action on the county business, such as tax levies and appropriations.

Michigan followed the former plan until 1827, when the office of county commissioner was abolished by an act of the Legislature. It was revived by law in 1838 and was again abolished in 1842, when the board of supervisors was established.

## WAYNE COUNTY TOWNSHIPS

An act of the Legislature of the Northwest Territory, approved by Governor St. Clair on November 6, 1790, authorized the Court of Quarter Sessions of the Peace to divide the counties into townships.

Wayne County was not established until August 15, 1796. On November 1, 1798, the Court of Quarter Sessions of the Peace divided the county into four townships, namely: Detroit, Hamtramck, Mackinaw, and Sargent. At that time the county embraced all the present State of Michigan except the western extremity of the Upper Peninsula, a strip across Northern Indiana and Northwestern Ohio, a little of Northeastern Illinois, including the site of the present City of Chicago, and the eastern part of Wisconsin. Hence, each of these first townships was considerably larger than any of the counties of today.

By the proclamation of January 15, 1818, Governor Cass erected the townships of Hamtramck, Huron, Monguagon, St. Clair, and Springwells, within the present limits of Wayne County. The western boundary of these townships was the line of the private claims farthest from the Detroit River. No further change was made until after Wayne County was reduced to its present dimensions.

On April 12, 1827, the day Governor Cass approved the act abolishing the board of county commissioners, the county was divided into nine townships, to wit: Brownstown, Bucklin, Detroit, Ecorse, Hamtramck, Huron, Monguagon, Plymouth, and Springwells. Numerous changes have been made since 1827 by the erection of new townships and the alteration of boundary lines. Two of the townships then erected have disappeared. In 1921 there were twenty-one townships in the county, viz: Brownstown, Canton, Dearborn, Ecorse, Gratiot, Greenfield, Grosse Ile, Grosse Pointe, Hamtramck, Huron, Livonia, Monguagon, Nankin, Northville, Plymouth, Redford, Romulus, Springwells, Sumpter, Taylor, and Van Buren.

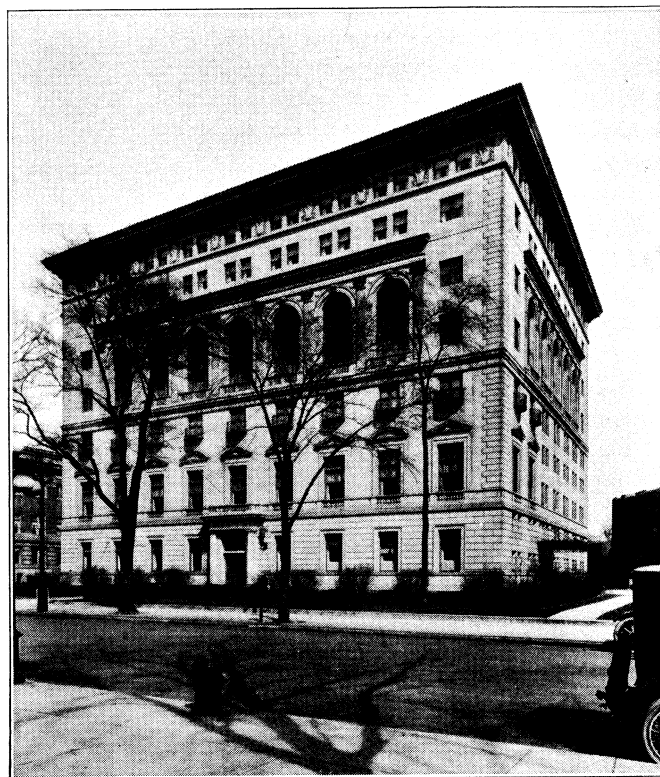
## BROWNSTOWN TOWNSHIP

This township is situated in the extreme southeast corner of Wayne County. On the north it is bounded by the townships of Taylor and Monguagon; on the east by the Detroit River; on the south it comes to a point between the Detroit and Huron Rivers; and on the west it is bounded by Huron Township and Monroe County. It is one of the nine townships erected in 1827 and is one of the largest in the county.

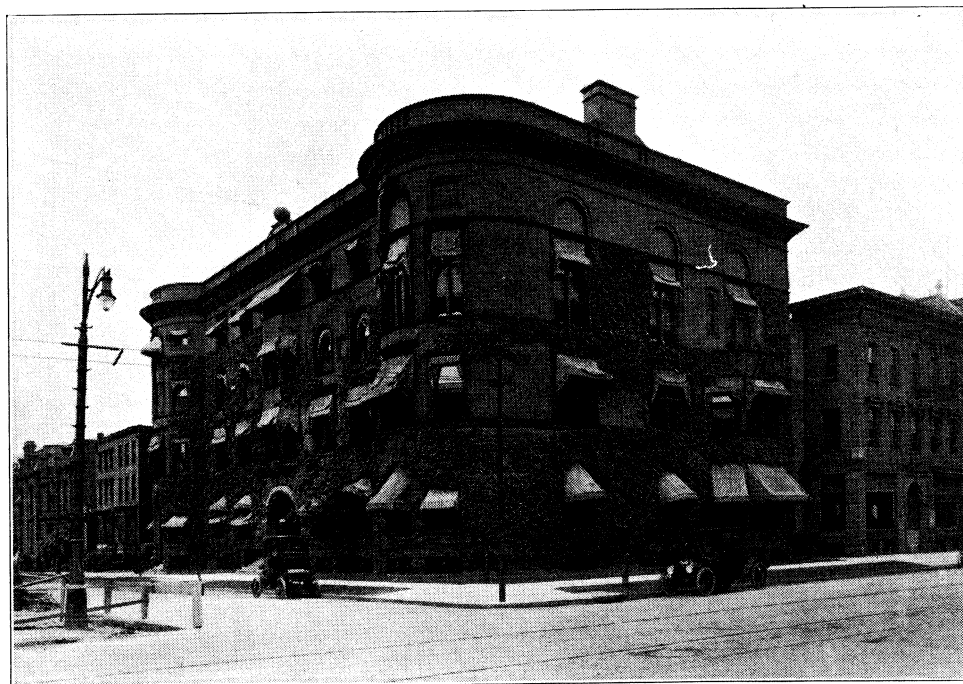
A trading point near the junction of the Detroit and Huron rivers was established at an early date and in 1806 Gen. William Hull, the first territorial governor of Michigan, held an important council with several of the Indian tribes at this place. Among the early settlers were Col. Nathaniel Case, P. T. Clark, John Forbes, Jacob Garrett, Elias James, B. F. Knapp, Dr. John Letour, William Munger, Michael Vreelandt, and Henry Woodruff. It is said that the township was named for Adam Brown, who was captured by the Wyandotte Indians in Virginia in the fall of 1764, when he was only eight years old. He grew up among the savages, was adopted into the tribe and became one of the principal chiefs. His village was on the bank of the Detroit River, not far from the present village of Gibraltar, and was known as "Brown's Town." He was still living there at the beginning of the War of 1812.

The first election was held in the spring of 1827, soon after the township was erected, and the following officers were chosen: Moses Roberts, supervisor;





DETROIT ATHLETIC CLUB



DETROIT CLUB



James Vreelandt, clerk; William Hazard, Jacob Knox and David Smith, assessors; Elias Vreelandt, William Fletcher, and Isaac Taylor, commissioners of highways; Isaac Taylor, constable; Freeman Bass, pound master; Arthur Ruark and Garrett Vreelandt, directors of the poor; Hiram Hecox, Clode Campau, William Fletcher, Isaac Thurston, John Conrad and Thomas Long, fence viewers.

Farming is the principal occupation of the people of Brownstown. Transportation facilities are provided by the Lake Shore & Michigan Southern, the Grand Trunk, and the Michigan Central, also the Detroit, Toledo & Monroe Railroad. Flat Rock and Rockwood are the principal railway stations.

## CANTON TOWNSHIP

On March 7, 1834, Congressional Township 2 south, range 8 east, was taken from Plymouth Township and erected into the civil township of Canton. It is bounded on the north by Plymouth Township, on the east by Nankin, on the south by Van Buren, and on the west by Washtenaw County.

The first settlements in this township were made in 1825. Among the pioneers of that year were Daniel Cady, Childs Downer, Perry Sheldon, and William Smith, all of whom located in the Rouge Valley in the southern part of the township. The first election was held at the house of John Chaffee. James Safford was elected supervisor; Amos Stevens, justice of the peace; and Thomas Hooker, clerk. These were the only officers elected in 1834.

The soil of Canton Township is well watered by the Rouge River and its tributaries and is well adapted to farming, which is the leading industry. The Pere Marquette Railroad touches the northeast corner and the Michigan Central crosses the southeast corner. Sheldon, on the latter road, is the only station in the township.

## DEARBORN TOWNSHIP

The Township of Dearborn was created by an act of the legislature, approved by Gov. George B. Porter on April 1, 1833, from part of the extinct Township of Pekin. It is situated in the central part of the county and as originally established embraced all of Congressional Township 2 south, range 10 east. It was then bounded on the north by Redford Township; on the east by Springwells; on the south by Ecorse; and on the west by Nankin. By proclamation of Governor Porter, a few months after the township was erected, the name was changed to Bucklin, but the Legislature, by the act of March 26, 1836, changed it back to Dearborn, in honor of Gen. Henry Dearborn, who was commander of the United States Army at the beginning of the War of 1812.

Among the early settlers of this township were C. N. Brainard, Daniel D. Tompkins, Titus Dort, Samuel Clay, Jacob Munding, David Sloss, John Gould, Richard Gardner, John W. Pardee, James Moore, Francis Leslie, and Adam Ward. Titus Dort was born in Vermont in June, 1806, and came to Wayne County when he was eighteen years of age. Soon after his arrival he settled in Dearborn Township and in 1833 began the manufacture of brick. The greater portion of the brick used in the construction of the United States arsenal and Government buildings at Dearborn came from his brickyard. In 1835 he was elected justice of the peace; represented Wayne County in the lower house of the Legislature in 1842; was chosen one of the superintendents of the poor in

1845; was elected state senator in 1849; and was six times elected to the office of supervisor. He died October 7, 1879.

#### ECORSE TOWNSHIP

Ecorse is one of the original nine townships created by the act of April 12, 1827, and as then established included the present townships of Ecorse and Taylor. It is situated on the eastern border of the county and is bounded on the north by the townships of Dearborn and Springwells; on the east by the Detroit River; on the south by Monguagon and Brownstown townships, and on the west by the Township of Taylor. It takes its name from the Ecorse River (or Bark River), so called by the early French settlers on account of the birch bark procured along its banks by the Indians for making their canoes and bark wigwams. The River Rouge forms part of the boundary line between this township and Springwells.

The first settlers in this township were chiefly French. For years before the first white settlers came, there was an Indian village where the City of Wyandotte now stands. This was a noted crossing place for the Indians and their trails led from the village in various directions. Numerous councils were held here, among them Pontiac's council in the spring of 1763, a short time before the attack on Detroit.

Vast salt beds underlie this township and several companies are engaged in the manufacture of salt. These natural resources and the excellent shipping facilities afforded by the Detroit River, the several lines of railway and the electric line which connects it with the City of Detroit, have developed Ecorse into an active manufacturing community, with Ecorse and Wyandotte as the principal centers.

#### GRATIOT TOWNSHIP

On May 16, 1895, the Board of Supervisors of Wayne County ordered that "All that portion of Grosse Pointe Township lying northerly and westerly of a line 100 rods northerly and westerly and parallel with the Mack Road, so-called, beginning at the base line of Macomb County and extending southerly and westerly across said Township of Grosse Pointe, to the westerly line thereof, shall be erected into a new township, to be known and designated as Gratiot Township."

The township was not fully organized until after the first regular election following the above order, which was held on Monday, April 6, 1896. Gratiot is bounded on the north by Macomb County; on the east by the Township of Grosse Pointe, from which it was taken; on the south also by Grosse Pointe Township; and on the west by the Township of Hamtramck. The territory within these boundaries was included in Hamtramck Township by the act of April 12, 1827, until the Township of Grosse Pointe was created in 1848. Consequently, the early history of the township is embraced in that of Hamtramck and Grosse Pointe townships.

Gratiot is a familiar name in Detroit and is derived from Col. Charles Gratiot, an officer in General Harrison's army during the War of 1812. Gratiot Avenue in the City of Detroit leads to the Fort Gratiot Road. Fort Gratiot was located near Port Huron and the road runs through this township. An electric railway, part of the Detroit United Railways, follows this road and connects Gratiot Township with the city. The present Gratiot Avenue from Detroit to Mount

Clemens follows the Indian trail and the road laid out and opened by the Moravians in 1781 and the following year.

## GREENFIELD TOWNSHIP

The Township of Greenfield was set off from Springwells by an order of the board of supervisors on March 31, 1833. At the time it was erected the boundaries were defined as follows: "Bounded on the north by Oakland County; on the east by the line between ranges 11 and 12 east, the north line of the Ten Thousand Acre Tract and the Pontiac Road; on the south by a line running east and west through the center of sections 4, 5 and 6, township 2 south, range 11 east, extending east until it intersects a line drawn parallel with the east line of Private Claim No. 260, and thence east along the rear line of farms to a point 200 feet west of the boulevard; and thence north and east by the boundary line of the City of Detroit; and on the west by the line between ranges 10 and 11 east."

These boundaries included all of Congressional township 1 south, range 11 east, except a little of the southeast corner, which lay within the city limits, and a strip half a mile wide across the northern part of township 2 in the same range. As some of the finest farms in Wayne County were then situated within the limits of this township, the name was adopted on account of the "green fields." A large part of Greenfield has since been annexed to the City of Detroit and much of the remaining portion has been surveyed into lots.

John Strong, who settled in the township in 1826, was one of the earliest pioneers. He was followed during the next three years by Asa H. Otis, who came from New York, James Smith, Job Chaffee, Theodore Holden, Rodman Stoddard, James Messmore, and Luther Scoville. Descendants of some of these men still live in the township. Another pioneer was Nahum P. Thayer, who was elected the first supervisor in 1833 and four years later represented Wayne County in the lower house of the State Legislature.

The Grand River Avenue electric railway line crosses Greenfield Township a little south of the center.

## GROSSE ILE TOWNSHIP

The name of this township indicates its location, as it embraces Grosse Ile in the Detroit River and was originally a part of Monguagon Township. A description of this island is given in the first chapter of this history.

On September 11, 1914, W. S. Blauvelt and thirty-four others living on Grosse Ile filed a petition with the county clerk, asking that "All that portion of Monguagon Township lying easterly of the center of the channel of the westerly or American channel or branch of the Detroit River and including Calf Island, so-called, in said channel, be erected into a new township, to be known as the Township of Grosse Ile."

The petitioners stated that notices had been posted at five public places within the limits of the territory it was proposed to incorporate in the new township. The petition came before the supervisors on October 12, 1914 and the board, satisfied that every legal requirement had been met, ordered: "That the Township of Monguagon be and the same is hereby divided, and a new township be and the same is hereby erected in said County of Wayne, which shall be designated as the Township of Grosse Ile."

The boundaries were fixed to correspond with those described in the petition

and the board further ordered that the first annual meeting in such new township should be held at the library in the Central School, Grosse Ile, on November 23, 1914. George Thrall, Archibald M. Alexander, and Richard M. Moore were appointed special commissioners to preside at the meeting, appoint a clerk, open the polls and conduct an election, and perform such other duties as required by law. Grosse Ile Township was therefore fully organized November 23, 1914.

Grosse Ile is famed as an island of beautiful homes and large estates, many of which are occupied by descendants of the old families associated with the early history of the island. A country club and excellent golf course is maintained. Communication is established by two bridges, the one for travel, motor cars, etc., is at the upper end of the island; the railroad bridge is below Trenton, but cannot be used for foot passengers or motors. Grosse Ile overlooks the Livingston Channel.

Grosse Ile was first surveyed in 1808 by Abram Greely. In 1824 two cross-roads were laid out by Abram C. Truax and Artemas Hosmer; the old Mill Road, starting from what was afterward named the Brevoort Corner, and the McCarty, afterward the Church Road. Truax and Hosmer laid out the two roads running north and south on each side of the island in 1825. In 1819 Maj. John Anderson surveyed the island. All of the old surveys started from the corner of the Macomb Mansion House, in front of "the old curly maple" on the Macomb farm, which was later the Wendell place.

Kitché-minishen was the Pottawatomi name for Grosse Ile, and it was so-called in the deed from that tribe to Alexander and William Macomb.

The elder William Macomb built the Mansion House on the island, but did not occupy it. However, William Macomb, Jr., lived in the house until 1812, when, at the surrender of Detroit, he was taken to Montreal among the prisoners. During his absence a force of Indians crossed to the island and burned the Mansion House to the ground. Macomb's wife, who was Monique Navarre, escaped in the woods back of the house with her newly born child, eventually reached Detroit, but both she and the infant soon died from the exposure. William Macomb, Jr., afterward married a second time, his bride being Jennette Marentate, and they had three daughters, afterwards Mrs. Jane Macomb Brevoort, Mrs. Archange Macomb Brodhead and Mrs. Catherine Macomb Wendell.

About three miles below the Mansion House stood the old stockade, inclosing several acres. It was constructed of second growth sapling. Inside the stockade were seven log houses, the largest of which served as officers' quarters. The stockade faced the river and extended back about one hundred feet westward.

#### GROSSE ILE

By Clarence M. Burton

The occupation of this country by white people is so recent that we seem to be pioneers, or of the pioneers, ourselves. In the old country, Europe, Asia and Africa, a century is not considered a long period in the history of a state or city, but with us there are few places where some citizen cannot remember the clearing of the trees and underbrush, the erection of the first house and the founding of the settlement. The first comers in the Territory of Michigan were hunters, trappers, explorers and traders with the Indians. They were not, usually, men of education and they have left very little that can be made of use in writing the history of the state. We know that they came, but they left

no record of their visits. They paddled or sailed over the great lakes and through the large rivers; they visited the Indian tribes and lived with the savages; they bought the furs that the Indians were just beginning to find were of value, but they founded no settlements; they made no official reports of their travels or what they saw. It is not probable that the first voyageurs penetrated into the interior of the country. They met the Indians at their homes on the borders of the lakes and rivers and carried on the traffic with them there, filled their boats with furs and peltries in exchange for trinkets and brandy, and returned to Montreal.

It is supposed that the first explorer who reached Georgian Bay was the Recollet priest, Joseph Le Caron, who came in 1615 in advance of Champlain. It is not supposed that he passed over the Detroit River or that he knew of its existence. He penetrated the country by passing up the Ottawa River from Montreal.

Until recently it was supposed that the first white man who passed through the river was Joliet in the year 1669. We now have positive knowledge, however, that not only was the country visited many years before this date, but that its topography was so well known that several maps of the country were made and printed by royal authority, in Paris. The difficulty, the impossibility of carrying sufficient food to perform a long journey through the woods, made it absolutely necessary for the explorers to confine their voyages to the rivers and the borders of the great lakes.

There were two ways by which the early explorers reached the western country. The lake route was by hauling their boats along the shores of the St. Lawrence River, around the rapids of that stream until the site of the present City of Ogdensburg was reached, and then by paddling or sailing up the river and across Lakes Ontario and Erie, with the single portage at Niagara. This route was usually very dangerous, as it passed through the country of the Iroquois Indians and these Indians were never very friendly to the French.

The other and more difficult, but less dangerous path was along the River Ottawa from Montreal to the eastern end of Lake Nipissing, across this lake and then down the French and Pickereel rivers to the Georgian Bay. The latter route was the course more usually chosen and this accounts for the fact that St. Ignace, Mackinac and the northern posts were established before Detroit was visited.

The priests of two orders, the Recollets and Jesuits, had made advances into the western country at a very early day and had established themselves at various points in Canada between Niagara Falls and the Detroit River. Probably as early as 1640 they had several mission posts in this neighborhood and had made maps of the country. Such a map was published in Paris in 1650, showing not only Lakes Erie and Huron, but the Detroit River which connects them. In 1656 a better map was published, showing not only Lake St. Clair and the Detroit River, but the connection between Lakes Erie and Ontario. A year later another map of the same region was printed by Sanson. As these maps are frequently to be met with now, it is probable that they were common at the time of their publication.

In 1669, as before stated, Joliet passed down the Detroit River and along the north shore of Lake Erie. On this journey he met two Sulpician priests, Francois Dollier de Casson and Rene de Brehant de Galinee. Galinee kept a journal of this trip and under the date of September 24, 1669, he tells of this meeting with Joliet. He says that Joliet had been sent over the Ottawa or

northern route to the shores of Lake Superior to find a copper mine of which stories had been carried to Montreal. On the Lake Superior shore he had met an Iroquois Indian who offered to take him back to Montreal over a new route "heretofore unknown to the French." It was on this new route and after he had passed entirely by Lake Erie, that he met the two priests. From him they learned all that he could tell them of the water course he had passed over, and when they had separated, the priests prepared to ascend by the same course. Joliet made a sketch of his travels which he gave to the priests. (Joliet kept a journal of this trip, but it was lost before he reached Montreal, by the overturning of his boat in one of the rapids of the St. Lawrence.)

A few days after this the priests reached Lake Erie and, being overtaken by cold weather, wintered upon the north shore, and resumed their journey in the spring of 1770. They made a fairly accurate map of the shores of the lake, the Detroit and St. Clair rivers and Lake St. Clair. They narrate that at distance of six leagues above Lake Erie they found, on the shore of the Detroit River, a stone idol that was held in great veneration by the Indians. The idol the priests broke in pieces and threw into the river. From the map made by them, it would seem that the idol was found not far from the site of the present City of Detroit. The exact date of this visit to the river is not given, but as the writer says nothing about the beauty of the scenery, it is probable that it was while the cold weather still held on in the spring of 1770. From this time travelers frequently passed through the river and some of them left records of the sights they witnessed.

In 1679 Father Louis Hennepin, with LaSalle and a company of adventurers, thirty-four in all, passed through here in the *Griffon*, the earliest sail vessel on the lakes. Hennepin writes:

"The 10th (of August, 1679) we came to anchor at the mouth of the strait which runs from Lake Huron to that of Erie. The 11th we went further into the strait and passed between two small islands which make one of the finest prospects in the world. The strait is finer than that of Niagara, being thirty leagues long and everywhere one league broad except in the middle which is wider, forming a lake which we have called St. Clair. The navigation is easier on both sides, the coasts being low and even. It runs directly north to south. The country between those two lakes is very well situated, and the soil very fertile. The banks of the strait are vast meadows, and the prospect is terminated with some hills covered with vineyards, trees bearing good fruit, and forests, so well disposed that one would think nature alone could not have made, without the help of art, so charming a prospect. That country is stocked with stags, wild goats and bears, which are good for food and not fierce as in other countries; some think they are better than our pork. Turkey cocks and swans are there also very common, and our men brought several other beasts and birds, whose names are unknown to us, but they are extraordinarily relishing. The forests are chiefly made up of walnut trees, chestnut trees, plum trees and pear trees, loaded with their own fruit and vines. There is also abundance of timber fit for building; so that those who shall be so happy as to inhabit that noble country, cannot but remember with gratitude those who have discovered the way by venturing to sail upon an unknown lake far above one hundred leagues."

In 1687, Baron La Hontan, having with him Duluth and Henry Tonti and a company of French soldiers, passed over the same route as that pursued by



Hennepin. His account of the country does not deviate much from that of the priest. He writes:

“September 6 (1687) we entered the strait of the Lake of Huron where we met with a slack current of half a league in breadth that continued till we arrived in the Lake of St. Clair, which is twelve leagues in circumference. The 8th of the same month we steered to the other end, from whence we had but six leagues to run against the stream, till we arrived at the Lake of Hurons where we landed on the 14th.

“You cannot imagine the pleasant prospect of this strait, and of the little lake; for their banks are covered with sorts of wild fruit trees. 'Tis true the want of agriculture sinks the agreeableness of the fruit, but their plenty is very surprising. We spied no other animals upon the shore but herds of harts and roebucks, and when we came to the little islands we scoured them in order to oblige these beasts to cross over the continent, upon which they, offering to swim over, were knocked on the head by our canoe men that were planted all round the islands.”

These accounts and the accounts of other writers were published alike in France, England and the Low Countries and the beautiful scenery, the pleasant country and the fertile soil, would have induced colonists to come to the Detroit at this time if the trouble between England and France, in which the Iroquois Indians took an active part, had not effectually closed the Lake Erie route and prevented access to this part of the world.

The Dutch at Albany and the English merchants there and at New York were pushing their agents and traders forward among the Indians on both sides of Lake Erie and were threatening to obtain and maintain possession of the entire country which, until this time, had been in the exclusive possession of the French.

It was for the purpose of maintaining French possession that Antoine de La Mothe Cadillac was authorized to proceed to the Detroit River and establish a post at that point. Cadillac had, in 1696, been commandant at Michilimackinac, and, being familiar with the country and with the encroachments of the English, he had urged the establishment of the Detroit post as a protective measure for his government.

At the time Cadillac set out on his first trip to establish the post at Detroit, the troubles with the Iroquois Indians compelled him to proceed to the west by the Ottawa route. Starting out from Montreal in the spring of 1701, with 100 Frenchmen and 100 Algonquin Indians, his caravan paddled and drew itself wearily along the course of the Ottawa, around its falls and rapids and over its shoals until the eastern end of Lake Nipissing was reached. Thirty portages were made on the trip. Thirty times all of the boats were unloaded and the loads carried in the arms and on the backs of men, across the portage to the deep water beyond, and following these loads, the boats were borne on the shoulders of the men to the new starting point.

Skirting the shores of Lake Nipissing, for the lake is treacherous and dangerous to cross, and down the rivers that carry its waters to the bay, the cortege passed with but few more carrying places, and the eastern waters of Lake Huron were reached. Although this route passed through grand and picturesque scenery, the country was barren and almost devoid of vegetation. For miles and miles in every direction little was to be seen but rock and water. So little soil had accumulated on these almost barren rocks that no trees of consid-

erable size grew along the margin of the river or on its many islands. So, too, the Georgian Bay, when once reached, was beautiful and picturesque, but there was little to induce a colonist to locate if he expected to live from the products of the soil.

Passing along the shores of the bay and lake, Cadillac entered the River St. Clair in the first days of July and began the descent of that river and the Detroit River, on the continual watch for a suitable location for his fort and settlement. He passed through the entire length of the river to Lake Erie and then returned over his route. On the passage he decided to locate his fort on Grosse Ile and some preparations were made for that purpose.

After some deliberation among the officers, it was deemed best not to locate the fort on an island, as there might come a time when the timber would all be used and it would be difficult to bring more from the mainland. After this objection had prevented the island location of the fort, further observations were taken with the result that the site chosen was a point of land in the river now occupied by Jefferson Avenue and Wayne Street in Detroit. This location was a promontory and just below this point the water of the river set back to a line somewhat north of the present Larned Street.

Shortly after the village or post of Detroit was established, the commandant, Cadillac, was importuned by the soldiers in the garrison and the citizens in the place to grant lands to them for farming and garden use. He readily complied with these requests and, as soon as the king would permit him to do so, he conveyed farms and garden lots and building sites within the enclosure, to such of the people as desired these places and could pay a small rental or tax therefor.

As for himself and family he wished for greater things. He already possessed the rights of higher, middle and lower jurisdiction, that is, the ordinary rights that belonged to fiefs in the old country, but he wanted the further office of Baron or Marquis of Detroit. He did not succeed in getting this office, but in order to make a proper and suitable provision for his children, he granted to them large tracts of land that would have been sufficient if they had retained them, to provide for their future subsistence, and seignorial power. On the 10th day of March, 1707, Cadillac granted to his daughter, Magdaline, "a stretch of land with three leagues frontage on the great River to Detroit, to extend from the River Ecorse inclining towards the Lake Erie with Grosse Ile and the other islets which are in front of the concession, and in depth five leagues in a straight line; the right of hunting, of fishing and trading. The whole as a fief, with the right of intermediate and lower jurisdiction."

In 1711 Cadillac was removed from Detroit and all that he possessed there was taken from him. Such complaints were made against him by his enemies, and by those who sought to gain by his downfall, that the king set aside and declared void all of the transfers of the real estate he had made in the Detroit district. One of the reasons for thus ruthlessly depriving these colonists of their property, was that they had not cultivated the grants made to them, and built houses upon these lands. This reason would not operate in all cases, for some of the lands were tilled. In order to avoid this objection, new grants were at once made to such persons as had cultivated fields or planted orchards and erected dwellings. In the case of Cadillac's children, however, the final order read as follows:

"Neither the eldest son of M. de La Mothe nor his other children can obtain any advantage from the grant made to them of the six leagues frontage by five

in depth; for neither settlement nor clearing has been made there, and one of the chief conditions of concessions is to keep a hearth and home there within a year and a day, on pain of forfeiting them."

No effort of Cadillac or of his descendants could prevail upon the French government to do them justice for the years of labor and the money they spent in opening up to civilization the "Paradise of the World."

Now that the title to the island had reverted to the crown, others were seeking to possess it. Its fine location and fertile soil were sufficient inducement to farmers to choose this land as soon as any on the mainland. The island above the village—Ile au Cochon (Belle Isle), had very early been set aside as a commons for the community, but Grosse Ile was too far off and too large to be claimed for any such purpose. An official report of the lands in the neighborhood of Detroit, made in 1718, thus describes the islands in the Detroit River:

"At the mouth of the Detroit River, which is very wide, are four islands, called Bois Blanc, L'île aux poux, the island of slaves and Grosse Ile. This island is very fine and fertile and extensive, being six or seven leagues in circumference. There is an extraordinary quantity of apple trees on this island, and those who have seen the apples on the ground say they are more than half a foot deep. The apple trees are planted as if methodically and the apples are as large as small pippins. Abundance of excellent millstones are found on this island; all around it are very fine prairies."

The next attempt at ownership or use of the island is in connection with the church, and this again brings us back to Cadillac's time. Cadillac, in common with very many of the able and influential men of his day, while a good Catholic, was a bitter foe to the Jesuits. He would not permit a Jesuit priest to establish a mission at Detroit or in its immediate neighborhood. The priests in charge of the church in the village were of the Franciscan or Recollet order. The Jesuits, however, established a mission at the Miami and several other missions were established in the interior of Canada between the Detroit and Niagara Rivers.

In 1740 Father de la Richardie was in charge of a Jesuit Mission among the Huron Indians. This tribe was more inclined to peaceful pursuits and less inclined to war than the other tribes, and at this time they were proposing to remove to the Illinois country to avoid a conflict with the other tribes, particularly the Ottawa. As some objections might be made to the Indians moving so far and into a new country to them, Richardie proposed that he have leave to place them on Grosse Ile, where the Huron claimed they would see no Ottawa and would be a little more at peace. Permission was given by the superior of the Jesuits to make the establishment on the island, but when Richardie had gained his point, in this particular, he hesitated to accept it. The governor, Beauharnois, had not only consented to the request of Richardie that the Indians occupy the island for a home, but when the plans were changed he was disappointed and charged the fault on the priest. Beauharnois made the following report of the transaction in 1742:

"All that I have been able to learn from the *voyageurs* who have come down from Detroit, is that the Hurons have again changed their mind, and that they wanted to settle at Bois Blanc Island, I cannot conceal from you that they added that it was Father de la Richardie who made them play all these tricks; you can divine the reason for it."

As we all know, the tribe and mission were established on Bois Blanc Island, and remained there for some time until all removed to the mission established opposite Detroit at Sandwich.

Grosse Ile was considered Government property, the same as all the other lands in the neighborhood, and would have soon been taken up and cultivated if the French ownership of the country had continued. The governor of New France in 1747 and thereafter sought to encourage western immigration and offered assistance to such of the Canadians as would remove to Detroit and reside there. A large number of families accepted the inducement in the following years and the settlement began to increase, but about this time the French and Indian war broke out and France was not only unable to grant the subsidies she had formerly given, but required the assistance of every competent man to enter her armies.

The war terminated in 1760 by the surrender of Detroit and all of Canada to England. Before the final treaty of peace was signed in 1763, the Indian chief, Pontiac, had formed a plan and put it into execution at several of the western posts, to drive the English from control. During a portion of the period that Pontiac besieged Detroit and in the year 1763 the Huron Indians under Pontiac encamped on Grosse Ile and here also were, from time to time, encamped the Indians who attacked the boats that came from Niagara to succor the besieged garrison in the village above.

When the Indians learned of the final treaty of peace between the English and French governments and ascertained that the king of France could no longer aid them, they abandoned the siege of the garrison and returned to their homes in the wilderness. They still claimed to own all of the lands around the fort, save only those parcels in the actual possession of the white people. The Indians in their constant association with the whites were drawn into friendly relations and occasionally rewarded the latter by gifts of strips of land or farms from the district owned or claimed by them. One of the earliest of these gifts was made by the chief, Pontiac, to Dr. George Christian Anthon, the father of the renowned lexicographer, Charles Anthon. The consideration expressed in the deed of gift is the esteem and friendship which Pontiac had for the doctor, but it is supposed that the doctor, who was the surgeon of the fort, had rendered important services to the Indian chief for which no other adequate compensation could be made.

These gifts were at first made for friendly reasons only, but as time passed along the Indians were induced to part with their lands for a money consideration. Frequently the price was not at all in comparison with the value of the grant received.

The British government would not recognize the transfers thus made and refused to countenance the transactions and tried to discourage the men from taking the deeds. All this protesting was of no avail, however, for the deeds continued to be made and to multiply in number. From the year 1780 until the close of the War of the Revolution, and even after that date, hundreds of deeds conveying thousands of acres of land were made. It was not an uncommon matter for some trader to obtain an Indian deed to 20,000 or more acres of land, and one Indian deed in my possession covers 3,000,000 acres of land in the northern part of Ohio, including part of the City of Cleveland, west of the Cuyahoga River, while another deed covering nearly as many acres,

includes the City of Toledo, and all of the lands on either side of the Maumee. Many, though not all, of these deeds were recorded in the registry office in Detroit that had been established by the British shortly after the conquest. The first Indian deed recorded is dated September 8, 1765, and is from Pontiac, chief of the Ottawas, to Doctor Anthon, as above related. This deed was made with the consent of George Croghan, superintendent of Indian affairs, and conveyed a parcel of land on the south side of the Detroit River, with a frontage thereon of about 800 feet.

One of these conveyances, dated July 6, 1776, two days after the signing of the Declaration of Independence, transferred the title of Grosse Ile from the Indians to Alexander and William Macomb. The witnesses to the deed were Isidore Chene and Pierre St. Cosme, both prominent people at Detroit. Chene was an Indian interpreter and was at one time chosen as a chief in one of the tribes. The grantees of the deed were, at that time, prominent merchants in Detroit and subsequently acted as agents for the British government in importing Indian goods and other articles used to keep the savages engaged on the side of the British government during the war. They formed, either under the firm name of Alexander and William Macomb, or of Macomb, Edgar and Macomb, the most responsible firm in the place and their trade, for government purposes, exceeded, in some years, \$500,000. They were Indian traders, general merchants, real estate dealers, and bankers, and probably carried on many more pursuits that were required in the village.

This deed is the first conveyance of the island to private individuals, and from this time it was owned either by the Macomb family, or some of the descendants of that family or some of their grantees.

Members of the Macomb family were large real estate owners in and about Detroit and owned extensive tracts of land in the State of New York. The farms owned by them were so numerous that it became necessary to lease them to tenants in order to place them under cultivation. They owned all, or nearly all, of the islands in the Detroit River.

In order to make a proper use of Grosse Ile, they divided it into convenient farms and leased them to tenants who built houses and improved the lands. From the records, the names of some of the early tenants can be ascertained. It is probable that the list is not complete, and it extends only till the year 1808. The names are as follows: Thomas Williams, William Serret, Justice Allen, Jesse Hicks, Edward McCarty, James Anderson, Joseph Bariau, John Johnson, Robert Gill, Jacob Stoffer, Jacob Eiler, Elias Horn, John Jackson, Henry Hoffman, Adna Heacock, James Chittenden, Charles Monger, James Mitchell, Michael Myers and Solomon McCulloch.

Judge Richard Butler, of Mount Clemens, was born on Grosse Ile in 1797. His parents were farmers occupying one of the tracts then owned by the Macombs.

Some of these tenants were well known in connection with the other parts of Detroit. Thomas Williams was a register of deeds under the British rule and father of Gen. John R. Williams, the first elected mayor of Detroit. Jesse Hicks was very well known at Detroit: a house and horse mill were erected on the land occupied by him on the island. Edward McCarty has given his name to one of the roads on the island. Charles Monger was killed in the year of 1794 and his wife remained on his farm until the following year.

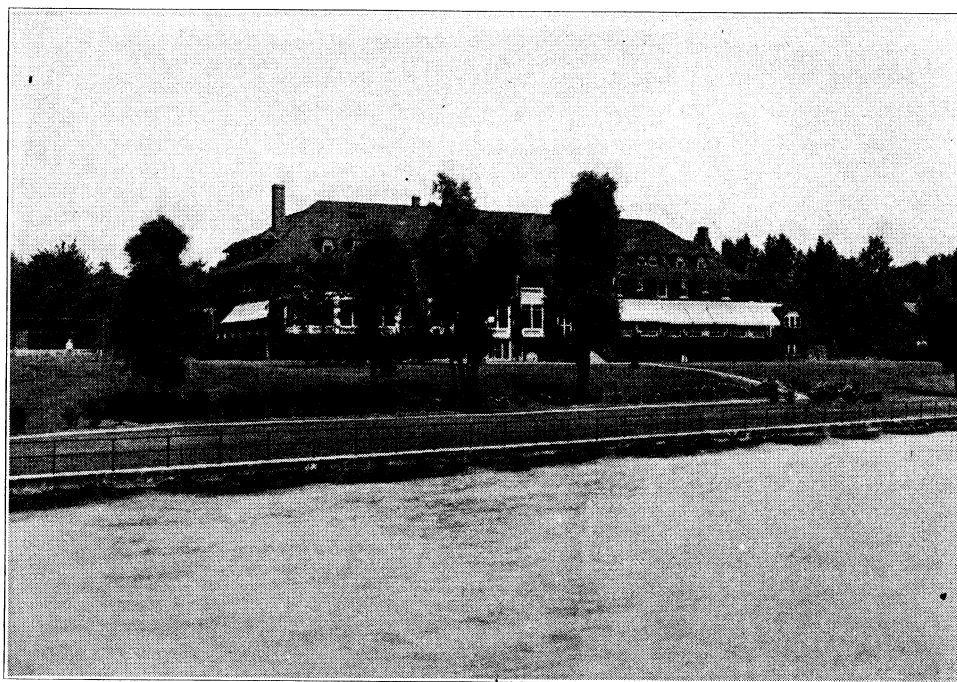
Shortly after the formation of the State of Ohio and while Detroit still remained a part of the Territory of Indiana, Charles Jouett, Indian agent at Detroit, made a report of all the lands about Detroit. In reporting the situation of Grosse Ile, he said:

“Grosse Ile is generally a mile wide and nine miles in length, running parallel with the western or United States bank, to which it approaches more nearly than to the other. Its lower end extends to the mouth of the strait, where it discharges itself into Lake Erie, and is immediately opposite Malden, the British garrison at Amherstburg.

“This island is now cultivated by ten farmers, who pay an annual rent to the estate of William Macomb, by whom it was purchased of the Indians in 1776, and settled at that time, or soon afterwards. The height of the situation, the richness of the soil, the quantity of valuable timber, consisting of oak and hickory, with which it abounds, together with its nearness to market, obliges me to believe that it is a spot holding forth as many advantages as any in this country.”

Some time previous to this date, William Macomb had become the sole owner of the Indian title to the island and had continued to own it until the time of his death. He died April 16, 1796, just a few days before the Americans took possession of Detroit. The proceedings of the Probate Court, as established under British rule, were taken to Canada when Detroit was evacuated and Macomb's will was probated in Canada, the original will now being in Sandwich. Macomb had eleven children, but by the terms of his will, all of his real estate was given to his three sons, John W., William and David B. Macomb. In 1808, the United States Government appointed commissioners to settle land titles in the Detroit district. The claims of the sons of William Macomb to the island were presented to these commissioners and their titles confirmed in that year.

In the year 1815 and within a few months after the close of the War of 1812, the Indians about Detroit had been perpetrating various crimes, such as burning dwellings, stealing horses and cattle and capturing and carrying off children for ransom. One of the places from which they had stolen horses and cattle was Grosse Ile and to this place a boat-load of soldiers from the garrison at Detroit had gone on the 4th of October, in order to prevent further depredations. The troops were under Corp. John B. Jones of the Fifth United States Infantry. They found a number of Indians on the island and one of them, Akockis, a Kickapoo Indian, drew his gun and attempted to shoot David B. Macomb, who was one of the party. Corporal Jones prevented the action by shooting Akockis. The Indian was not killed on the spot, but was taken to Amherstburg, where he died a day or two later. The matter was brought to the attention of Col. Reginald James, the military commandant at Malden, and he complained to Lewis Cass who had recently been appointed governor of Michigan. A spirited correspondence immediately followed between Governor Cass and Colonel James. James threatened a general Indian insurrection if satisfaction was not at once accorded the British, and Cass issued a proclamation directing the citizens to resist by force any attempt of the British officials to apprehend any person on the west side of the channel of the Detroit River. Cass was right in his position, and the matter was smoothed over without bloodshed and with few more harsh words.



COUNTRY CLUB



DETROIT GOLF CLUB HOUSE





## GROSSE POINTE TOWNSHIP

The territory comprising the Township of Grosse Pointe was originally included in Hamtramck Township. It was set off as a separate township on April 1, 1848, and was named Grosse Pointe from the point of land projecting into the water at the foot of Lake St. Clair. As then erected, Grosse Pointe was bounded "on the north by Macomb County; on the east and south by Lake St. Clair and the Detroit River; on the west by the section line two miles west of the line dividing ranges 11 and 12 east, the north line of Private Claim No. 394 and Connor's Creek, the line between sections 22 and 23, township No. 1 south, range 12, east, and the west line of Private Claim No. 725." It was divided in May, 1895, and the western and northern part were erected into the Township of Gratiot.

The first settlers in this township were French, some of whom were descendants of those who came with Cadillac to Detroit in 1701. Here lived the Beaufaits, St. Aubins, Rivards, Gouins, the De Lorme family and others who were prominent in the early history of Wayne County. In 1764 Charles Chovin located near where the Detroit waterworks are now situated and built a rather unsubstantial cabin, in which he lived for about five years. He then bought the claim of Thomas Stewart and Jean Simare on the "Grand Marais," just west of Connor's Creek, and moved into the log house they had erected. In October, 1796, his son, Jean Baptiste Chovin, sold the property to William Park and George Meldrum, who a few years later conveyed it to William Macomb. Macomb died in April, 1796. Peter Van Avery purchased this place in 1816, remodeled and enlarged the house, which in 1875 was said to have been the oldest house in Michigan.

The Grand Marais, or big marsh, is laid down on the old maps as forming the larger portion of the present Grosse Pointe Township. This marsh was waste land covered by water and flags. Some years ago a large tract, covering several thousand acres, was reclaimed by Thomas W. Corby, who built a dyke along the lake and river front and pumped the water from the land.

At the head of the St. Clair River was a favorite crossing place for the Indians in their journeys to and from Canada. Frequently they came in large numbers and freely helped themselves to the property of the settlers, sometimes driving off whole herds of cattle.

Grosse Pointe is distinctly a district of pretentious and costly homes. The residential portion of the township is divided into Grosse Pointe Park, Grosse Pointe, Grosse Pointe Farms and Grosse Pointe Shores. Upon entering Grosse Pointe Farms, at the terminus of city service of the Detroit United Railways, Jefferson Avenue becomes Lake Shore Road, which winds its picturesque course along the shores of Lake St. Clair. The interurban line running from Detroit to Mount Clemens and Port Huron supplies transportation, other than motor car, to the residents of the township.

## HAMTRAMCK TOWNSHIP

This was one of the nine townships created by the act of April 12, 1827, and at that time included the present townships of Grosse Pointe and Gratiot. After Grosse Pointe was set off in 1848, Hamtramck included the western two-thirds of township No. 1 south, range 12 east, extending southward to the city limits, and westward to the line of Greenfield Township. It was named in honor of Col. John F. Hamtramck, of whom more is written in other chapters of this work.

The surface of the township is generally level and the first settlers found the land swampy and difficult to cultivate. By scientific drainage practically all the wet land was reclaimed and the farmers of Hamtramck Township came to be recognized among the most successful of Wayne County. Then the city began its encroachments. Various annexations have absorbed all of the township except about four square miles next to the Macomb County line, and much of this has been subdivided into lots for homes. The Grand Trunk and the Bay City division of the Michigan Central railroads cross the township and the Mount Olivet Cemetery is just outside the city limits in the north-eastern part.

#### HURON TOWNSHIP

One of the nine townships erected by the act of April 12, 1827, was named Huron, for the river which flows through it, and also for the Indian tribe that once inhabited that part of the country. When first erected, Huron embraced the four southwestern Congressional townships of Wayne County and was twelve miles square. Romulus and Van Buren were set off in 1835 and Sumpter in 1840, which reduced it to its present dimensions—township 4 south, range 9 east. On the north it is bounded by Romulus Township; on the east by Brownstown, on the south by Monroe County; and on the west by Sumpter Township.

The first settlements were made several years before the township was created. Among the pioneers were John F. Atkins, Warner Corkins, Simeon Drenn, Jonathan Fay, Artemas Hosmer, Amos Howe, George Hubbard, Chauncey Hurd, William Newland, Nathan Wilcox, Moses R. Newland, Matthew Woods, Timothy F. Wallace, Prosper Lawrence, Hiram R. Newland, Samuel Wing, Thomas Outhwait, and John Smart. Jonathan Fay, mentioned above, never lived in Huron. He was a doctor and lived in the city. His death occurred in 1836, while he was a member of the Legislature. The Legislature was in session at Detroit at the time and adjourned to attend his funeral. He was the first husband of Mrs. Henry P. Bridge, who recently died at the age of nearly one hundred years.

Soon after the passage of the act creating the township, an election was held. Prosper Lawrence was chosen supervisor; Dr. John T. Smith, town clerk; Warner Corkins, Chauncey Morgan and George Jewett, assessors; Mason Clark and Henry Dutcher, highway commissioners; John F. Atkins, constable. At that time there was an Indian reservation on the Huron River, in the southeast corner of the township. This reservation was ceded to the United States in 1842 and the sale of the Indian lands brought a number of new settlers into Huron.

The Pere Marquette and Michigan Central railroads supply transportation facilities to the Huron Township people. Farming, fruit growing and stock raising are the principal industries.

#### LIVONIA TOWNSHIP

By the act of April 12, 1827, townships 1 and 2, range 9, and 1 and 2, range 10, were erected into the Township of Bucklin. The same act provided that no township should be created having the same name as any postoffice in the United States. On October 20, 1829, the Legislature divided Bucklin into two townships, to which were given the names of Lima and Richland. The next day Governor Cass returned the bill without his approval, because the names

selected were the names of postoffices. The Legislature then changed the names to Nankin and Pekin, the former including the western half of the former Township of Bucklin and the latter the eastern half. With this change the governor approved the act.

On March 17, 1835, the northern half of Nankin Township (township 1 south, range 9 east), was erected into the Township of Livonia, so named for one of the western provinces of Russia in order to insure no duplication elsewhere. It is bounded on the north by Oakland County; on the east by the Township of Redford; on the south by Nankin; and on the west by Northville and Plymouth. The surface is gently undulating and is watered by the Bell Creek and a number of smaller streams, tributary to the River Rouge.

One of the first settlers was Daniel Blue, who located his claim in 1832. He was followed by Pardon Briggs, Adolphus Brigham, John Cahoon, Gabriel Deane, Erastus Everett, Reuben Glass, James Grace, Thomas Hammond, Nathan Kingsley, Solomon Lambert, Gilbert Martin, Peter Meldon, Joseph Morse, George Ryder, John G. Welsh, and Nehemiah Weston. Other settlers came during the years 1833 and 1834, and late in the latter year the citizens petitioned for a division of Nankin Township.

The first election was held in April, 1835. Adolphus Brigham was chosen supervisor; Silas Joslin, clerk; David French, treasurer; Adolphus Brigham, Thomas Harper and Silas Joslin, inspectors of election. Two years later the township was divided into school districts and Benjamin Stephens, Archelaus Harwood, and Harvey Durfee were elected school inspectors. George W. Farrington, of this township, was elected to represent Wayne County in the Legislature of 1835-36; was reelected in 1837 and again in 1847.

The Detroit and Lansing division of the Pere Marquette Railroad, and the Orchard Lake division of the Detroit United Railways, pass through Livonia. Considerable quantities of farm products are shipped from Stark, in the southern part of the township.

#### MONGUAGON TOWNSHIP

Situated on the Detroit River, in the southeastern part of Wayne County, is the Township of Monguagon, one of the nine townships created by the act of April 27, 1827, and as then established it included Grosse Ile, in the Detroit River. Since Grosse Ile was set off as a separate township in 1914, Monguagon is the smallest township in the county. It is bounded on the north by Ecorse; on the east by the Detroit River; on the south and west by the Township of Brownstown.

At the first election, which was held soon after the passage of the act creating the township, Abram C. Truax was elected supervisor; James Chittenden, clerk; Gardner Brown, Artemas Hosmer, and Manoah Hubbell, assessors; James Street, collector; James Chittenden, John A. Rucker and Joseph Pulsifer, commissioners of highways; Abram C. Truax and Richard Smyth, overseers of the poor; Horatio Lud, Samuel Hickok, and Hurl Warren, constables.

The township was named for a Pottawatomie chieftain who lived on the Detroit River about 1755, and the first white settlements were made in 1812. Several lines of steam railroads and the Toledo division of the Detroit United Railways pass through the township.

## NANKIN TOWNSHIP

In the second tier from the western border of Wayne County is Nankin Township, which consists of Congressional township 2 south, range 9 east. The territory of which it is composed was formerly included in Bucklin Township, which passed out of existence when Nankin was created on October 29, 1829, and then included the present Township of Livonia. It is bounded on the north by Livonia Township; on the east by Dearborn; on the south by Romulus; and on the west by Canton.

The first purchase of land in Nankin was made November 7, 1818, by Denison Palmer, who selected the southeast quarter of section 1. On January 25, 1819, William Woodbridge, afterward governor of Michigan and United States senator, purchased the southwest quarter of the same section. William Dugan and Edward McCarty entered lands in 1820, but it seems no settlement was made in the township until about four years later. In the spring of 1825, Rev. Marcus Swift and Luther Reeves came from Palmyra, N. Y., and each purchased 160 acres in section 3. They returned to New York for their families and Reeves sold his land to William Osband. On October 8, 1825, Swift and Osband, accompanied by their families, arrived at Detroit and the next day went out to their new homes in the wilderness. Luther R. Osband was the first white child born within the limits of the township.

In 1824 George M. Johnson located where Wayne Village now stands and built a large log house, which he opened as a hotel for the accommodation of travelers between Detroit and Ypsilanti.

The first election was held in the spring of 1830 and Rev. Marcus Smith was elected supervisor, holding the office for three years. He was succeeded by Ammon Brown, who in 1835 was elected as one of Wayne County's representatives in the Legislature, and in 1847 was chosen one of the board of county auditors, where he served for four years.

The Michigan Central Railroad crosses the southern part of Nankin, with stations at Inkster, Eloise and Wayne, and the Michigan Avenue line of the Detroit United Railways runs almost parallel to the Michigan Central.

## NORTHVILLE TOWNSHIP

This township dates its corporate existence from the spring of 1898, when Plymouth Township was divided and the north half was erected into the Township of Northville, taking its name from the incorporated town situated within its limits. It occupies the extreme northwest corner of Wayne County, being bounded on the north by Oakland County; on the east by Livonia Township; on the south by Plymouth; and on the west by Washtenaw County. Its area is eighteen square miles.

The first settlements were made in this township while it constituted a part of Plymouth and its early history is given in connection with that township. The first officers were elected at the regular spring election in April, 1898, and were as follows: Charles A. Sessions, supervisor; Frank S. Harmon, clerk; Samuel W. Knapp, treasurer; Cassius R. Benton, commissioner of highways; Hiram Thayer, James K. Lowden, Frank Johnson, and Clarence L. Brigham, justices of the peace; Frank N. Perrin, Horace Green, Loren Haynes, and John C. Buckner, constables; Charles C. Chadwick and Charles Dubuar, school inspectors.

The Toledo and Bay City division of the Pere Marquette Railway system passes through the central part, and the Jackson branch of the Detroit United Railways connects the township with Detroit.

## PLYMOUTH TOWNSHIP

When this township was erected April 12, 1827, it included all of Congressional townships 1 and 2 south, range 8 east. Canton Township was cut off in 1834 and Northville in 1898, so that Plymouth is now only one-fourth as large as when first established. It embraces the south half of township 1 south, range 8 east; is bounded on the north by Northville Township; on the east by Livonia; on the south by Canton; and on the west by Washtenaw County. The surface is slightly rolling and is watered by branches of the River Rouge. With the exception of a few localities, the soil is well adapted to agriculture.

Abraham B. Markham, William Markham, David Phillips, Paul W. Hazen, Allen and William Tibbitts all settled in this township in 1825. Then came Daniel Baker, Alanson Aldrich, who entered the first land in 1824, but did not make any improvements until the following year, Samuel Gates, John Tibbitts, Gerrit Houghtaling, Erastus Hussey, Luther Lincoln, and Edwin Stuart. A few of these located in what is now Northville Township. Among the pioneers were several descendants of the Pilgrim fathers who landed at Plymouth, Massachusetts, in 1620, and the township was named after the settlement they established.

The first election was held at the house of John Tibbitts on Friday, May 25, 1827. William Bartow was elected supervisor; Allen Tibbitts, clerk; Erastus Starkweather, Roswell Root, and Henry Lyons, assessors; Abraham B. Markham, collector; Philo Taylor, justice of the peace.

Ample transportation is provided by two divisions of the Pere Marquette Railroad, which cross each other at the Town of Plymouth, and an electric line of the Detroit United Railways.

## REDFORD TOWNSHIP

This township was erected by an act of the Michigan Legislative Council on October 29, 1829, as Pekin Township. On March 21, 1833, the name was changed to Redford and eleven days later the south half was set off as Dearborn Township. Redford now includes Congressional Township 1 south, range 10 east. It is bounded on the north by Oakland County; on the east by Greenfield Township; on the south by Dearborn; and on the west by Livonia.

The name Redford is derived from "Rouge Ford," a favorite crossing place of the River Rouge by the Indians on their trips to Detroit, and later to Fort Malden, to receive presents from the British officers. The village was first given the name of Sand Hill. This ford was not far from the present crossing of the Grand River Road, which was opened through the township in 1833.

To Azarias Bell belongs the distinction of having been the first white man to settle in this township. He purchased land and built his cabin in 1818 and for about seven years he had very few neighbors. In 1825 Thomas Geldard, an Englishman, settled near Mr. Bell. Then came Benjamin and Joseph Green, George Norris, William Lyon, George Farrington, Noah Benedict, Harmon Burgess and his son, S. R. Burgess, all of whom located claims prior to 1832. Other Redford pioneers were: Benjamin and Ralph Bell, George Boyce, Lewis Cook, Noah Peck, and Hiram Wilmarth.

Conrad Ten Eyck represented Pekin Township on the board of supervisors before the name was changed to Redford and was one of the early settlers. After the name was changed to Redford, George W. Farrington held the office of supervisor for seven years. He afterward moved to Livonia Township.

The Grand Trunk and Pere Marquette railroads pass through Redford, and the Orchard Lake division of the Detroit United Railways provides a convenient line of communication with the City of Detroit.

#### ROMULUS TOWNSHIP

On March 17, 1835, Congressional township 3 south, range 9 east, was taken from Huron Township and erected into the civil township of Romulus, so named for the founder of ancient Rome. The name was changed to Wayne March 19, 1845, but on January 26, 1848, Governor Ransom approved an act changing it back to Romulus.

So far as can be learned, the first white settler in this township was a French Canadian named Samuel Polyne, who located on section 2 in 1826, but after a residence of a few years went away. Solomon Whitaker, Charles and Joseph Pulsifer settled here in 1830. A little later Jenks Pullen, accompanied by his six sons, came from New York and settled at the place later known as "Pullen's Corners." Among those who located in the township during the next five years may be mentioned Joseph Baleham, Warren Blair, Isaac and Richard Bird, Peter Bort, Orange and Orion Brown, John Carr, Peter De Lancey, George Dykeman, Hiram Fisk, William Hale, Ira Hall, William Lane, John Simpson, Benjamin Smith, Dr. John F. Smith, Philip Reynolds and A. F. Young. Dr. John F. Smith, the first physician in the township, served one term as supervisor and practiced his profession there until his death in 1861. William Hale became prominent as Wayne County representative for one term in the State Legislature.

The first election was held about one month after the township was erected and resulted in the choice of the following officers: D. J. Pullen, supervisor; John Simpson, clerk; Joseph Y. Pullen, Hale Wakefield, and George Dykeman, assessors; John F. Smith, John Carr, and Jenks Pullen, school inspectors; F. G. Jasper, Alexander Simpson, and Samuel Polyne, highway commissioners; Warren Blair and Benjamin D. Smith, overseers of the poor; Jenks Pullen, constable. At this election only twenty-five votes were cast and thirteen of the voters were elected to office.

Romulus is situated in the second tier of townships from the western border of Wayne County. It is bounded on the north by Nankin Township; on the east by Taylor; on the south by Huron, and on the west by Van Buren. The surface slopes gradually toward the east and is drained by several small streams that flow into the Detroit or Ecorse rivers. Farming and stock raising are the leading industries. Transportation is supplied by the Wabash and Pere Marquette railways, which cross at the Village of Romulus, a little west of the center of the township.

#### SPRINGWELLS TOWNSHIP

Springwells is one of the nine townships established by the act of April 12, 1827. As then erected it was bounded on the north by Oakland County; on the east by the City of Detroit, the Detroit River, and Hamtramck Township; on the south by the River Rouge, which separates it from Ecorse Township;

and on the west by Bucklin (now Dearborn and Redford) Township. Greenfield Township was cut off in 1833 and now bounds it on the north. Part of Springwells has since been annexed to the City of Detroit. The name was adopted on account of the large springs in the vicinity of Fort Wayne. Before the name was officially given to it, this district was called Spring Hill.

The first settlers were French, who located claims here soon after Detroit was founded, but the early records are so meager that little can be learned as to who they were, except in rare instances. Several of the French farms, or Private Claims, were located in this township, notably the Livernois, Alexis Campau, and Knaggs (or Hubbard) farms. John Askin, James McGill (founder of McGill University in Montreal), and Isaac Todd claimed large tracts of land under the Indian grants.

On the morning of August 16, 1812, the British Army under General Brock crossed over from Sandwich to Springwells and marched up the river to the fort, which was surrendered at noon by General Hull. Fort Wayne is near the place where the British landed.

The Lake Shore and Michigan Southern, the Michigan Central, the Pere Marquette and the Wabash railroads all pass through Springwells Township, and it is traversed by several lines of the Detroit United Railways. Many manufacturing plants are located in that part now within the city limits.

#### SUMPTER TOWNSHIP

Congressional township 4 south, range 8 east, was taken from Huron Township on April 6, 1840, and erected into the Township of West Huron. Subsequently, the name was changed to Sumter, in honor of Gen. Thomas Sumter, who was associated with Gen. Francis Marion in many of the brilliant exploits in the South during the Revolutionary war. Through an error on the part of an engrossing clerk, the letter "p" was inserted and the name has remained "Sumpter."

This township occupies the southwest corner of the county. On the north it is bounded by Van Buren Township; on the east by Huron; on the south by Monroe County; and on the west by Washtenaw County. The Huron River just touches the northeast corner and receives the waters of several small streams which drain the northern part of the township, those farther southward flowing in a southeasterly direction into Monroe County.

The first settlements were made before the township was set off from Huron. George Jewett, one of the first assessors of Huron, lived in what is now Sumpter Township. Ira P. Beach was the first supervisor when the township was organized in 1840. Sumpter is purely an agricultural community. There are no villages of consequence within its borders and the only railroad is the Wabash, about one mile of which lies within the northwest corner. The nearest railroad stations are Belleville, in Van Buren Township, New Boston, in Huron, and Milan, in Monroe County.

#### TAYLOR TOWNSHIP

On April 1, 1847, the western two-thirds of township 3 south, range 10 east, was taken from Ecorse and organized as a new township, "to be known and designated as Taylor." The name was adopted in honor of Gen. Zachary Taylor, just then a prominent figure in United States history on account of his victories over the Mexicans in the battles of Palo Alto, Resaca de la Palma,

and Buena Vista. Taylor is bounded on the north by Dearborn Township; on the east by Ecorse; on the south by Brownstown; and on the west by Romulus. Its area is twenty-four square miles.

About two years before the township was erected, Peter Coan purchased a part of section 28 and built a log house, said to have been the first house in the township. He was soon followed by James and William Sutliff, George Brundrit, John Moat, and John Hayden. A little later the population was increased by the arrival of Isaac Combs, Joseph Clark, W. N. Steward, Josiah Johnson, Clark and Chandler Wells, Lucius Parmely, William Shipman, Jared Sexton and a few others.

The first officers were elected at a town meeting. Jared Sexton was chosen supervisor; Charles Steward, clerk; W. W. Fletcher, treasurer; William Sutliff and William Shipman, highway commissioners; Josiah Johnson and Samuel Brass, overseers of the poor; Chandler Wells and James Silverwood, school inspectors; W. N. Steward and Jared Sexton, justices of the peace; O. R. Robbins and Chandler Wells, constables.

The Wabash Railroad crosses the northern part of Taylor Township and the Toledo division of the Detroit United Railways is accessible to the people living in the southeastern portion. The Pennsylvania Railroad also touches the southeast corner. Farming and gardening are the principal occupations.

#### VAN BUREN TOWNSHIP

On April 6, 1835, this township was erected from part of Huron and was named in honor of Martin Van Buren, then Vice President of the United States. It is one of the western tier and is bounded as follows: On the north by Canton Township; on the east by Romulus; on the south by Sumpter; and on the west by Washtenaw County. The Huron River flows in an easterly direction through the township and there are a number of creeks. The soil is well adapted to farming, which is the leading industry.

In 1821 Nathan Wilcox settled near the present Town of Belleville and is said to have been the first white man to locate in that part of Wayne County. The territory was then in Huron Township. Mr. Wilcox was soon followed by Matthew Wood, Amos Snow, and Harvey Hubbard. Near the western boundary of the county Amasa Rawson entered a tract of government land and later laid out the Town of Rawsonville.

Ebenezer C. Eaton was elected the first supervisor; Job Smith, clerk; Alexander Buchanan, treasurer; Arba Ash, John M. Hiller, and James Vaughn, assessors; John Buchanan, Waterman Connors, and Miner Savage, school commissioners; David Fell, Eli Bradshaw, and Harvey Douglass, school inspectors; Benjamin Brearley, Isaac Otis, and Daniel Douglass, highway commissioners; James McIntosh, overseer of the poor; Amos Bradshaw, collector; Daniel Fell, John M. Hiller, and Adolphus Dalrymple, constables.

The Michigan Central Railroad crosses the northwest corner of Van Buren, and the Wabash Railroad runs in a northeasterly and southwesterly direction through the central part. Denton, on the former, and Belleville, on the latter, are the principal railroad stations.

#### WAYNE COUNTY TOWNS AND VILLAGES

In the County of Wayne, after Michigan Territory was organized in 1805, numerous villages were laid out by speculators, some of whom hoped to have



their names perpetuated as the founder of a city which in greatness would rival Detroit. Through the growth of Detroit a few of these villages have been brought within the city limits, others have entirely disappeared, but nearly three score remain, which may be divided into two classes. In the first class are those which are incorporated, those which have figured with more or less prominence in some historic event, and those which have acquired a certain degree of industrial or commercial importance. The second class includes a number of small places such as rural postoffices or minor railroad stations, without any special or notable history.

The history of the banks, newspapers and manufacturing plants located outside the limits of the City of Detroit, yet within Wayne County, may be found in the chapters treating of those specific subjects.

#### BELLEVILLE

The Village of Belleville is situated on the Huron River, near the center of Van Buren Township, twenty-four miles southwest of Detroit. Archibald Fleming, Samuel McNath and his two sons settled here in 1826 and the town was laid out in 1834. When the Wabash Railroad was completed in 1881, Belleville experienced something of a boom and is now an active commercial center for a rich agricultural district in the western part of the county, having a population of about six hundred.

#### DEARBORN

The incorporated Village of Dearborn is situated near the center of the township of the same name, about ten miles west of the central business district of Detroit. It was settled in 1795, but did not come into prominence until 1833, when the United States Government reserved ground there for an arsenal, the cornerstone of which was laid July 30th of that year.

In the Michigan State Gazateer for 1838, there is published the following concerning "Dearbornville":

"Here is a church for Methodists, erected, a sawmill with double saws, flour mill with two run of stones, 7 stores, 2 smitheries, and a foundry for iron, propelled by horse power, a physician and about sixty families.

"Here is located the United States arsenal. This was commenced in 1833 and completed in 1837. It consists of eleven buildings, built of brick, arranged round a square, whose side is 360 feet. The principal building occupies the center of the eastern side of the square, and is 120 feet long by 30 feet deep, and three stories high, exclusive of basement. This is intended for the depot of arms. The buildings surrounding this square are connected by a continuous wall of heavy masonry, twelve feet high, all calculated as a defence against an invading or insurrectionary foe. The buildings are calculated to accommodate two officers, and fifty artificers and workmen, and in case of emergency they can easily accommodate double that number. The whole object of this institution is not a military station of soldiers, but for the mounting and equipping of artillery; repairing small arms and the preparation of all other numerous munitions of war. It is intended more particularly for the supply of Michigan and Wisconsin in time of war, and to issue to both, in time of peace, such arms and equipments as each state, by the Acts of Congress, are thereunto entitled."

One of the most stirring events connected with Dearborn's history grew out of a dispute over an alleged trespass upon the arsenal grounds. A man named

Thompson built a log house and opened it as a tavern. After conducting it for a year or two he turned it over to his son-in-law, John Cochran, who continued in business. In the spring of 1837 Captain Webb, then in command at the arsenal, set up the claim that the tavern was upon the arsenal grounds and ordered it removed. Cochran displayed no disposition to comply with the order, whereupon Captain Webb took about fifty men, marched to the building and began to demolish it. Cochran and a number of his friends offered resistance and in the conflict which followed a Mr. Potter received a blow upon the head, which resulted fatally. The tavern was destroyed, however, and was never rebuilt.

When the arsenal was abandoned, one of the buildings was acquired by the village authorities and remodeled for a town hall. The others passed into the possession of individuals. The Michigan Central Railroad was completed through the village in 1837, and the first car on the Detroit, Ypsilanti and Ann Arbor electric line (now a part of the Detroit United Railways) was run on June 12, 1898.

Dearborn has been twice incorporated, the first charter being surrendered soon after it was granted. The present incorporation dates from 1894, the first president under the new charter having been William H. Clark.

#### DELRAY

The Village of Delray, first known as Belgrade, situated in Springwells Township, on the Detroit and Rouge rivers, was settled about the beginning of the Nineteenth Century. In 1850 the Detroit and Lake Superior Copper Works were established near Fort Wayne at the upper end of the village; the Detroit Steel and Spring Works and the Michigan Car Company began business in the '70s and the Michigan Carbon Company, located near the River Rouge, a little later. In September, 1889, the Detroit International Fair and Exposition was opened on the grounds now occupied by the Solvay Process Company. The Michigan State Fair was held on these grounds in 1884.

Delray was incorporated as a village October 14, 1897, and the following officers were elected: Frederick J. Clippert, president; Dr. Hugh Cary, Peter B. DeLisle, William O. Miller, Josiah L. Riopelle, John A. Roll, and William Zimmerman, trustees; George P. Moog, clerk; Albert Frank, treasurer; Amander G. Barnes, assessor; L. M. Coulson, marshal; Charles Boston, chief of the fire department.

Several lines of railroad pass through Delray and it is connected with the business center of Detroit by two electric lines of the Detroit United Railways. A few years ago the village was annexed to the City of Detroit and its corporate existence then came to an end.

#### ECORSE

Near the close of the War of 1812, a settlement was made near the mouth of the Ecorse River and a few years later it took the name of "Grand Port." In 1902 it was incorporated under the name of Ecorse. Ecorse is known as a thriving manufacturing community, among the industries being that of Ecorse Foundry and Machine Works, the Kelsey Wheel Company, and the Wolverine Salt Company. Transportation facilities are afforded by four lines of railroad, the Detroit United Railways, and the Detroit River, and considerable quantities of grain, hay, lumber, ice, and salt are shipped from here every

year. The United States census report for 1920 gives the population of the Township of Ecorse to be 22,911 and about one-fifth of this number is in the village.

#### ELOISE

On March 8, 1832, the people of Wayne County voted to establish a home for the care of the poor. The first institution was located on what is known as the Leib farm on the Gratiot Road, but in 1839 it was removed to Nankin Township, about sixteen miles west of Detroit, where it took the name of "Wayne County Alms House." A postoffice was established here in July, 1894, and was named Eloise, after the little daughter of Freeman B. Dickerson, then president of the board. The institution then took the name of the Eloise Infirmary, Sanatorium and Hospital, which is said to be the largest of its kind in the West, except the Cook County Hospital at Chicago. The farm consists of 435 acres, on which over fifty buildings have been erected.

Eloise is a station on the Michigan Central Railroad and the Michigan Avenue line of the Detroit United Railways connects it with the city.

#### FLAT ROCK

Twenty-three miles southwest of Detroit's business center, in Brownstown Township, is the Village of Flat Rock. The first settlement was made here in 1824 and the village was at first called Vreelandt, or Brownstown. It is situated on the left bank of the Huron River and is a station on the Detroit, Toledo & Ironton Railroad. The village is the shipping point for a rich agricultural district in the Huron Valley.

#### FORD CITY

This village, which was incorporated in October, 1902, is located about twelve miles down the Detroit River from the city. Its principal industries are the Michigan Alkali Works, and the Ford Chemical Works for the manufacture of soda ash and washing soda. The village is situated on the Michigan Central, Lake Shore & Michigan Southern, and the Detroit, Toledo & Ironton railroads, and is connected with Detroit by the Toledo division of the Detroit United Railways.

#### GIBRALTER

The old Village of Gibraltar is located in the eastern part of Brownstown Township on the Detroit River, almost opposite the foot of Grosse Ile. The actual settlement there began early in the Nineteenth Century and, during the Patriot war, Gibraltar was the scene of considerable military activity. About that time, or perhaps a few years earlier, the Gibraltar and Flat Rock Company was organized for the purpose of developing Gibraltar into a city, with Flat Rock, Monroe, and Brest tributary to it. This company advertised widely and created such confidence in the scheme that lots sold for \$5,000 or more. The same lots can be purchased today for less than one hundred dollars. Among distinguished men of the East was Daniel Webster, whose son, Fletcher, came to Michigan because of his father's enthusiasm over the project, and spent several years in Detroit practicing law. As frequently happens in such cases, the boom collapsed, the site of Gibraltar again became farming land, while no trace of the "City of Brest" remains and Flat Rock is only a small village. The Gib-

ralter of the present is a small hamlet located more than a mile from the Gibraltar station on the Michigan Central Railroad. The inhabitants are served their mail by rural free delivery from Rockwood.

#### HAMTRAMCK

Although a separate corporation, the Village of Hamtramck lies entirely within the limits of the City of Detroit. It is located in Hamtramck Township, from which it takes its name, and was incorporated as a village in 1901. The Grand Trunk Railway runs through the southern part, the Detroit, Grand Haven & Milwaukee Railroad touches the western border, and the Chene Street line of the Detroit United Railways runs north and south through the center of the village. In 1910 the population was 3,559, but in the decade until 1920, owing to the great growth of manufacturing and the arrival of thousands of workers in Detroit, the number of people residing within the limits of the village jumped to 48,615.

In 1920 Hamtramck lead the towns of the country in its percentage of increase in population for the preceding ten years, making an increase of 1,266 per cent. Highland Park followed with an increase of 1,031 per cent. Hamtramck has also grown in a civic way. Street paving is progressing rapidly, the voters have approved a bond issue of \$193,000 for a municipal hospital, health conditions have been brought to a high standard and in many other ways the civic development is indicated. Hamtramck is an industrial city, containing several of the largest manufactories of Wayne County, including Dodge Brothers Automobile Works, American Radiator Company and the Russell Wheel and Foundry Company.

In a governmental way, Hamtramck is in a sort of transition period. For twenty years it was a village, but recently the citizens voted for reincorporation as a city.

#### HIGHLAND PARK

Like Hamtramck, Highland Park is completely surrounded by the City of Detroit. In 1825 Judge Augustus B. Woodward laid out a village on the site of the present Highland Park and gave it the name of Woodwardville. The *Michigan Herald* of July 14, 1825, contains Judge Woodward's advertisement of the village, in which he says: "On this land I projected a village under the name of Woodwardville. It lies about six miles northwest from the City of Detroit and is thought a good stand for a variety of establishments calculated to contribute to the accommodation of that splendid and rising metropolis."

It is said that the land upon which Woodwardville was projected was bought by Judge Woodward for \$1,780. The plat of the village—one of Judge Woodward's fantastic ideas—shows 856 lots, which were offered for sale at from \$10 to \$50 each and a number of them were sold. Two years after the village was platted, Judge Woodward died and all his land in the Ten Thousand Acre Tract was bought by Thomas E. Davis for \$7,455. Some years later the village was replatted and the name changed to Highland Park. This name was given because of a high ridge of land which was located at the present intersection of Woodward Avenue and Highland Avenue, but which was leveled when Woodward Avenue was put through.

All of Highland Park, except a small triangle in the southeast corner, lies in Greenfield Township, the triangle above referred to being in Hamtramck

Township, though township lines have been obliterated by the growth of Detroit. The village was incorporated in the spring of 1889, the first election being held on May 6th of that year. Jonathan P. Price was elected president; Franklin G. L. Connell, clerk; Charles O. Parmelee, treasurer. In 1918 Highland Park was incorporated as a city and Royal Ford was the first mayor. The population in 1910, according to the United States Census, was 4,120 and in 1920 it was 46,599.

This wonderful growth received its impetus in 1909, when Henry Ford purchased the old race course of 160 acres as the site of the Ford factory. The building of this mammoth institution brought thousands of people to Highland Park, as did the Maxwell Motor Company. The development of civic affairs has kept pace with that of the numerous industries. Highland Park is a city without a partisan administration. The government is carried on by four commissioners elected at large, each one of whom is head of a department in a supervisory capacity, and the active heads of these departments are appointed by the commissioners sitting as a council.

The Pennsylvania and the Detroit Terminal Railways run east and west through the northern part of the city and three street railway lines of the Detroit United Railways pass through in a north and south direction.

#### NEW BOSTON

The little village of New Boston is situated on the Huron River in the northwestern part of Huron Township, about twenty-four miles southwest of Detroit. The settlement was first called Catville, using the initials of C. A. Trowbridge as the first syllable of the name. It was first settled about 1820, but did not come into prominence until after the completion of the Toledo & Saginaw Division of the Pere Marquette Railroad in the later '70s. It is now the principal trading center and shipping point for a large agricultural district in Huron, Sumpter, and Romulus townships.

#### NORTHVILLE

Near the Oakland County line and about three miles from the northwest corner of Wayne County is the incorporated Village of Northville, which takes its name from its location, being the farthest north of any village in the county. It was incorporated in 1867 and in the spring of 1871 it was connected by railroad with Detroit through the completion of the Flint & Pere Marquette Railroad, which connected with the Michigan Central at Wayne. An electric line—the Orchard Lake Division of the Detroit United Railways—also connects Northville with the city.

The Michigan State Gazateer for 1839 states that Northville "contains a postoffice, one church each for the Presbyterians, Methodists and Baptists, four stores, two taverns, a flour mill with two run of stones, a sawmill, a furnace, a carding and cloth dressing establishment, a chair factory, and one physician." The village has grown to be one of the most substantial and cleanly in the county, and, as will be noted in another chapter, the "chair factory" mentioned in 1839 predicated a furniture manufacturing company which is known to make more church furniture than any similar establishment in the United States. A government fish hatchery is located at Northville also. The population is near 2,000 people. There is also the American Bell and Foundry Company here, manufacturing bells.

## PLYMOUTH

The incorporated Village of Plymouth is situated a little east of the center of the township of the same name, on the River Rouge, the Pere Marquette Railroad and the Orchard Lake Division of the Detroit United Railways. It was settled in 1825 by William Starkweather, who built there a log house. His wife was the first white woman to come to Plymouth Township. Other pioneers were: John Tibbitts, John Miller, Peter and Henry Fralich, Roswell Root, John Van Sickle, Hiram and William Utley. A postoffice called Plymouth Corners was established here in the early '30s with Gideon P. Benton as postmaster. Gideon P. Benton died in 1835 and his estate was the first one probated in the State of Michigan. In 1839 the official gazetteer of the state described Plymouth as follows: "Here is a postoffice, a presbyterian church, 5 stores, a banking association, 3 taverns, a druggist, a lawyer and 3 physicians. The state road from Detroit to Ann Arbor passes through it. Population estimated at 300."

Plymouth was incorporated in 1867. Bethuel Noyes was the first president of the board of trustees; Michael Connor, clerk; A. B. Coleman, treasurer; William A. Bassett and L. H. Bennet, assessors; Samuel Hardenburg, Isaac N. Heddon, Ira M. Hough, Abram Fralich, and Francis W. Fairman, trustees. At the first election 129 votes were cast, while the population in 1921 is near 2,500. The village has a municipal system of waterworks, supplied by springs about five miles north and operated by the gravity plan. Plymouth is noted wherever boys grow as the place where air-guns are made. These air-guns are made here by the Daisy Manufacturing Company and the Markham Air Rifle Company.

## REDFORD

In Redford Township, about twelve miles northwest of Detroit, is the Village of Redford, one time known as Sand Hill. It is situated on the River Rouge and the Orchard Lake Division of the Detroit United Railways, which is its only line of communication. The nearest railroad station is Beech, on the Pere Marquette, about four miles south. With a population of about 600, Redford is a trading point for a large territory in the northern part of the county.

## RIVER ROUGE

The Village of River Rouge is located in Ecorse Township, on the Detroit River just below the stream from which it takes its name. The first settlement was made here at an early date, but the village was not incorporated until 1899. It has modern improvements and has an estimated population of 5,000. Transportation is provided by the Michigan Central and the Detroit United Railways.

## ROCKWOOD

Rockwood is located in the southwestern part of Brownstown Township, on the Huron River and the Michigan Central Railroad. The Lake Shore & Michigan Southern and the Detroit & Toledo Shore Line also run near the village. The first settlement was made here a few years after the War of 1812, but the village has never acquired a population of more than five hundred.

## ROMULUS

Situated in the western part of Romulus Township, at the crossing of the Pere Marquette and Wabash Railroads, is the Village of Romulus, which takes

its name from the township. The first settlement was made on the town site in the early '30s, but the village was not regularly laid out until some years later and grew slowly until after the building of the Pere Marquette Railroad. Then when the Wabash was completed to Detroit in 1881, Romulus became a trading point of importance to the surrounding country.

## TRENTON

This is one of the oldest settlements in Wayne County, outside of Detroit. During the early years of the French period, stone from the quarries at Trenton was shipped up the river on scows and used for chimneys in Detroit, and a number of cabins were built here before the middle of the Eighteenth Century. The place was first called Truaxton, then Truago, after Abram C. Truax.

Trenton is located on the Detroit River in the southern part of Monguagon Township, sixteen miles south of Detroit, with which it is connected by several lines of railroad and an electric line. It was incorporated in 1865. The population is close to fifteen hundred.

## WAYNE

One of the most important villages in the interior of Wayne County is Wayne, which is situated in the southwestern part of Nankin Township on the lower River Rouge and at the crossing of the Michigan Central and Pere Marquette Railroads, in the midst of a fine farming country. The first settlement was made here in 1824 by George M. Johnson, who built a large log house on the site afterward occupied by the Anderson House. Mr. Johnson conducted a house of entertainment for travelers for about two years, when he sold out to a man named Simons who, in 1829, in a fit of drunkenness, killed his wife. He was tried, convicted, and sentenced to be hanged in 1830. This case has the distinction of being the last legal hanging in the Territory of Michigan.

Other pioneers were George W. Swift, Elizur R. Carver, David Grant, Eli Lee, and James F. Chubb. The last named was the first justice of the peace, to which office he was appointed by Governor Lewis Cass. The village was incorporated in 1869 and the first officers were: W. R. Corlett, president; Israel Bell, Jacob D. Bunting, Frederick Marker, Sr., Thomas Morrison, and John J. Palmer, trustees; William M. Hastings, recorder; Ammon Brown, treasurer. The Michigan Central Railroad was completed through Nankin Township early in the year 1838, and the Pere Marquette was opened to Wayne on May 30, 1871. The Jackson Division of the Detroit United Railways also passes through Wayne, connecting it with Detroit.

## WYANDOTTE

The City of Wyandotte is located on the Detroit River in the southern part of Ecorse Township and is served for transportation services by the Detroit River, three lines of railroad, and the Detroit United Railways. The city takes its name from the fact that the site was formerly occupied by a Wyandotte Indian Village, which contained a number of houses, small cornfields and orchards. This point was a noted crossing and landing place for the Indians, their trails diverging in various directions from the village.

An old document, published in 1855, contains the following regarding Wyandotte:

“A stock company recently purchased the Biddle farm, containing 2,200

acres, from Major Biddle, the front of which, embracing two miles on the river and extending one-half mile back, has been dedicated as the site of the City of Wyandotte. Many lots have already been sold, and some thirty tenements erected. The 'Eureka Iron Company,' who own extensive iron ore-beds on Lake Superior, design to bring down the ore and manufacture it into pigs at the place, for which purpose they are erecting a blast-furnace. Extensive coal pits are already set up and a large amount of ore is to be brought down from the lake this fall. 'The Wyandotte Rolling Mills Company' are erecting very extensive works. Their main building is now in process of construction, the tin roof being nearly on. The main building is 120 feet square, 29 feet between joints, and 65 feet to top of cupola. The rolling mills are propelled by a large engine, taking its steam supply from five 40-foot boilers, and the trip-hammer is worked by a separate engine. The Company has a heavy contract for the remanufacture of railroad iron for the Michigan Central Railroad Company."

The matters above pertain to the laying out of the village in 1854, after the Government survey, on land owned by Maj. John Biddle. The lots fronting the river were bid off during much excitement, some of them selling as high as \$40 per acre. Among the bidders were several citizens of Detroit and army officers stationed here, including Gen. John R. Williams, Col. Andrew Mack, Gen. Alexander Macomb, and Maj. John Biddle. This was in 1818. In 1866, the city had so prospered, it was incorporated as such. The community has ever been an important commercial and industrial center and in 1920 had a population of 12,851, an increase of 4,654 since 1910.

#### MINOR VILLAGES

Of the smaller villages of Wayne County, a few owe their origin to the railroad companies, which established stations at convenient point for the accommodation of shippers. Others came into existence for various reasons. The establishment of a sawmill, rural postoffice or a country store often served as the nucleus of a settlement that grew into a small village. None of these little hamlets is incorporated.

*Beech*, a small station on the Pere Marquette Railroad, in the southwestern part of Redford Township, fourteen miles from Detroit, grew up after the railroad was built. It is a telegraph station and has an express office, but no post-office, the few inhabitants receiving mail by rural delivery from Redford.

*Bell Branch*, near the center of Redford Township, was once a postoffice, but now receives mail by rural delivery from the office at Redford. It has a general store, two churches, a public school and a few residences.

*Canton*, located in the southern part of Canton Township, is a discontinued postoffice, now receiving mail from Belleville. A general store and a blacksmith shop are about all that is left of its former greatness. It is on the Jackson Division of the Detroit United Railways and about a mile north of Sheldon Station on the Michigan Central.

*Cherry Hill*, in the western part of Canton Township, is four miles north of Denton, on the Michigan Central Railroad, which is the nearest station. It has a blacksmith shop and a general store, which are the principal business concerns. The postoffice was discontinued with the introduction of the rural free delivery system and mail is now received through the office at Ypsilanti.

*Connors Creek*, seven miles northeast of Detroit in Gratiot Township, was once a thriving settlement, but has been overshadowed by the growth of the



city. It has two general stores, two churches, a stone works, and is connected with Detroit by electric railway.

*Denton*, a station on the Michigan Central Railroad in the northwest corner of Van Buren Township, has a population of about two hundred. The Jackson Division of the Detroit United Railways also passes through the village.

*Duboisville*, in the northern part of Redford Township, was named for James Dubois, a large land owner, who was one of the projectors of the village. It was once a trading center of importance, but now only a few houses remain.

*Elm*, a flag station on the Pere Marquette Railroad, was established as a post-office a few years before the Civil war. It is situated in the eastern part of Livonia Township and now receives mail from Plymouth.

*French Landing*, a small station on the Wabash Railroad in the southwestern part of Van Buren Township, grew up after the railroad was built.

*Greenfield*, in the township of the same name, was once an active business center. It is on the Grand River Road, just west of the Detroit city limits and is connected with the city by the Orchard Lake Division of the Detroit United Railways.

*Hand Station*, on the Wabash Railroad in the northern part of Taylor Township, has a population of one hundred people.

*Inkster*, fourteen miles west of Detroit in the eastern part of Nankin Township, is a station on the Michigan Central Railroad and Detroit United Railways. The population is about one hundred and fifty.

*Livonia*, a small hamlet in the central part of Livonia Township, is two miles north of Stark, on the Pere Marquette Railroad, which is the nearest railroad station. A postoffice was established here at an early date under the name of "Livonia Center." This office has been discontinued, however, and mail is delivered from Plymouth.

*Martinsville*, located a little east of the center of Van Buren Township, was founded a few years after that township was erected in 1835, but has never come up to the expectations of the projectors. It is three and a half miles west of New Boston, which is the most convenient railroad station.

*Norris*, now known as North Detroit, within Detroit City, is in Hamtramck Township, on the Michigan Central Railroad, six and a half miles from the Detroit Station.

*Perrinville*, in the northern part of Nankin Township, was settled by Thomas Dickerson in 1831 and was named for Isaac F. Perrin, who laid out the town in 1834. It has a general store and receives mail by rural route from Wayne.

*Rawsonville*, in the extreme western part of Van Buren Township, was laid out by Amasa Rawson about 1840. The postoffice here has long since been discontinued and the few inhabitants receive mail by rural carrier from Belleville.

*Stark*, a small station on the Pere Marquette Railroad, in the southern part of Livonia Township, was settled in 1880. It has a general store, is a shipping point of some importance, and the fifty inhabitants receive mail from Plymouth by rural route.

*Taylor Center*, as its name indicates, is situated near the center of Taylor Township. It was settled in 1860 and is two miles south of Hand Station, which is the nearest railroad station. The population numbers about one hundred.

*Waltz*, a village with a population of two hundred and fifty, is a station on the Pere Marquette Railroad in the southwestern part of Huron Township.

*Waterford*, in the southern part of Northville Township, is located on the

middle branch of the River Rouge and the Pere Marquette Railroad. During the Civil war, Waterford supplied more volunteers than any village of its size in Wayne County.

*Willow*, a small station on the Pere Marquette Railroad in the southwestern part of Huron Township, was formerly called Belden. It is on the rural mail route from Waltz.

#### EXTINCT VILLAGES

Old maps of Wayne County show a number of postoffices and villages that do not appear on maps of the present day. Some were founded by speculators and were doomed from the beginning to perish. Others served as social centers and trading points for certain districts until improved transportation diverted trade elsewhere and they succumbed. The following list contains most of these extinct villages and discontinued postoffices:

*Fairview*, in Grosse Pointe Township, annexed to Detroit in 1907; *Glenwood*, now a part of Wyandotte; *Leesville*, in Hamtramck Township; *Meads Mill*, in Northville Township, about a mile and a half north of Waterford; *Navarre* (or *Oakwood*), a suburb of Detroit, just across the River Rouge from Delray; *Newburgh*, in the southwest corner of Livonia Township (also called Nankin postoffice); *Oak*, in the southern part of Redford Township; *Plank Road*, in the northwest corner of the same township; *Schwarzburg*, on the south branch of the River Rouge in Nankin Township; *Sibley*, still a small station on the Michigan Central Railroad in Monguagon Township; *Smithville*, in the eastern part of Sumpter Township; *South Trenton*, in Monguagon Township; *Swift*, in the central part of Nankin Township; *West Sumpter*, near the Washtenaw County line in the western part of Sumpter Township; *Whitewood*, in the eastern part, and *Yew* in the western part of Greenfield Township.

A few of these places were once active business villages. Dr. Douglas Houghton, in his early geological reports, mentions Schwarzburg as manufacturing brick from the clay beds on the banks of the River Rouge. Meads Mill was a gathering point for a considerable neighborhood in the northwestern part of the county, especially on "grinding days," when the farmers would bring their few bushels of wheat or a "turn of corn" to have the grain ground into breadstuff for the family. The Plank Road postoffice, in Redford Township, was on the plank road between Detroit and Pontiac and was at one time an important commercial center for the farmers of a large territory in Wayne and Oakland counties. There is still a fair-sized settlement in this locality, though the postoffice has been discontinued.

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